

BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

P17684

13



P 1768A

Q U I N - N O 4 1 5 2 5 4 - 1 5 - P 1 7 0 0 .

(BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



3/5 1959

VOLUME XXII

1959



Published by

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Agents : Messrs. LUZAC & Co., LTD., 46 Great Russell Street, W.C. 1.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ARTICLES AND NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS	
F. R. ALLCHIN : Poor men's <i>thātīs</i> : a Deccan potter's technique	250
F. R. ALLCHIN : Upon the contextual significance of certain groups of ancient Indian signs	548
A. D. H. BIVAR : Arabic documents of Northern Nigeria	324
JOHN BROUGH : The tripartite ideology of the Indo-Europeans : an experiment in method	69
GERARD CLAUSON : The ḥP'ags-pa alphabet	300
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT : <i>Bhū-bharana, bhū-pālana, bhū-bhojana</i> : an Indian conundrum	108
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT : Sōmēśvara and the Kāḍava ; Ciñcila : three corrections	356
G. B. DOWNER : Derivation by tone-change in Classical Chinese	258
MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL : New Qatabāni inscriptions	1
MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL : New Qatabāni inscriptions—II	419
A. C. GRAHAM : The dialogue between Yang Ju 楊朱 and Chyntzyy 禽子	291
A. C. GRAHAM : Observations on a new Classical Chinese grammar	556
J. E. B. GRAY : An analysis of Ṛgvedic recitation	86
J. E. B. GRAY : An analysis of Nambudiri Ṛgvedic recitation and the nature of the Vedic accent	499
ERIC P. HAMP : Zuara Berber personals	140
W. B. HENNING : New Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels	132
P. M. HOLT : The exalted lineage of Riḍwān Bey : some observations on a seventeenth-century Mamluk genealogy	221
PADMANABH S. JAINI : The Vaibhāṣika theory of words	95
PADMANABH S. JAINI : The Sautrāntika theory of <i>bija</i>	236
PADMANABH S. JAINI : Origin and development of the theory of <i>vipra- yukta-samskāras</i>	531
J. M. B. JONES : Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi : the dream of 'Ātika and the raid to Nakhlā in relation to the charge of plagiarism	41
D. M. LANG and G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS : <i>Amiran-Darejaniani</i> : a Georgian romance and its English rendering	454
I. M. LEWIS : The names of God in Northern Somali	134
D. N. MACKENZIE : A standard Pashto	231
D. N. MACKENZIE : 'The language of the Medians'	354
B. MATSUKAWA (1890-1959) : A 31 syllable poem	576
D. S. RICE : The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript	207
J. B. SEGAL : New Syriac inscriptions from Edessa	23

	PAGE
R. B. SERJEANT : <i>Mihrab</i>	439
R. B. SERJEANT : <i>Ukhdu'd</i>	572
R. B. SERJEANT : Saint Sergius	574
R. B. SERJEANT and EWALD WAGNER : A sixteenth-century reference to <i>Shahrī</i> dialect at <i>Zufār</i>	128
S. M. STERN : The Oxford manuscript of Ibn Taymiyya's anti- Christian polemics	124
A. S. TRITTON : Siege of Constantinople, A.D. 714-16	350
A. S. TRITTON : <i>Ma'arij al-quds</i>	353
R. L. TURNER : Transference of aspiration in European Gypsy	491
E. YARSHATER : The dialect of Shahrud (Khalkhāl)	52

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

'Abd al-Majid 'Abdīn and Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.): <i>Faṣl al-maqāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-amthāl</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	612
J. Alazard and others: <i>Initiation à l'Algérie</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Robert Austerlitz: <i>Ob-Ugric metrics: the metrical structure of Ostyak and Vogul folk- poetry</i> . By D. SINOR	616
H. W. Bailey (ed.): <i>Indo-Scythian studies; being Khotanese texts, Vol. II</i> . By M. J. DEESDEN	371
Peter Berton and others: <i>Japanese training and research in the Russian field</i> . By H. STON-WATSON	175
G. H. Bhatt (ed.): <i>The Vālmiki-Rāmāyana. Vol. I, Fasc. 1</i>	191
Sudhubhushan Bhattacharya: <i>Ollari a Dravidian speech</i> . By T. BURROW	617
Ugo Bianchi: <i>Zamān i Ōhrmazd: lo zoroastrismo nella sue origini e nella sua essenza</i> . By R. C. ZAHRNER	366
<i>Bibliography of recent Soviet source material on Soviet Central Asia and the borderlands</i> . No. 1, 1957.—[No. 2, 1957.] By D. M. LANG	190
Eric F. F. Bishop and Mohamed Kaddal (tr.): <i>Chrestomathia Baidavianica. 'The light of inspiration and secret of interpretation'</i> . By W. 'ARAFAT	402
E. W. Bovill: <i>The golden trade of the Moors</i> . By D. H. JONES	395
W. Norman Brown (ed. and tr.): <i>The Saundaryalakhā-i or flood of beauty traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya</i> . By T. BURROW	617
Werner Burmeister (ed.): <i>Democratic institutions in the world today</i> . By V. H. MORRIS- JONES	186
Chao Kuo-chun: <i>Agrarian policies of mainland China: a documentary study (1949-1956)</i> . By JOHN GRAY	410
Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Sukumar Sen: <i>A Middle Indo-Aryan reader. Revised edition</i>	405
Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya: <i>The sepoy mutiny, 1857</i> . By K. A. BALLHATCHET	620
Saahi Bhusan Chaudhuri: <i>Civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies (1857-1859)</i> . By K. A. BALLHATCHET	620
R. D. Choksey (ed.): <i>Select documents from the Ratnagiri Collector's files (Fāshwa Daftar)</i> . By KENYETH BALLHATCHET	407
J. Desmond Clark and Sonia Cole (ed.): <i>Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, Livingstone, 1955</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	400
Bjorn Collinder: <i>Survey of the Uralic languages</i> . By D. SINOR	590
Edward Conze: <i>Buddhist meditation</i> . By D. FRIEDMAN	374
A. E. Coope: <i>A guide to Malay conversation. Revised and enlarged fourth edition</i>	197
Henry Corbin and Moh. Mo'in (ed.): <i>Commentaire de la gasida ismā'īlienne d'Abū'l- Ḥaitham Jorjān attribué à Mohammad ibn Sorkh de Nishapour</i> . By S. I. STERN	585
Henry Corbin and Moh. Mo'in (ed.): <i>Rāzbehān Baqlī Shīrāzī (522/1123-05/1209). Le jasmin des fidèles d'amour</i> . By R. C. ZAHRNER	588
William S. Corrynn (ed.): <i>Burmese chrestomathy</i> .—William S. Corrynn and John K. Musgrave: <i>Burmese glossary</i> . By ANNA J. ALLOTT	601

PAGE

<i>Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part III.</i> By ILYA GERSHEVITCH	188
David Cowan : <i>An introduction to modern literary Arabic.</i> By A. F. L. BERTON	147
O. G. S. Crawford (ed.) : <i>Ethiopian itineraries circa 1400-1524</i>	411
Āśutoṣ Dās (ed.) : <i>Dvij Rāmādev : Abhayāṃgaṅgaḥ.</i> By T. W. CLARK	594
Charu Chandra Das Gupta : <i>The development of the Kharoṣṭhī script.</i> By J. BROUGH	593
Surendranath Dasgupta : <i>A history of Indian philosophy. Vol. V</i>	406
K. G. Davies : <i>The Royal African Company.</i> By D. H. JONES	396
Sushil Kumar De (ed.) : <i>The Megha-dūta of Kālidāsa</i>	405
Isaac O. Delanq : <i>Atúmpede Yoruba.</i> By E. C. ROWLANDS	181
Emmanuel-Karim Delly : <i>La théologie d'Élie bar-Sénaya.</i> By J. B. SEGAL	187
Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo : <i>History of Jaina monachism from inscriptions and literature.</i> By R. WILLIAMS	373
J. Duncan M. Derrett : <i>The Hoysajas.</i> By A. L. BASHAM	165
D. T. Devendra : <i>Classical Sinhalese sculpture, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000.</i> By F. R. ALLCHIN	408
Djambatan : <i>A world on the move.</i> By C. D. COWAN	198
J. Duchesne-Guillemin : <i>The Western response to Zoroaster.</i> By ILYA GERSHEVITCH	164
<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</i> No. 11. By D. M. LANG	189
<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</i> No. 12. By D. M. LANG	404
C. J. Dunn and S. Yanada : <i>Teach yourself Japanese.</i> By E. B. CRADEL	385
Otto Eissfeldt : <i>Enno Littmann.</i> By C. J. GADD	402
Mircea Eliade : <i>Patterns in comparative religion.</i> By R. C. ZAEHNER	185
Earle Ernst (ed.) : <i>Three Japanese plays from the traditional theatre</i>	623
J. D. Fage : <i>An atlas of African history.</i> By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD	180
Gordon H. Fairbanks and Earl W. Stevick : <i>Spoken East Armenian.</i> —Gordon H. Fairbanks : <i>Spoken West Armenian.</i> By C. J. F. DOWSETT	592
Alfonsa Ferrari (ed. and tr.) : <i>mK'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of central Tibet.</i> By D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY	195
Daniel J. Finn : <i>Archaeological finds on Lamma Island (船 遼 洲) near Hong Kong.</i> By W. WATSON	621
Sir Godfrey Fisher : <i>Barbary legend : war, trade and piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830.</i> By V. J. PARRY	404
Hans H. Frankel (comp.) : <i>Catalogue of translations from the Chinese dynastic histories for the period 220-960.</i> By MICHAEL LOEWE	378
Maurice Freedman : <i>Chinese family and marriage in Singapore.</i> By HENRY MOALEAVY	173
Maurice Freedman : <i>Lineage organization in southeastern China.</i> By C. VON FURER-HAEMENDORF	597
D. C. Ganguly (ed.) : <i>Select documents of the British period of Indian history (in the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta).</i> By K. A. BALHATCHET	621
J.-C. Gardin : <i>Céramiques de Bactres.</i> By F. R. ALLOIN	594
Karl Friedrich Geldner (tr.) : <i>Der Rig-veda. Vierter Teil</i>	191
H. A. R. Gibb (tr.) : <i>The travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325-1354. Vol. I.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	145
Lionel Giles : <i>Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum.</i> By E. G. PULLREYBLANK	409
Kristof Glamann : <i>Dutch-Asiatic trade, 1620-1740.</i> By D. G. E. HALL	178
S. D. Goitein and A. Ben Shemesh : <i>Muslim law in Israel.</i> By S. M. STERN	149
J. Gonda : <i>Some observations on the relations between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda a propos of the phrase sūnuh sahasah</i>	193
A. B. Griswold : <i>Dated Buddha images of northern Siam.</i> By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	392
Gustave E. von Grunebaum (ed.) : <i>Unity and variety in Muslim civilization</i>	614
J. M. Gullick : <i>Indigenous political systems of western Malaya.</i> By C. VON FURER-HAEMENDORF	624
Gülşehri : <i>Mantiq'ü'tayr</i>	190
J. D. Hargreaves : <i>A life of Sir Samuel Lewis.</i> By A. N. ALLOTT	198
George L. Harris and others : <i>Jordan.</i> —George L. Harris and others : <i>Iraq</i>	613
H. R. van Heekeren : <i>The Stone Age of Indonesia.</i> —H. R. van Heekeren : <i>The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia.</i> By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	394
• J. C. Heesterman : <i>The ancient Indian royal consecration</i>	194
J. H. Hilders and J. C. D. Lawrance : <i>An English-Ateso and Ateso-English vocabulary.</i> By A. N. TUCKER	625

	PAGE
P. M. Holt : <i>The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	146
Donald Holzman : <i>Japanese religion and philosophy : a guide to Japanese reference and research materials</i> . By F. J. DANIELS	622
S. H. Hooke (ed.) : <i>Myth, ritual, and kingship : essays on the theory and practice of kingship in the ancient Near East and in Israel</i> . By C. J. GADD	361
C. Edward Hopen : <i>The pastoral Fulbe family in Gwandu</i> . By D. W. ARNOTT	397
Ambrosio Huici Miranda : <i>Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las invasiones africanas</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Ambrosio Huici Miranda : <i>Historia política del imperio almohade. II</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Ibn Khaldūn : <i>Histoire des Berbères. Nouvelle édition. Tome quatrième</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Nobutaka Ike : <i>Japanese politics : an introductory survey</i>	410
<i>The Indonesian town studies in urban sociology</i> . By ADRIAN C. MAYHE	604
Fand Jabre : <i>La notion de la ma'rifa chez Ghazali</i> . By F. RAHMAN	362
E. O. James : <i>Myth and ritual in the ancient Near East</i> . By C. J. GADD	142
E. O. James : <i>Prehistoric religion : a study in prehistoric archaeology</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	400
F. C. Jones : <i>Hokkaido</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	196
Heinrich F. J. Junker : <i>Koreanische Studien</i> . By W. E. SKILLEND	195
Wadie Jwaideh (tr.) : <i>The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	583
Murad Kamil (ed. and tr.) : <i>Amharische Kaiserlieder</i> . By F. R. PALMER	142
Pandurang Vaman Kane : <i>History of dharmasāstra (ancient and mediaeval religious and civil law in India). Vol. V, Pt. 1</i>	618
K. M. Kapadia : <i>Marriage and family in India. Second edition</i> . By J. DUNCAN M. DERRITT	169
Mustafā 'Awad al-Karīm (ed.) : <i>Ibn Dhīya : al-Mutrib fī ash'ār ahl al-maghrib</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Peter Kawerau : <i>Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen</i> . By D. M. LANG	367
Fritz Kern : <i>Asoka, Kaiser und Missionar</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	194
A. H. M. Kirk-Greene : <i>Adamawa past and present</i> . By D. W. ARNOTT	398
Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi : <i>An introduction to the study of Indian history</i> . By F. R. PALMER	674
Heinz Kronasser : <i>Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen</i> . By JENS HOLT	359
Eberhard Kuhnt : <i>Syrisch-arabischer Sprachführer</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	612
David Marshall Lang : <i>The wisdom of Balahvar : a Christian legend of the Buddha</i> . By S. M. STERN	149
R.-Y. Lefebvre d'Argencé : <i>Les céramiques à base chocolatée au Musée Louis-Finot de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient à Hanoi</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	603
Wolf Leslau : <i>Ethiopic and South Arabic contributions to the Hebrew lexicon</i> . By F. R. PALMER	577
Wolf Leslau : <i>The verb in Harari (South Ethiopic)</i> . By F. R. PALMER	359
Liu Mau-Tsai : <i>Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Turken (T'u-kue)</i> . By E. G. PULLEYBLANK	381
Johannes Reinoud Abraham Loman (ed. and tr.) : <i>The Padmaprabhrtakam</i> . By T. BURROW	193
G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin (ed.) : <i>Inscriptions of Burma. Portfolio IV.—Portfolio V</i> . By HLA PE	177
Ernest N. McCarus : <i>A Kurdish grammar : descriptive analysis of the Kurāish of Sulaimaniya, Iraq</i> . By D. N. MacKenzie	591
T. V. Mahalingam : <i>South Indian polity</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	162
I. Mahmud : <i>Muslim law of succession and administration</i> . By J. N. D. ANDERSON	614
John Brown Mason and H. Carroll Parish : <i>Thailand bibliography</i> . By E. H. S. SIMMONDS	196
Yale Candee Maxon : <i>Control of Japanese foreign policy : a study of civil-military rivalry, 1930-1945</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	176
R. O. Meisezahl : <i>Die tibetischen Handschriften und Drucke des Linden-Museums in Stuttgart</i> . By D. L. SNELGROVE	621
Kenneth Mellanby : <i>The birth of Nigeria's university</i>	625
G. C. Mendis (ed.) : <i>The Colebrooke-Cameron papers</i> . By KENNETH BALLHATCHET	408
Eva L. R. Meyerowitz : <i>The Akan of Ghana : their ancient beliefs</i> . By D. H. JONES	605

	PAGE
John Middleton and David Tait (ed.): <i>Tribes without rulers: studies in African segmentary systems</i> . By W. H. WHITELEY	608
Lennox A. Mills: <i>Malaya: a political and economic appraisal</i> . By D. G. E. HALL	624
V. Minorsky: <i>A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries</i> . By D. M. LANG	369
T. F. Mitchell: <i>An introduction to Egyptian colloquial Arabic</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	611
A. K. Narain: <i>The Indo-Greeks</i> . By F. R. ALLCHIN	376
<i>Nehcu 'l-feradis</i> . I. By Sir GERARD CLAUSON	153
Leon Nemoy (comp.): <i>Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library</i>	613
Paul Nwyia (ed.): <i>Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (1333-1390). Lettres de direction spirituelle</i> . By F. RAHMAN	584
P. G. O'Neill: <i>Early nō drama: its background, character and development 1300-1450</i> . By C. J. DUNN	598
Cornelius Osgood: <i>Blue-and-white Chinese porcelain</i> . By JOHN AYERS	384
Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: <i>The evolution of India</i> . By KENNETH BALLHATCHET	407
Rudi Paret: <i>Symbolik des Islam</i> . By R. C. ZAEHNER	614
J. D. Pearson (comp.): <i>Index Islamicus, 1906-1955</i> . By A. F. L. BEESTON	585
Luciano Petech: <i>Mediaeval history of Nepal</i> . By D. L. SNELLGROVE	378
J. J. Poortman: <i>Ochōma</i> . II. By J. F. STAAL	167
William Popper (tr.): <i>History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A.D. Parts III, IV</i> .—William Popper: <i>Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382-1468 A.D. (continued)</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	402
Karl H. Potter (ed. and tr.): <i>The Padārthataitvanirūpanam of Raghunātha Śiromani</i> . By J. BROUGH	161
<i>Puisi Melayu: sha'ir, pantun, sēloka dan lain-lain</i>	411
Punyavijayaji (ed.): <i>Angavijjā</i> . By R. WILLIAMS	372
Baij Nath Puri: <i>India in the time of Patañjali</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	595
Fahim I. Qubain: <i>The reconstruction of Iraq: 1950-1957</i>	612
Munibur Rahman (comp.): <i>An anthology of modern Persian poetry. Vol. I</i> . By R. M. SAVORY	615
Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur, Jr.: <i>The Young Turks</i> . By V. J. PARRY	404
Sunil Chandra Ray: <i>Early history and culture of Kashmir</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	619
Louis Renou: <i>Études védiques et pāninienues. Tom. I-IV</i>	191
<i>Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie</i> , 1	410
Erroll F. Rhodes: <i>An annotated list of Armenian New Testament manuscripts</i> . By C. J. F. DOWSETT	616
Hellmut Ritter: <i>Das Meer der Seele: Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn 'Attār</i> . By R. M. SAVORY	615
Hans Robert Roemer (tr.): <i>Šams al-Husn: eine Chronik vom Tode Tīmurs bis zum Jahre 1409, von Tāğ as-Salmānī</i>	190
Georges de Roerich: <i>Le parler de l'Ando: étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet</i> . By D. L. SNELLGROVE	621
Walter Ruben: <i>Kālidāsa: the human meaning of his works</i>	405
Walter Ruben (tr.): <i>Beginn der Philosophie in Indien. Aus den Veden</i>	407
Syedah Fatima Sadeque: <i>Baybars I of Egypt</i> . By P. M. HOLT	143
George Sansom: <i>A history of Japan to 1334</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	600
G. W. Sargent: <i>Ihara Sankaku: The Japanese family storehouse, or The millionaires' gospel modernised</i>	623
S. Subrahmanya Sastri (ed.): <i>The Vedānta Kaumudī of Rāmādvayāchārya</i>	406
Paul Schebesta: <i>Die Negrito Asiens. II. Band, 2. Halbband</i> . By C. VON FUBER-HAEMENDORF	179
B. Schindler (ed.): <i>Gaster centenary publication</i> . By J. B. SEGAL	187
Dieter Schlingloff (ed.): <i>Chandoviciti</i>	192
Hanns-Peter Schmidt: <i>Vedisch vrātā und avestisch urvātā</i>	618
Wilhelm Schmidt: <i>Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. Bd. XI.—Bd. XII</i> . By C. VON FUBER-HAEMENDORF	736
Johannes Schubert and Ulrich Schneider (ed.): <i>Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller</i> . By D. FRIEDMAN	157
Josef Franz Schütte: <i>Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan. I. Bd., II. Teil</i> . By C. R. BOXER	386

- Charles David Sheldon : *The rise of the merchant class in Tokugawa Japan*
By W. G. BEASLEY
- Liliane Silburn (ed. and tr.) : *Le Paramārthasastra*
- Nils Simonsson : *Indo-tibetische Studien. I*
- G. William Skinner : *Chinese society in Thailand : an analytical history*
Skinner : *Leadership and power in the Chinese community of Thailand*
SIMMONDS
- G. J. Somayaji (ed.) : *Telugu documents ; being petitions, etc., in Telugu &*
Oriental collection at the National Archives of India. By J. R. MARR
- G. Brian Stapleton : *The wealth of Nigeria.* By A. N. ALLOTT
- State of the Union : economic, financial and statistical year-book for the U*
Africa, 1958
- Th. Stecherbatsky : *Buddhist logic*
- R. A. Stein (ed. and tr.) : *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lam*
By D. L. SNELLGROVE
- Richard Storry : *The double patriots : a study of Japanese nationalism.* By V
Studies in linguistic analysis. Special volumes of the Philological Society. By
Claude Sumner : *Étude expérimentale de l'amharique moderne. Second*
F. R. PALMER
- Irene B. Tauber : *The population of Japan.* By SHIGETO TSURU
- Felix Tauer (tr.) : *Kniha tišće a jedné noci. I-II.* By D. M. LANG
- F. W. Taylor : *A practical Hausa grammar. Second edition*
- Victor A. Tocherikover and Alexander Fuks (ed.) : *Corpus papyrorum judai*
By RAPHAEL LOEWE
- Anantalal Thakur (ed.) : *Ratnakṛtī-nibandhāvalī*
- Jonas Thaliath : *The Synod of Diamper.* By J. R. MARR
- Paul Thieme : *Mitra and Aryaman.* By ILYA GERSHEVITCH
- Ulrich Thilo : *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie.* By R. B. SERJEAN
Benjamin E. Thomas : *Trade routes of Algeria and the Sahara.* By D. H. JOE
Laurence G. Thompson (tr.) : *Ta t'ung shu : the one-world philosophy of*
By JOHN GRAY
- K. G. Tregonning : *Under Chartered Company rule (North Borneo, 188*
C. D. COWAN
- J. Spencer Trimmingham : *Islam in West Africa.* By R. B. SERJEANT
- Kita Tschenkéli : *Einführung in die georgische Sprache.* By D. M. LANG
- Ryusaku Tsunoda and others (comp.) : *Sources of the Japanese tradition.* By
Giuseppe Tucci : *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nep*
SNELLGROVE
- Türk Dil Kurumu : *XIII. yüzyıldan günümüze kadar kitaplardan toplanan*
karama sözlüğü, IV. By SIR GERAUD CLAUSON
- M. H. van der Valk : *Conservatism in modern Chinese family law*
- George Vernadsky : *The origins of Russia.* By D. M. LANG
- Ewald Wagner (ed.) : *Der Divān des Abū Nuwās. Teil I.* By R. B. SERJEAN
Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.) : *Das Catuṣparigatōtra. Teil I.—Teil II*
- John Walker : *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad*
catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum, Vol. II.] E
Burton Watson : *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, grand historian of China.* By E. G. PULLEY
Hans Wehr (ed.) : *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gege*
unveränderte Auflage.—Hans Wehr : *Supplement zum Arabischen*
By R. B. SERJEANT
- Hans Wehr (ed.) : *Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsame*
By R. B. SERJEANT
- W. H. Whiteley : *A short description of item categories in Iraq.* By A. N. TU
D. J. Wijayarathne : *History of the Sinhalese noun.* By C. H. B. REYNOLDS
Donald N. Wilber : *Iran past and present. Fourth edition.* By A. K. S. LAM
T. S. Willan : *Studies in Elizabethan foreign trade*
- William Willems : *Chinese art.* By MICHAEL SULLIVAN
- Frederick Victor Winnett (ed. and tr.) : *Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan.*
'ALI GHUL

	PAGE
Freda Wolfson (comp.): <i>Pageant of Ghana</i> . By A. N. ALLOTT	198
Joseph K. Yamagiwa: <i>Japanese literature of the Shōwa period a guide to Japanese reference and research materials</i> . By F. J. DANIELS	622
John Young: <i>The location of Yamatai</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	196
Erwin von Zach (tr.): <i>Die Chinesische Anthologie</i> . By ARTHUR WALEY	383
R. C. Zaehner: <i>At sundry times: an essay in the comparison of religions</i> . By T. GELBLUM	609
Ananiasz Zajaczkowski: <i>Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak de l'époque de l'État Mamelouk. 1-ère partie. Le nom</i> . By T. BANGUOĞLU	581
Farhat J. Ziadeh and R. Bayly Winder: <i>An introduction to modern Arabic</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	582

Letter from Professor G. Dumézil	627
--	-----

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW	200, 412, 628
-------------------------------------	---------------

Note: indexes to each volume of the Bulletin are no longer issued.

BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXII: PART 1

1959

Published by
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ARTICLES	
MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL: New Qatabāni inscriptions	1
J. B. SEGAL: New Syriac inscriptions from Edessa	23
J. M. B. JONES: Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī: the dream of 'Ātika and the raid to Nakhla in relation to the charge of plagiarism	41
E. YARSHATER: The dialect of Shāhrud (Khalkhāl)	52
JOHN BROUGH: The tripartite ideology of the Indo-Europeans: an experiment in method	69
J. E. B. GRAY: An analysis of R̥gvedic recitation	86
PADMANABH S. JAINI: The Vaibhāṣika theory of words	95
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT: <i>Bhū-barāṇa, bhū-pālana, bhū-bhojana</i> : an Indian conundrum	108
NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS	
S. M. STERN: The Oxford manuscript of Ibn Taymiyya's anti-Christian polemics	124
R. B. SERJEANT and EWALD WAGNER: A sixteenth-century reference to Shahrī dialect at Zufār	128
W. B. HENNING: New Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels	132
I. M. LEWIS: The names of God in Northern Somali	134
ERIC P. HAMP: Zuara Berber personals	140
REVIEWS	
Murad Kamil (ed. and tr.): <i>Amharische Kaiserlieder</i> . By F. R. PALMER	142
E. O. James: <i>Myth and ritual in the ancient Near East</i> . By C. J. GADD	142
Syedah Fatima Sadeque: <i>Baybars I of Egypt</i> . By P. M. HOLT	143
H. A. R. Gibb (tr.): <i>The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354, Vol. I</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	145
P. M. Holt: <i>The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	146
David Cowan: <i>An introduction to modern literary Arabic</i> . By A. F. L. BEESTON	147
S. D. Goitein and A. Ben Shemesh: <i>Muslim law in Israel</i> . By S. M. STERN	149
David Marshall Lang: <i>The wisdom of Balahva: a Christian legend of the Buddha</i> . By S. M. STERN	149
Türk Dil Kurumu: <i>XIII. yuzıylardan günümüze kadar kitaplardan toplanmış tanıklarıyla tarama sözlüğü, IV</i> . By Sir GEBARD CLAUSON	152
<i>Nehcu 'l-feradis. I</i> . By Sir GERARD CLAUSON	153
Paul Thieme: <i>Mitra and Aryaman</i> .—J. Duchesne-Guillemin: <i>The Western response to Zoroaster</i> . By ILYA GERSEEVITCH	154
Johannes Schubert and Ulrich Schneider (ed.): <i>Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller</i> . By D. FRIEDMAN	157
Karl H. Potter (ed. and tr.): <i>The Padārthataṭtvavivṛaṇam of Raghunāṭha Śrīraṇi</i> . By J. BROUGH	161
T. V. Mahalingam: <i>South Indian polity</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	162
J. Duncan M. Derrett: <i>The Hoysalas</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	165
J. J. Poortman: <i>Ochéma. II</i> . By J. F. STAAL	167
K. M. Kapadia: <i>Marriage and family in India. Second edition</i> . By J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT	169
D. J. Wijayarathne: <i>History of the Sinhalese noun</i> . By C. H. B. REYNOLDS	172
Maurice Freedman: <i>Chinese family and marriage in Singapore</i> . By HENRY MCALEAVY	173
William Willetts: <i>Chinese art</i> . By MICHAEL SULLIVAN	173
Peter Berton and others: <i>Japanese training and research in the Russian field</i> . By H. SETON-WATSON	175

	PAGE
Yale Candee Maxon: <i>Control of Japanese foreign policy: a study of civil-military rivalry, 1930-1945</i> .—Richard Story: <i>The double patriots: a study of Japanese nationalism</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	176
G. H. Luce and Po Maung Tin (ed.): <i>Inscriptions of Burma. Portfolio IV.—Portfolio V</i> . By HLA PE	177
Kristof Glamann: <i>Dutch-Asiatic trade, 1620-1740</i> . By D. G. E. HALL	178
Paul Schebesta: <i>Die Negrito Asiens. II. Band, 2. Halbband</i> . By C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF	179
J. D. Fage: <i>An atlas of African history</i> . By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD	180
Isaac O. Delano: <i>Atámp ede Yoruba</i> . By E. C. ROWLANDS	181
<i>Studies in linguistic analysis. Special volume of the Philological Society</i> . By C. E. BAZZELL	182
Wilhelm Schmidt: <i>Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. Bd. XI.—Bd. XII</i> . By C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF	184
Mircea Eliade: <i>Patterns in comparative religion</i> . By R. C. ZAEHNER	185
Werner Burmeister (ed.): <i>Democratic institutions in the world today</i> . By W. H. MORRIS-JONES	186

SHORT NOTICES

B. Schindler (ed.): <i>Gaster centenary publication</i> . By J. B. SEGAL	187
Emmanuel-Karim Delly: <i>La théologie d'Élie bar-Sénaya</i> . By J. B. SEGAL	187
Hans Wehr (ed.): <i>Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsamen Geschichten</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	188
<i>Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part III</i> . By LYA GERSHEVITCH	188
<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers. No. 11</i> . By D. M. LANG	189
<i>Bibliography of recent Soviet source material on Soviet Central Asia and the borderlands. No. 1, 1957.—[No. 2, 1957.]</i> By D. M. LANG	190
Hans Robert Roemer (tr.): <i>Sams al-Husn: eine Chronik vom Tode Timurs bis zum Jahre 1409, von Tāğ as-Salmān</i>	190
Gulşehri: <i>Manṣūṭ-t-tayr</i>	190
Karl Friedrich Geldner (tr.): <i>Der Rig-veda. Vierter Teil</i>	191
Louis Renou: <i>Études védiques et pāṇinienes. Tom. I-IV</i>	191
G. H. Bhatt (ed.): <i>The Vālmiki-Rāmāyana. Vol. I, Fasc. 1</i>	191
Liliane Silburn (ed. and tr.): <i>Le Paramārthasāra</i>	191
Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.): <i>Das Catuṣpariśatsūtra. Teil I.—Teil II</i> .—Dieter Seehlinghoff (ed.): <i>Chandovicit</i>	191
Nils Simonsson: <i>Indo-tibetische Studien. I</i>	192
Johannes Reinoud Abraham Loman (ed. and tr.): <i>The Padmaprabhrtakam</i> . By T. BURROW	193
J. Gonda: <i>Some observations on the relations between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda à propos of the phrase sūnuh sahasah</i>	193
J. C. Heesterman: <i>The ancient Indian royal consecration</i>	194
Fritz Kern: <i>Aśoka, Kaiser und Missionar</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	194
M. H. van der Valk: <i>Conservatism in modern Chinese family law</i>	194
Alfonso Ferrari (ed. and tr.): <i>mK'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of central Tibet</i> . By D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY	195
Heinrich F. J. Junker: <i>Koreanische Studien</i> . By W. E. SKILLEND	195
John Young: <i>The location of Yamatai</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	196
F. C. Jones: <i>Hokkaido</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	196
John Brown Mason and H. Carroll Parish: <i>Thailand bibliography</i> . By E. H. S. SIMMONDS	196
A. E. Coope: <i>A guide to Malay conversation. Revised and enlarged fourth edition</i>	197
<i>State of the Union: economic, financial and statistical year-book for the Union of South Africa, 1958</i>	197
G. Brian Stapleton: <i>The wealth of Nigeria</i> . By A. N. ALLOTT	197
Freda Wolfson (comp.): <i>Pageant of Ghana</i> .—J. D. Hargreaves: <i>A life of Sir Samuel Lewis</i> . By A. N. ALLOTT	198
Djambatan: <i>A world on the move</i> . By C. D. COWAN	198

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

200

Editorial Board

Professor J. Brough, M.A., D.LITT.
(Chairman)

Professor M. Guthrie, PH.D., B.Sc., A.R.S.M.

Miss E. J. A. Henderson, B.A.

Professor W. B. Henning, DR.PHIL., F.B.A.

Professor B. Lewis, B.A., PH.D.

J. D. Pearson, Esq., M.A.

Professor C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D.

Professor W. Simon, DR.PHIL., D.LIT., F.B.A.

Editorial Secretary: Miss D. M. Johnson, M.A.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1. Articles, Notes and Communications, and Notices of Books should be submitted in typescript.

Offprints of articles, from Volume XIV onwards, may be purchased from the Editorial Secretary. (A list of offprints available for sale may be obtained from the Editorial Secretary.)

All communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to the Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

NEW QATABĀNI INSCRIPTIONS

By MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL

(PLATES I-IV)



MAJOR M. D. VAN LESSEN, M.C. (Royal Hampshire Regt.), has made available to me, in photographs and hand-made copies, about 30 inscriptions and graffiti which he had either acquired or come across on rocks and buildings during his tour of duty with the Aden Protectorate Levies. These inscriptions, most of which proved to be hitherto unknown or unpublished, will be numbered in a series under the name of *Van Lessen*.

VAN LESSEN 1

Inscription on a pink marble slab which Major Van Lessen obtained from a peasant in al-Naqūb and is now in his possession. It is broken on the right immediately under the level of l. 10 and on the left immediately next to the end of l. 11, showing traces of 12 lines in all. The first line is in characters of a smaller size, separated from l. 2 by a space wider than the uniform space separating the rest of the lines from each other. Lines 2-10 have each an average number of 25 letters and separation lines. The slab is $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate I.

1. *ywm/hrgs/mr's/YD'B/DBYN/bn/ŠHR/ĠYLN*
2. *ŠHWm/bn/Y'ZL/DKRS/sqny*
3. *'M/DDYMTm/bht/mrtn/bdtm*
4. *swfy/'M/'bds/ŠHWm/bthrg*
5. *'mr's/ŠHR/YGL/wbns/YD'B/Y*
6. *HN'M/wŠHR/HLL/wbns/YD'B/Y*
7. *GL/'mlk/QTBN/w'mr's/ršww/y*
8. *wm/drf/wntsf/bmršwmyw/'rb*
9. *'[t/wḥmsy/hrwf/stlw/rtd/'M*
10. *nfs/w'ḏn]s/wbnsww/ŠKR'M/w*
11. *...../w'hhy]s/YŠRH'M/Y'ZL*
12. *.....'LY/wYŠR['*
13. *[M/.....*

Translation

1. On the occasion when his lord YD'B DBYN, the son of ŠHR ĠYLN protected him.

2. ŠHWm, the son of Y'ZL, of the clan KRS dedicated
3. to 'Amm, of DYMTm, this phallus of limestone because
4. 'Amm kept his servant ŠHWm safe under the protection of
5. his lords ŠHR YGL and his son YD"B Y-
6. HN'M and ŠHR HLL and his son YD"B Y-
7. GL, the kings of Qatabān. And his lords were paid their dues
8. when he selected and paid out, in respect of any and every single due,
9. fifty four sheep, for (their) bearing responsibility for (his)
safety. He put under the protection of 'Amm
10. his person and his household (?) and his sons ŠKR'M and
11. and his brothers] YŠRḤ'M Y'ZL
12. 'LY and YŠR['
13. [M

Notes

L. 1 : *hrgs* : cf. also *bthrg* in l. 4. The meaning adopted here, 'to protect', really means to extend protection to, to render inviolate. The verb is second form, and *thrg*, l. 4, is its verbal noun ; cf. *RES*, 4329, 4, etc., and cf. also Arabic *harraġa* in a tradition : *أخرج حق الضعيفين : اليتيم والمرأة* explained as : *أضيقة وأحرمه على من ظلمها* (*Tāj al-'arūs*). See also the comment upon *stlw* (*infra*, l. 9). *YD"B/DBYN/bn/ŠHR/ĠYLN* : this is the first time that this full name occurs in published inscriptions. Cf. *YD"B/DBYN/bn/ŠHR* in *RES*, 3642 C, and 3350, 1, described as *mukarrib Qatabān* ; and *RES*, 3583, 6, and 3878, where he is described as *malik Qatabān*. He seems to be the father of either, or both, ŠHR YGL and ŠHR HLL ; cf. *RES*, 4094, 3. Protection, probably, was first extended to the dedicant by, and in the reign of, *YD"B/DBYN/bn/ŠHR/ĠYLN* and then continued, or honoured, by his two sons and their own two sons respectively ; cf. *infra*, ll. 5-7. For ŠHR ĠYLN cf. *RES*, 4932, etc.

L. 2 : *ŠHWm/bn/Y'ZL/DKRS* : ŠHWm does not occur in published South Arabian inscriptions ; cf. ŠHY in Liḥyanite, *RNP*, 1, 183, which is probably the diminutive of ŠHW. Y'ZL : occurs both as Qatabāni and Sabaeen, *RNP*, 1, 42. *DKRS* : cf. KRS, *RNP*, 1, 116, supposedly Sabaeen.

L. 3 : 'Amm *DDYMTm* : cf. 'Amm *DRYMTm* in *RES*, 4328, 7. If this name here is authentic and not a lapicide's mistake for *DRYMTm*, then *DDYMTm* might be referring to a place hitherto unknown or, quite probably, referring to *dynt* ; cf. Arabic *ḍimah* 'rain' ; and cf. DYMT (Liḥ.), *RNP*, 1, 66. In this case it would mean that 'Amm is described as the 'God of rain'. *bht* : this word is one of a few mysterious words in South Arabian lexicography which have eluded satisfactory explanation. The root has generally been accepted to be *b-ḥ-t*, cf. Arabic *baḥt*. But Mordtmann and Mittwoch, in their

discussion of *bḥt* in *CIH*, 960, 2, adopted the reading *bāḥat*, thus suggesting that *bḥt* should derive from a root with a weak middle.¹

Al-Qāmūs gives the following definition of *بوح*: *البوح بالضم الاصل: بوح. والذكر والفرج والنفس والجماع. . . وبوح اسم الشمس*. Taking *بوح*, the name of the sun, as the meaning possibly associated with *bḥt* is quite plausible. But *RES*, 3902, 142 reads: *ḥmsn/bḥtn/wšms . . .*; and the comment thereupon says, '*šms* pourrait être un bijou votif en forme de soleil, d'après hébr. *שֶׁמֶשׁ*?' Indeed, the giving of a votive 'sun' in jewellery is reported in association with the Ka'ba in Islamic times.² But it would be rather difficult to reconcile the mention of *bḥt* and *šms* next to each other if they were supposed to mean the same thing. Besides, some lexicographers claim that the name of the sun is *بوح* with *yā'*. (*Tāj al-'arūs*, article *بوح*.)

The other meanings of *بوح* given by *al-Qāmūs* are different explanations of the word in the saying: *ابنك ابن بوحك*, meaning, in general terms, 'Thy son is he whom thou hast begotten, not he whom thou hast adopted' (Lane, *Lexicon*).³ The sense *نفس* here could easily support Mordtmann and Mittwoch's suggestion giving *bḥt* a meaning similar to *šlm*⁴; cf. also the use of *mīl* and *šur* in the same sense. *نفس*, however, seems to be rather an implicit sense in the saying, or a polite way of interpreting the saying. The other meanings *الجماع*, *الفرج*, *الذكر* have a clear common association, and one can also compare Arabic *bāḥ*. Most probably the original sense of *بوح* is either *ذكر*, *فرج*, or *جماع*; but I prefer here the first.

The *t* at the end of *bḥt* is the feminine ending, but it does not indicate any

¹ J. H. Mordtmann and E. Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften*, Hamburg, 1931, 210.

² Al-Azraqī tells of two occasions when votive suns were presented to al-Ka'ba, along with other things: 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān gave two 'suns' and two crystal cups, and al-Mutawakkil gave one 'sun' made of gold and studded with precious stones, with a chain, so that it would be hung on the front of al-Ka'ba during the pilgrimage season; cf. al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, Leipzig, 1858, 156-7. A 'sun' in gold and jewellery, probably the one given by al-Mutawakkil, is mentioned by al-Hamdāni, *Ṣifat al-djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Muller, Leiden, 1884, 269.

³ See the full explanation given in Lane, *Lexicon*, article *بوح*. The idea is expressed in a different phrase in the anonymous line quoted by the grammarians:

بنونا بنو أبائنا وبناتنا بنوهن أبناء الرجال الأباة

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is said to be the author of the saying *من يطل أير أبيه ينتلق به*, proverbial for having many brothers to give one support. An anonymous line of verse, quoted in connexion with this saying, expresses the idea openly:

فلو شاء ربّي كان أير أبيكم طويلا كأير الحارث بن سدوس

Al-Hārith b. Sadūs, referred to in the verse, is said to have had 21 sons (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-hadīth*, article *أير*).

⁴ op. cit., 210.

exclusive, or even, necessary association with the female sex¹; it merely expresses the unit or the thing.²

mrtn: limestone. In *RES*, 3080, 6, which reads:

5. *bny/wshd* [t/kl/mhl

6. *k/wmbny/'bmo/w'd/wblq/wmrt/*

mrt is translated by Rhodokanakis as 'Lehm', comparing a similar Ethiopic root. This is quite plausible, both in the context and in comparison with Ethiopic. But I think that it refers there to the plaster and therefore could be rendered 'gypsum', which is a form of limestone.³ Cf. Arabic مرّث 'He rendered smooth'; and مرّده 'He made it (a building) smooth and even . . . and plastered it with mud' (Lane, *Lexicon*). Lane here translates تطين (*Lisān*) as plastering with mud, although, strictly speaking, it is only plastering, 'gypsare'. Cf., further, ملاط 'gypsum' and the equation in many usages of ملط with مرط (ibid.). مرط is the current word in Aden, nowadays, for plastering. In *RES*, 3459 bis, 1, and 2869, 5, *mrtn* is rendered 'myrrhe', apparently under the influence of the context of *mslm*, libation altar, and *mšrb*, an altar for burned offerings, respectively. In the former case the inscription was found on the higher part of an altar made of limestone, and it is probable that *mrtn* there refers to the kind of stone the altar was made from. And although *mšrb/mrtn*, in the latter, could be translated 'the altar for burned offerings in limestone', I hold that *mšrb* there, and in 2980 bis, 3, too, means 'spout'. A detailed discussion of *mšrb* in these two inscriptions is given at the end of this article in an appendix. The word for myrrh occurs in *RES*, 3427, 1, where it takes the form of 'mrrn.

L. 4: *bḥrg*: cf. *hrgs*, l. 1, above.

Ll. 5-7: cf. also l. 1 above. *ŠHR/YGL*: cf. *RES*, 3689, 1, etc. *YD'B/*

¹ It should be noted here that in *RES*, 4189, 3, the text is restored:

3. */bn* [t
4. *h*] *w/KLBT/wqḥb/bḥt*

It seems that the restoration of *t* was called for by the name KLBT, taken for a female's name. But KLBT could be the name of a son; cf. *CIH*, 91, 2, and *RES*, 3756, 2.

² I think that the feminine ending in *bḥt* helps to give it a less offending sense. In the dialect of Yaman, زب, genital male organ, a masculine noun, when used for a boy has a diminutive form زبيّة with ة (of. *Tāj al-'arūs*, article زب). In the colloquial usage of the Jerusalem district, زبر is used for the male organ generally, and is avoided in open polite speech; but in reference to a young boy one uses زبرة with ة; it is never thought to be impolite in open speech, when inevitable.

³ Yaman was famous for its gypsum in early Islamic times, especially in connexion with the building and repair of al-Ka'ba, as the following account shows. 'Ibn el-Zubeir lies nun von denselben Orten neue Steine herbeischaffen, von wo sie bei dem vorigen Bau geholt waren, und da ihm statt Lehm, womit er anfangs bauen wollte, Gyps als haltbarer vorgeschlagen und der von Çan'a in Jemen als vorzüglich gut empfohlen wurde, machte er einen Contract zu einer Lieferung für 400 Dinare.' F. Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig, 1861, 133-4; cf. also, ibid., 136, 198, and cf. Hamdāni, op. cit., 196.

YHN'M: cf., probably, *RES*, 3962, 7-8. *ŠHR/HLL*: cf. *RES*, 3691, 1; 3693, 1. *YD'B/YGL*: the name *YD'B/YGL/mlk/QTBN* occurs in l. 2 of Van Lessen 6, an inscription at the foot of Jabal *Khalbaš* in Wādi Bayḥān, of which I have a photograph. There he might not have been *YD'B YGL*, the son of *ŠHR HLL* of this inscription, but *YD'B/YGL/bn/DMR'LY*, mentioned in l. 2 of Van Lessen 7, another rock inscription from Jabal *Khadra'* in Wādi Bayḥān, of which I have also a photograph. In Van Lessen 7 the latter is the co-regent of *HWF'M/YHN'M/bn/SMHWTR*.

L. 7: *w'mr's/ršw*: for the order of subject—verb in the middle of the text, cf. Maria Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1943, 77, 179-80. *ršw*: the substantive *ršw*, *RES*, 3880, 3, etc., means 'priest'. In Arabic رشوة means, among other things, the fees or gratuity due to a priest or diviner,¹ which suggests the existence of an authentic link with *ršw* 'priest'. In Arabic the verb رشا means 'he gave رشوة'; which should refer to all the senses in which رشوة was used. رشوة means جعل 'a thing that is appointed, or stipulated, to be given to a man for work, or service'; and جعالة 'wages or pay, or the like, which one gives to a man who goes to war as a substitute for the giver' (Lane, *Lexicon*, article جعل, for the meaning of جعل and جعالة). رشوة means all this in general (*Lisān* and *al-Qāmūs*), and not only a bribe, as Lane maintains. The verb *ršw* here, could mean then either to pay dues, or to pay, as a non-fighter, money to the fighter, namely, protection money. The verb *ršw* here is passive. The verb *ršw* occurs in *CIH*, 967, 2-3, and *RES*, 3658, where the identical clause *ywm/ršw/'TTR* should be translated, 'when he paid the dues to 'Attar', if the verb is first form; but if the verb is third form, it could then be translated, 'when he endeavoured to conciliate, or gratify, 'Attar'; cf. راشى. In l. 8 of this inscription we have *mršw*, which is either a verbal noun with *m* or the passive participle; and it should mean the dues or fees stipulated for protection. This sense, or the less specific sense of gratuity, can apply to the substantive forms *ršwt* in *RES*, 3655; *CIH*, 436, 9; *ršt* in *RES*, 3043, 1, and *ršyn* in *RES*, 4782, 3. In this sense also the fourth form verb *hršw* in *RES*, 3943, 4, should be understood and the passage should be translated, 'and he gave (the God, or perhaps, the priest) in Raydan his dues, his gratuity'.

L. 8: *drf*: cf. *RES*, 3870, 3, where the substantive '*drfs*' is rendered 'seiner Seitenstützen', comparing Arabic طرف.² *drf* here is 2nd form; cf. Arabic طَرَف 'He chose, or made choice of, the thing' (Lane, *Lexicon*).

ntsf: cf. *snsf* in *RES*, 3689, 4, where it is rendered 'Schätzung', in connexion

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, art. حُلن.

² *Tāj al-'arūs* gives the following under article درف: مصراع، بالفتح، قلت: ودرفة الباب، بالفتح، ودرفان. هكذا يستعمله العوام. Cf. also '*darf*, a door with one leaf'; R. B. Serjeant, 'Building and builders in Ḥadramawt', *Muséon*, LXII, 1949, 284.

with taxation. For the meaning adopted here cf. استنصف الوالي الخراج استوفاه (*Tāj al-'arūs*). *bmršumyrw* : cf. *ršuw* in the previous line. The preposition *b* means 'in regard to, in respect of'. *myrw* : indefinite partitive pronominal suffix (see M. Höfner, op. cit., 54 ff.).

Ll. 8-9 : 'rb[^t]/wḥmsy/hṛuf : the 54 sheep given should be taken as the total number paid to all of them ; it might have worked out at a fee of 18 each for the two seniors and 9 each for the two juniors.

hṛuf : sheep ; plural : cf. *RES*, 2959, 2 (MIN.).

L. 9 : *stlw* : verbal noun, or substantive, of *stlw* ; cf. *sqny* and *sqnyt*. The verb *tlw* occurs in *CIH*, 518, 4 : *w'rd/ytlwn/lmlk/SB*, where it is translated, 'et terram quae submittetur regi Sabae'. The comment thereupon says, 'Contextum et arabicum تَلَا "secutus est" respiciens vertimus "submittetur" mirati *ytlwn*, non *tlwn* scriptus esse, quum 'ard feminis generis sit'. The verb there is active and not passive and the subject is the dedicant, mentioned in l. 1 of the inscription. The meaning there and in our inscription here is to be compared with تَلَا, 'a bond or an obligation, by which one becomes responsible for the safety of another' ; and more specifically, in the case of *CIH*, 518, 4, 'the transfer of a debt, or of a claim, by shifting the responsibility from one person to another' (Lane, *Lexicon*). If the verb in *CIH*, 518, 4, is first form, then it possibly means, 'and the land for which he is responsible to the king of Saba', meaning either that he manages it for the king or that he holds its tenancy from the king and is thus his bondsman. If the verb is second, or third, form, then it may well mean, 'and the land which he puts under the protection of the king of Saba'. Cf. also *RES*, 3869, 6, and 3317, 4, in both of which *wtlw* could be translated, 'to protect, to take responsibility for'. The fourth form in Arabic, in the expression أَتْلَاهُ ذِمَّةً, means, 'He gave him a bond, or an obligation, whereby he became responsible for his safety' 'and أَتْلَاهُ alone signifies the same' (Lane, *Lexicon*). Cf. also *tlyhmw*, Ry., 509, 8-9, rendered there 'leur suivants', and cf. the note, *Muséon*, LXVI, 1953, 307. *stlw* in this inscription means 'show of protection'. *rd* : a well known word in all South Arabian dialects of inscriptions ; cf. أَرَصَدَهُ عَلَى كَذَا : He charged him with watching, or guarding, of such a thing' (Lane, *Lexicon*).

L. 10 : *nfss/w'dn* : after *rd*, cf. *RES*, 2869, 7, etc. 'dn, in this context, is usually translated as 'dignity' or 'power', and when the plural 'dn is used, it is translated as 'senses' or 'faculties'. In certain cases and contexts it has been translated as 'client' or 'subject' ; cf. *RES*, 2693, 1 ; 3346, 2 ; 3350, 4 ; 3357, 6. I have come across two interesting texts in Arabic which might have been reminiscences of similar formulae. The first occurs in an Arabic inscription of the year A.H. 99, *C.I. Arabicarum*, 548, which reads : هذه القنطرة أمر بها عبد العزيز بن مروان الأمير. اللهم بارك له في أمره كله وثبت سلطانه على ما ترضى وأقر عينه في نفسه وحشمه آمين !

In Arabic حشم means 'A man's special dependents, consisting of his family and slaves and others, or his neighbours, who are angry on his account when an event befalls him' (Lane, *Lexicon*). The second text occurs in the explanation of the proverb ثبج قومہ فلان في عارض, the origin of which is given as follows :
 ثبج هذا ملك [في اللسان : رجل] . . . غزاه ملك من الملوك فصالحه عن نفسه وأهله
 وولده وترك قومہ فلم يدخلهم في الصلح فغزا الملك قومہ فصار ثبج مثلاً لمن لا يذب عن
 قومہ. (تاج العروس، مادة ثبج).

Notice how أهلہ occurs between نفسه and ولده. This is why I chose here to translate 'dns as 'household'. wbnsw : 'his sons'; sw being used with the plural and dual, whose long or diphthongal vowel endings are contracted before the suffix (see M. Höfner, op. cit., 34). ŠKR'M : hitherto unknown in the inscriptions.

L. 11 : probably the word before YŠRH'M could be restored as w'hhy)s, and the space of six letters that would be left from the beginning of the line must have been occupied by the name of the dedicant's other son. For w'hhy)s cf. RES, 3689, 3 ; 4336, 4. YŠRH'M/Y'ZL : apparently a brother of the dedicant ; cf. ŠHWm/bn/Y'ZL, L. 1 above. YŠRH'M : Qatabāni name ; cf. RNP, I, 251 ; II, 75 ; Ry., 521, 1.

L. 12 : 'B]LY (?) ; cf. Ry., 521, 1. YSR[M : according to G. Ryckmans, in the note on Ry., 521, 1, only a Qatabāni name ; cf. RES, 4328, 9 ; 3566, 24 ; and see also RES, 4943, 1, which is entered there as Sabaeen. It was necessary to suppose the existence of a L. 13 because there would not have been enough space for it in L. 12, unless it had to be written out of the margin.

Palaeographical note. Palaeographically, this inscription is similar to Ry., 521, although the characters are more finely cut and the proportions better preserved. The names of the kings in the inscription strengthen the evidence further, for G. Ryckmans identifies Ry., 521, as appertaining palaeographically to RES, 4094, which belongs to the reign of 'YD'[B DB]YN and his son ŠHRm, the two kings of Qatabān'.

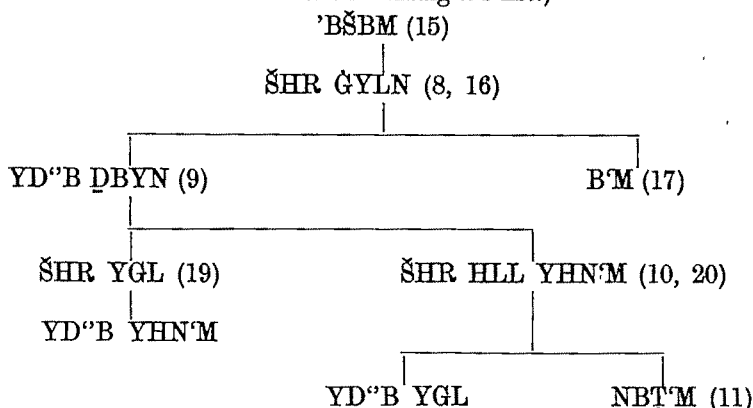
COMMENTARY

Three points arise from this inscription and the interpretation of it which make necessary some further comment upon them and some explanation of the nature of their usages in the context of the whole field of studies in South Arabian epigraphy. They are the chronology of the kings of Qatabān, the idea of government by protection, and phallism.

The chronology

This inscription offers a unique case where the genealogy of four generations of Qatabāni kings can be clearly recognized, being thus :

functioned simultaneously,¹ I propose to reconstruct the chronology of the 'kings' of Qatabān as follows. (The numbers given next to the names of the kings refer to their numerical order in Albright's list.)



'Tage der Lust, des Essens und des Trinkens, wo man der wieder erlangten Freiheit nach der langen Karenz sich freut', J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1897, 80. It is related that the Prophet used to have a *dār diyāfa* (guest-house) for entertaining the embassies; cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien*, Bd. I, Theil II, Leiden, 1917, 43 ff. Sayf b. ḏhu-Yazan is also reported to have had one called *dār al-diyāfa wa-l-wuḥūd*, in which 'Abdu-l-Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather, is said to have been entertained; cf. *al-Aghānī*, Būlāq, xvi, 76. For the mention of an enclosure where boys were gathered for circumcision and, apparently, communal feasting on the occasion, cf. Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, Cairo, 1948, x, 45. Circumcision was one of the functions performed in the assembly hall, *dār al-naḥwa*, in Makka before Islam; cf. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden, 1883, I, 277.

¹ cf. *nār al-muhawwil* 'a fire which the Arabs used to kindle, in the time of ignorance, on the occasion of entering into a confederacy: they threw into it some salt, which crackled when the fire burned it: with this they frightened one another in confirmation of the swearing' (Lane, *Lexicon*). The parties to the ceremony had to draw as near to the fire as possible, the salt being thrown furtively by the presiding priest, hence called *al-muhawwil*, the frightening or the awe-inspiring one (*Lisān*, articles *nur* and *hul*; Jāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo, 1940, iv, 470 ff.). *Al-muhawwil* is semantically the equivalent of *mukarrīb*, *karīb* in Arabic meaning 'Grief or distress that affects the breath or respiration, that takes away the breath' (Lane, *Lexicon*). Cf. also Arabic *karraḥa al-raḥulu*: *taḡlaḡa al-karīb* (*Tāj*) explained as 'He, the man or the baker, made the *karīb*, the wooden peel, or the poker with which he stirs the fire of the oven, crackle'. The function of a *mukarrīb* seems to have been to arrange alliances or confederacies and look into their affairs. In an organized monarchical state this would probably mean supervising and arranging the allegiance of the tribes to the king, as seems to have been the situation in Qatabān. In this capacity a *mukarrīb* would be junior to the sovereign, although holding a post of great importance. He might have been the 'heir apparent', next in rank to the sovereign; cf. Arabic *walīyy al-'ahd*, said to have been so called because he was in charge of the pledges of allegiance given to the Caliph, *l'annahu walīyyu al-mithāqī alladhī yu'khadhū 'alā man bayā'a al-khalīfa* (*Tāj*, art. 'ahd); it was an office or a term for an office used early in Islamic days and might have been a survival from pre-Islamic usages. But he would still be senior to the other non-sovereign kings; cf. *infra*, p. 10. The situation might have been the same in Saba', although it might be possible to say that in Saba' the king himself acted as his own *mukarrīb vis-à-vis* the tribes who did not fall directly under his sovereignty, or who were not, strictly speaking, a part of the territory of Saba'; cf. *RES*, 3945, I. J. Pirenne, in *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes*, Bruxelles, 1956, a work which unfortunately I have not been able to consult, seems, according to the revue of her work in *Syria*, xxxv, 1958, 140, to hold a somewhat similar opinion about the function of a *mukarrīb*, although she suggests that he was senior to a king and his office could not be identified with that of a high-priest. Strictly speaking, I find myself in agreement with her on the last point.

One final point here about Qatabāni 'kings'. In this inscription we have four of them apparently functioning simultaneously, and that only if YD¹B DBYN bn ŠHR ĠYLN is to be considered as mentioned posthumously. What did the term 'king' in such a case precisely mean? It can be said in answer that they were co-regents, as was often the case in ancient South Arabia,¹ and that the rather large number of four co-regents had parallels in the later Sabaeen kingdom.² I think that the title 'king' in such a case meant primarily that the person thus designated was of princely descent, the title being used publicly to apply to those members of the ruling or reigning family who, either through certain rights of descent within the family circle, or through their own distinction, had some public duties delegated to them. Nominally, such persons would act independently, as if, in a sense, the sovereign had conceded to them a part of his sovereign rights, and so they would be, in as far as the discharge of their specific duties and the enjoyment of their specific rights *vis-à-vis* their subjects was concerned, on a par with the reigning, or sovereign, king. The relation of these 'kings' to the sovereign would be a family matter.³

This point of view has an important effect on the chronology of the 'kings' of Qatabān, and calls for a further reduction of the chronology of the known kings. For not all of them need have been reigning sovereigns, whether alone or as co-regents; and the number of the sovereigns among the known kings of Qatabān must have been smaller than implied by the number of people styled kings in the inscriptions.

Protection and government

The verb *hrg* (form II) and its verbal noun *thrg* have been translated here 'protected' and 'protection' respectively, whereas Rhodokanakis, in similar usages, translated the verb 'verwaltet', and the verbal noun 'Verwaltung', cf. *RES*, 3688, 2 and 4. It seems to me that the idea of protection in this inscription is more specifically clear, although 'administration' or 'government', as rendered by Rhodokanakis, could be used here and may still be the better translation in other cases. 'Protection' must have been the primary and, possibly, the primitive sense, while 'administration' was the more developed one. The idea of prevention or prohibition, and hence protection, seems to have been the basic conception underlying many of the institutions of government in ancient South Arabia. This can be detected from the terms used in this connexion.

Most significant and most clear among them was the M'nean *mn'* in the well known formula *mlk/m'n/wmswd/m'n/bmswd/mn'n*, which should be translated, 'the king of Ma'in and the lords (senators) of Ma'in in the senate (council)

¹ J. Ryckmans, op. cit., 42 ff., 96, 151 ff., etc.

² *ibid.*, 213.

³ cf. *ibid.*, 238.

of government (protection)'.¹ In Arabic *منعه* means: 'he defended, protected, or, guarded him' (Lane, *Lexicon*, Supplement). It is also interesting to compare this passage in *Lisān al-'Arab* under article *حكم وأحكمت*: *والعرب تقول: حكمت وأحكمت: حكمت بمعنى منعت ورددت، ومن هذا قيل للحاكم بين الناس حاكم لانه يمنع الظالم من الظلم . . . قال الأصمعي: أصل الحكومة رد الرجل عن الظلم . . . قال ابن سيده: الحكم القضاء.*

Cf., also, Lane, *Lexicon*, under *حكم*. It should be pointed out here that *حكومة*, used in the above quotation in its classical sense of 'arbitration', has since come to mean 'government' and *الحاكم* has come to mean 'ruler' or 'governor'.

Another Minean term that is worth mentioning here is *hfy/nfs*, translated sometimes 'Seelenrichter', *RES*, 2774, 2, etc., and sometimes 'magistrat', *RES*, 2813, 1, etc., by comparing *الحافي* = *القاضي*.² The basic sense of *الحفو*, according to *Lisān*, is *المنع*; and *حفاه* means 'He refused to give him, . . . and *حفتوه من كل خير*, I debarred him from, or prevented him from obtaining, all good' (Lane, *Lexicon*). The office of *hfy nfs* must have been judicial, that of an arbitrator of litigations, and this can be inferred from a quotation in *Lisān* and other lexica, *ويقال: تحافينا الى السلطان فرفعنا الى القاضي، والقاضي، ويسمى الحافي*, translated in Lane's *Lexicon*, 'Each of us preferred a complaint against the other to the Sultan, and he referred us to the judge (*الحافي*) i.e.

¹ *man'* is used nowadays in South Arabia for the tribal law which concerns itself with the different kinds of safeguards and the various degrees of protection and responsibility that a man, or a group of men, may get, or are entitled to expect, from a chieftain, a clan, or a tribe. The chieftain or clan who extend such protection are said to have *man'a*, capacity or ability to protect themselves and others; cf. E. Rossi, *Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen*, Roma, 1948, 18 ff. Professor R. B. Serjeant, who has kindly drawn my attention to this, has made available to me the fully edited manuscript of *Kitāb al-ādāb wa-l-lawāzim fī ahkām al-man'a*, of Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. al-Faḍl; cf. *BSOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 589 ff. The currently accepted translation of *maud mn'n*, 'hoher Ratschluss', first suggested by Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 67, is hardly acceptable or justifiable.

² *nfs* in the term *hfy nfs* should be translated 'contention', or, 'litigation'. Cf. *نافس* and *منافسة*; *nfs*, in this case, is the infinitive of form III; cf. M. Hofner, op. cit., 81. An arbitrator or judge is described in a quotation: *هو يتولى الحكومات ويفصل الخصومات*: 'He presides over the affairs of judgement and decides litigations' (Lane, *Lexicon*). *nfs* has also this meaning in *RES*, 4176, 10, which reads: *wlkd/hqr/TR'LB/RHBTm/bn/kl'bi/ywm/TR'T/wkprnh/nfsm/* 'and that Ta'lib has prohibited RHBTm from all contending for the superiority of ancestors (on the occasion) of the day of TR'T and prohibited competition'. This must have referred to an undesirable practice indulged in by the tribes at the end of the pilgrimage rites; a parallel practice was the subject of prohibition in Qur'ān II, 200: *فإذا قضيت مناسككم*. Competitions in poetry and even in games were common features of the pre-Islamic meetings at market places which were closely associated with the pilgrimages.

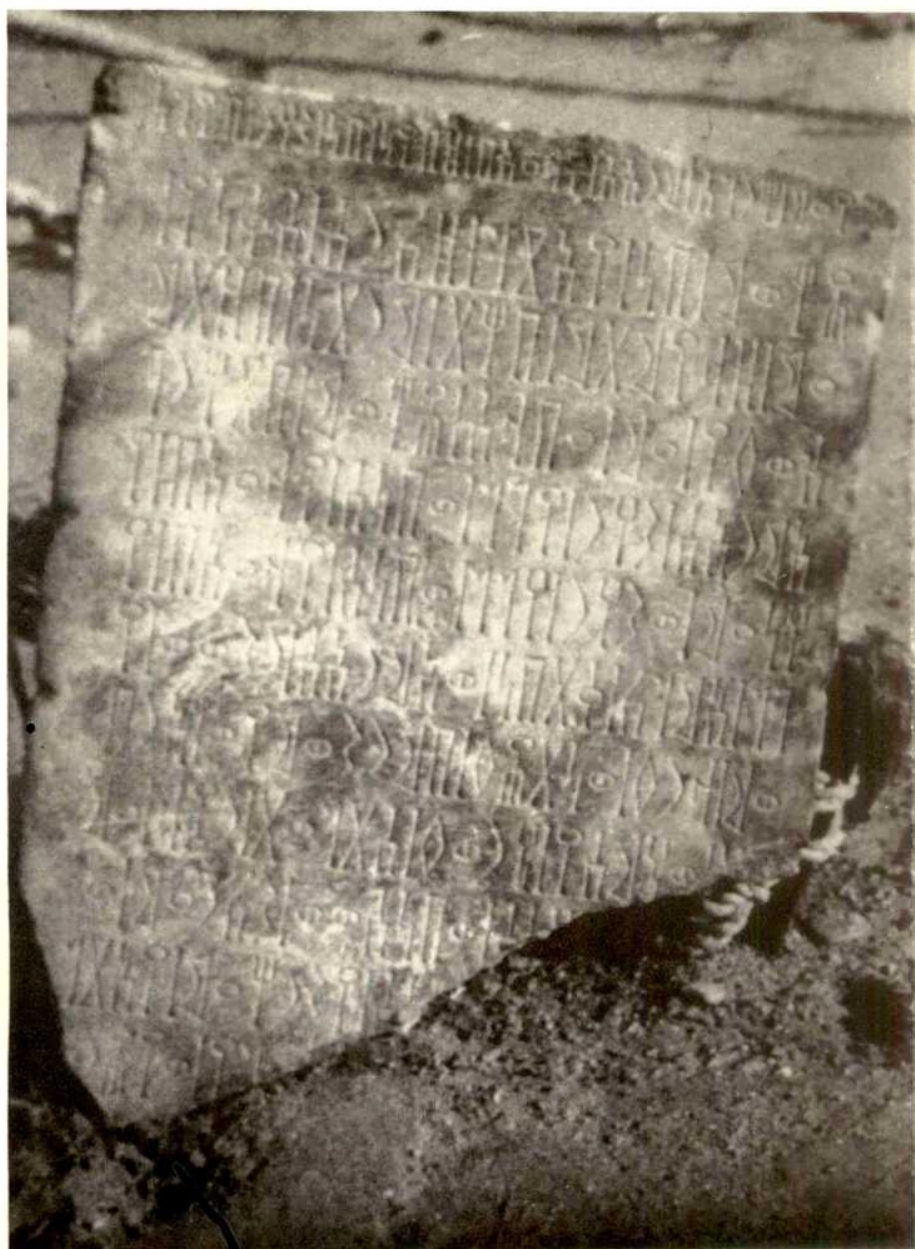
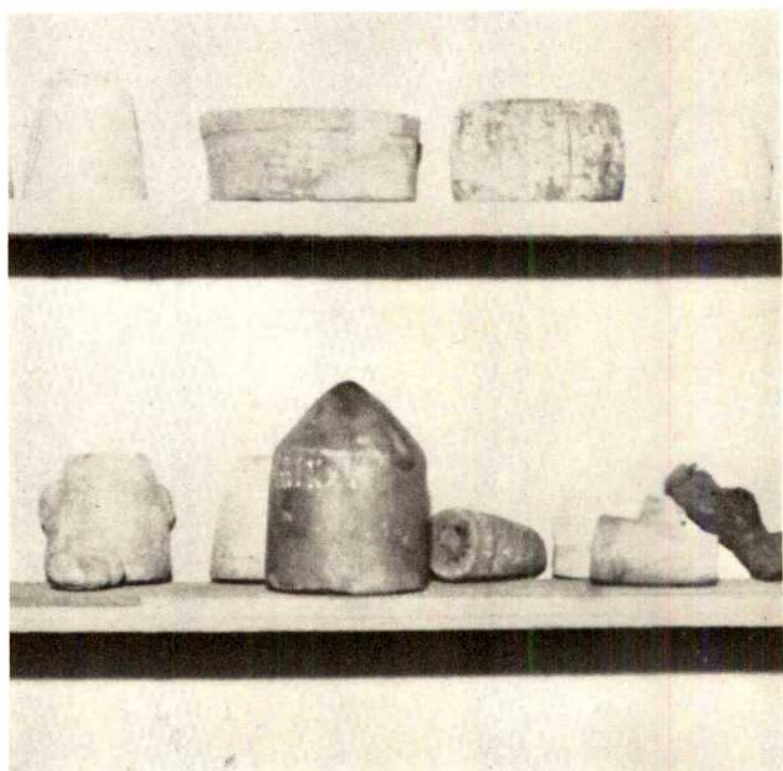
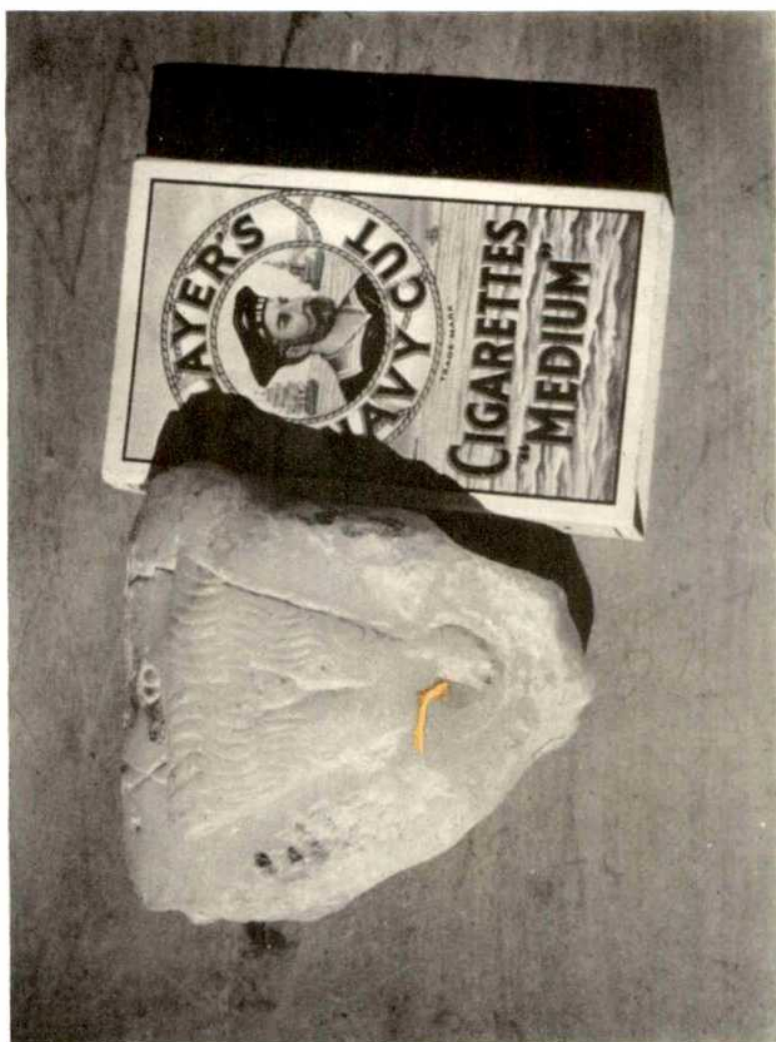


PLATE II







Enlarged $\times 4$

imperative should be translated, 'direct me, lead me'; cf. *Lisān*. Nowadays *وازع* is used as a legal term for 'umpire'.

Government by protection usually took the form of a contractual relation. In this inscription this relation is expressed as *sthot*, in the sense that has been explained in the notes on the text of the inscription.¹ Other terms for this contractual relation are best encountered in the well-known formula *ywm/hwst/kl/gwm/d'lm/wšymm/wdhlblm/whmrm*,² which should be translated, 'when he established all the communities of confederacy and (mutual) responsibility and of covenant and suzerainty'. The corresponding Arabic words to be compared here are *ال* with *'lm*, ذمة with *šymm*,³ حبل with *hlblm*, and الحمراء or *خمر* with *hmr*.

The usage of *ال* and ذمة in the Qur'ān is quite revealing for the context here. Ch. IX, 8-9 reads: كيف يكون للمشركين عهد عند الله وعند رسوله الا الذين عاهدتم عند المسجد الحرام، فما استقاموا لكم فاستقيموا لهم ان الله يحب المتقين. كيف وان يظهروا عليكم لا يرقبوا فيكم الا ولا ذمة . . . لا يرقبون في مؤمن الا ولا ذمة وأولئك هم المعتدون.

More than one specific sense is given by the commentators to *ال* here; but the two main ones are قرابة 'relationship', on the one hand, and عهد 'covenant' and حلف 'alliance' or 'confederacy', on the other; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*. It is possible to infer from the relative obscurity of the sense here, and from the coupling of *ال* and ذمة, in parallelism to *d'lm wšymm*, that this expression might have been a survival of an older formula.⁴

The Qur'ānic use of حبل has already been compared,⁵ but a fuller quotation

¹ It is known in Arabic that *ولا* and *ولي* are interchangeable in some of their basic meanings and usages, especially in the sense of 'to follow', from which spring the sense of *sthot* here and the Arabic *ولا* and *مولى*; cf. for the same sense, *إلحاق* and *إلصاق*.

² For the different interpretations of this formula see J. Ryckmans, op. cit., 66-8; cf. also, A. F. L. Beeston, 'Problems of Sabaean chronology', *BSOAS*, xvi, 1, 1954, 46, n. 2.

³ In the account of Muslim immigration to Abyssinia the Negus is reported to have said to the Muslims 'آمنون آمنون' being explained there as *شوم* 'secure, under protection'. It is added that the word is Abyssinian and another variant version gives it with *sin*; cf. Muhammad Ibn Ishāq, *Das Leben Mohammed's*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858, I, 221. This word, which seems to be the very etymological equivalent of *šym* in the inscriptions, is, otherwise, not known in classical usage where the standard word for it is ذمة. It should not be unacceptable to suggest the equation of *d* with *š*; cf. *dqt*, *CIH*, 462, 1, which has been related etymologically to *سقط* and *gylot*, *RES*, 3946, 5, which has been related to *جشوة*. As for the change of *šym* from a weak middle to the double second of ذمة, cf. ذامه = ذمه 'He blamed him' (Lane, *Lexicon*).

⁴ cf., for the apparent lack of agreement on the precise meaning of *ال*, Tabari, *Tafsir*, Cairo, A.H. 1827, I, 56 f.

⁵ Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 9.

of the text here is instructive : ضربت عليهم الذلة اين ما ثقفوا الا بحبل من الله (ch. III, 102). It is clear from the context of the verse that حبل refers to the covenant of protection given to an otherwise inferior, or insecure, community.

With *ḥmr* one can compare أبناء الحمراء 'an appellation applied to emancipated slaves' (Lane, *Lexicon*). But there may be the slight doubt that الحمراء = الموالي may be a reference to non-Arabs; cf. Lane, *ibid.*, الحمراء: The foreigners (العجم) because a reddish white is the prevailing hue of their complexion'. A very significant and relevant usage in this connexion is الأحمر الذى لا سلاح معه (*Lisān*). To be unarmed, or more specifically, to belong to a class who did not bear arms, amounted to being a member of a protected tribe or class.¹

A number of usages entered by Arabic lexicographers under خمر, and all of them said to be of the dialect of Yaman and Ḥimyar, deserve mention and discussion here. It may be unacceptable, at the first glance, to compare *ḥmr* with خمر, since *ḥmr* exists as a separate root in South Arabian epigraphy whose sense and usage have been recognized, under خمر, as Ḥimyari by Arabic lexicographers.² But the case is not without parallel.³

Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, enters under خمر this part of a tradition : ملكه على عربهم وخورهم, the last word of which is explained as meaning 'the people of the villages, because they were overwhelmed by what was imposed upon them in the way of taxation, (public) expenses, and burdens'.⁴ Although this usage is quite convincing in the way it is entered and explained, yet there remain serious doubts about its authenticity. The tradition here quoted must have been the wording of the document or letter which the Prophet is said to have written or given to the leader of the embassy of Hamdān according to the text given by Ibn Sa'd,⁵ where one reads : وكتب عهده على قومه همدان احمورها وعربها وخلائطها

¹ This is the basic principle for treating non-Muslims as أهل ذمة; cf. also, R. B. Serjeant, 'Professor A. Guillaume's translation of the *Sīrah*', *BSOAS*, XXI, 1, 1953, 10 ff.

² cf. Conti Rossini, *Glossarium*, art. *ḥmr*.

³ cf. *m'rb* which is the equivalent of مغرب 'west', *RES.* 2975, 13, and of مغرب 'lapis quadratus', *CIH*, 540, 77; cf. Conti Rossini, *ibid.*, 212.

⁴ ملكه على عربهم وخورهم أى أهل القرى لانهم مغلوبون مغورون بما عليهم من الخراج والكلف والاقتال، كذا شرحه أبو موسى.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien*, ed. E. Mittwoch and E. Sachau, Bd. I, Theil II, Leiden, 1917, 73.

⁶ J. Wellhausen also edited it وعربها and further translated the passage, 'die Ahmūr und die Gharb und die Mischlinge und Schutzgenossen'; *Skizze und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin, 1889, IV, 179. But it is apparently a misreading of وعربها; cf. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VI, 172, where Hamdān is divided into احمور and أعرب.

ومواليها أن يسمعو له ويطيعوا وأن لهم ذمة الله وذمة رسوله. It is clear from the names of the clans or groups of people classified under *احمورها* that they could not have been a weak or overpowered class or people of the villages and one cannot but accept the interpretation of the word as being a collective form for *حميرى*.¹

Another tradition, according to Ibn al-Athīr,² says that Mu'ādh b. Jabal, another governor of Yaman in the Prophet's lifetime, made this ruling: *من استخمر قوما أولهم أحرار وجيران مستضعفون فله ما قصر في بيته* which should be translated, 'Whosoever has by force enslaved persons the first state of whom had been that of freemen and (insecure, not arms-bearing) protected neighbours, to him shall belong what he has within his household'. *Tāj al-'arūs* says: *استخمره استعبده بلغة اليمن*. The ruling is supposed to refer to a pre-Islamic practice in Yaman which Islam sought to put an end to; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, art. *خمر*.

Ibn Fāris says: *المستخمر بلغة حمير الشريك*.³ Whether this is to be related to *hmr* 'to give, to grant', or to *hmrm* here, I am not sure; still it may be worthwhile to compare *شريك* 'partner', with the Minean usage *šrk mlkn*, *RES*, 3318, 5, giving it the sense of 'a partner in land, a tenant'; cf. a tradition related to Mu'ādh b. Jabal: *أجاز بين أهل اليمن الشريك* which Lane, *Lexicon*, explains as follows: 'He allowed, among the people of El-Yemen, the sharing, one with another (الاشتراك), in land [and app. its produce], by its owner giving it to another for the half [app. of its produce], or the third or the like thereof'. Could it be suggested then that *šrk mlkn* denoted a tenant of the king, a person who did not own or could not own his land? And if *hmrm* could be linked to *šrk mlkn* through this Himyari usage of *مستخمر*, could it be said that *hmrm* referred to people who held their land in tenancy from the state or sovereign? ⁴

Rhodokanakis considers that the tribes were organized on a religious basis by which they committed themselves through an alliance to a certain god. They were grouped into two categories: those according to the god, namely, those of 'l 'god', or *šym* 'patron'; and those according to an alliance of *hbl* or *hmr*.⁵ That an alliance or covenant, by which a community was established or organized, should have been associated with a god or deity we have ample evidence from Islamic and pre-Islamic practices reported in Arabic sources. Of special significance here is Qur'ān xxix, 25, which reads: *وقال*

¹ cf. Landberg, *Glossaire daïnois*, I, Leiden, 1920, 493.

² *al-Nihāyah fī ḥarib al-ḥadīth*, art. *خمر*.

³ Ahmad b. Fāris, *Mu'jam maqāyis al-lughah*, Cairo, 1946, II, 216.

⁴ cf. what was said, in the note on *slwt*, l. 9 above, in relation to *ytlwn*, *CIH*, 518, 4.

⁵ Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 9.

And he said: "You have only adopted, to the exclusion of Allah, idols by way of allegiance between yourselves in this life".¹ And although I do not want to question the religious basis of the organization here, I feel that it is possible to say, in the light of what has been said in the discussion of the formula and its individual terms, that the communities fall into two categories: those bound by alliances or relations between combatant (arms-bearing) equals, i.e. *d'lm wšymn*, and those bound, as inferior non-combatant protected tribes or classes, to lords or masters from the first group, i.e. *dhblm whmrm*. A parallel, I think, can still be seen in the wording of the tradition quoted above: *احمورها وعربها وخلانطها ومواليها*. The first two groups, although not synonymous to *d'lm wšymn*, stand for the superior category, and the third and fourth groups stand for the inferior category. A closely similar organization of tribal life is still extant in modern South Arabia.²

Another term which belongs here is *muddt*, in Minean, and *modt*, in the Sabaean inscriptions of *mukarrib* times, usually translated 'friends' and 'friend' respectively.³ In Qatabāni one comes also across *am*, meaning a kind of contribution to the king or the state; cf. *RES*, 3689, 5. It has been observed that the people termed so in both the Minean and Sabaean inscription belong, in each case, to one tribe: the Mineans to the tribe Ḥab'an and the Sabaean to the tribe Ḥalil.⁴ This has led to the suggestion that the term indicated a dignity of an hereditary nature. But I think that the term referred to a form of bond or relation in which the whole tribe, in each case, stood *vis-à-vis* the king or the state; and the term, when applied to a person or a number of persons, meant that the person belonged to such a tribe.

An examination of the usage of the word مودة in the Qur'ān will, I believe, illustrate what I mean. Qur'ān iv, 72-3, which refers to those who failed to honour their duty in going out to war, reads: *وان منكم لمن يبطئ، فان اصابكم مصيبة قال: قد انعم الله عليّ اذ لم اكن معهم شهيدا. ولئن اصابكم فضل من الله ليقولن، كان لم تكن بينكم وبينه مودة: يا ليتني كنت معهم فافوز فوزا عظيما. وقيل المعنى كأن لم يكن بينكم* In his comment on this verse, al-Qurtubī says: *ويبينه مودة أى كأن لم يعاقدكم على الجهاد*.⁵ This interpretation makes it clear

¹ cf. (عليّ) *علي وثن*, Landberg, op. cit. III, Leiden, 1942, 2902. Cf. *الدّوم على العهد: الوثن والوثن* (*Lisān*). Could it be suggested that *أوثانا* in the verse might have meant 'oaths, or pledges, of allegiance' not given in the name of, or to, Allah, or should one accept the traditional meaning of 'idols' here and consider that the idols, in this case, were symbols of a mutual bond or alliance between those who worshipped them?

² cf. Doreen Ingrams, *A survey of social and economic conditions in the Aden Protectorate*, Eritrea, 1950.

³ cf. J. Ryckmans, op. cit., 35 f., 90 ff.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān*, Cairo, 1937, v, 276.

that مودة here meant an obligation or a contractual commitment to fight for the common cause.

Qur'ān XXIX, 25, reads : *وقال انما اتخذتم من دون الله اوثانا مودة بينكم في الحياة الدنيا*. It is clear here that what is meant is that the idols were symbols of a mutual bond or association between those who worshipped them.¹ Qur'ān XLII, 23, reads : *قل لا اسألكم عليه اجرا الا المودة في القربى*. This verse has been interpreted by the commentators as referring to the love and loyalty due to the Prophet's own relatives and descendants, and it is not difficult to detect in the traditions produced to support this interpretation the all too familiar forgery of such traditions. In the Qur'ān relatives or relations are called *قربى* ذو قربى, or, اولوا قربى; and the only time that *القربى* is used alone is in the phrase *المودة في القربى* in this verse. It refers to the bond or relation, whether through common descent or blood ties, or through some other form of relation bringing people nearer to each other. The phrase in this verse, therefore, should be translated, 'loyalty, or allegiance, in the binding relationship'.²

Another illustrative usage of مودة in the Qur'ān is the one in LX, 1, where the loyalty and allegiance of one of the Muslims was in question.³

In the light of this interpretation of *muddt* and *mudt* in the inscriptions, the Qatabāni *wdm* might have meant the payment or contributions which the people termed *muddt* or the people who enjoyed a similar standing made to the king.⁴

It has been noticed that the terms discussed above which define different forms of government through protection or alliance are absent from inscriptions of the times of the Kings of Saba'.⁵ It might be possible to infer from that that the basic form of government and society in ancient South Arabia, apart from the Kingdom of Saba', was tribal, and that the tribes kept a varying degree of independence or separate personality according to their standing within the whole community or state.

Phallism

When I first received the photograph of this inscription from Major Van Lessen I wrote to ask him whether he had come across, or could discover, something which could be identified as a phallic symbol. He wrote back

¹ cf. p. 16, n. 1 above.

² The chapter from which this verse comes belongs to the Madīna period when it would have been natural to identify allegiance to the Prophet with allegiance to the community or state.

³ cf., for an account of the incident, Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, A.H. 1329, XXVIII, 38 f.; cf. also A. Guillaume (tr.), *The life of Muhammad*, O.U.P., 1955, 545.

⁴ Although *wdm* in the Qatabāni inscriptions occurs only in decrees given to 'rby 'M DLBH, yet it should be noticed that these people are described in these inscriptions as the king's 'dm and not *muddt*; cf. *RES*, 3689-93.

⁵ J. Ryckmans, op. cit., 145, 157.

interpreted as 'offspring'.¹ In any case we would have something that can be associated with fertility. The word 'šq, in l. 3, rendered in *RES* 'l'exploitation', should be translated 'the digging up'; cf. عزق.²

In *RES*, 4189,³ we have seen a case where a bht was offered along with the dedication of a son (or a daughter?). In other cases where more than one bht were offered, but where the context is rather unclear, owing perhaps to the destruction of parts of some of the inscriptions,⁴ it might be possible to say that the number of bht offered on one occasion was equal to the number of the dedicant's children, probably, his sons. Such a numerical relation was suggested by Mordtmann and Mittwoch, who in their discussion of bht, and the possibility of its bearing a meaning similar or near to slm, said, 'In der Inschrift C I 544 heisst ausdrücklich, dass die Dedikanten, ein Elternpaar, für ihre vier Kinder, einen Sohn und drei Töchter, vier goldene Statuen weihen'.⁵

It may be relevant here to compare the ancient Egyptian b'h 'phallus'; cf. A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Aegyptisches Handwörterbuch*, Berlin, 1921, 45, where بوح is compared. Cf. also Coptic 'Bag, Чаg S n n m, penis (?)' and 'Bwog, Bog B n n, an idol at Alexandria destroyed by Michael on 12th Hathor'; W. E. Crum, *A Coptic dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, 47.⁶

APPENDIX

Two Arabic roots, صرب and صرم, have been compared with šrb in old South Arabian epigraphy, and their usages, as explained in the Arabic lexica,

¹ cf. Arabic عصب, where the whole]basic meaning is connected with animal procreation; cf. particularly 'عص:—of a horse or a camel—progeny and offspring' (Lane, *Lexicon*).

² 'šq occurs in many contexts: (a) building, where it is placed before bny, or some derivative form of it, and in such a case it is quite easy to interpret it as 'dug'; cf. *RES*, 4094, 2; 4162, 2; 3553, 2; 3552, 2; (b) along with other building, or constructional, terms, where it is still easy to maintain its meaning as 'dug'; cf. *RES*, 3854, 5, 7; 4328, 10; cf. also the use of Arabic عزق, with which I am comparing it, in this account of some structural work in the Mosque in Makka: «فأمر أمير المؤمنين كاتبه . . . بعزق الوادي كله والمسعى وما حول المسجد . . . فعمل ذلك وعزق الوادي عزقا جيدا حتى ظهرت من درج أبواب المسجد الشارعة على الوادي اثنتا عشرة درجة» (Al-Azraqī, op. cit., 343 f.). Wustenfied renders عزق in this account 'ausgraben'; cf. *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*, 208. The fourth form, s'sq, with possibly the same basic meaning, occurs in *RES*, 4326, 2, 4330, 1, and in the interesting case of *RES*, 3689, 12, where s'sq means 'cut out' or 'cause to cut out' an inscription; cf., in this connexion, fh, used in Qatabāni inscriptions (*RES*, 3691, 7, etc.) for cutting an inscription. In connexion with land and agriculture the substantives 'šqt, *RES*, 4230 C, 1, and 'šq, *RES*, 4194, 3, could mean levelled land, i.e., land that has been dug up and levelled, and we have in Arabic this interesting usage to compare: المزيق المطبئن من الأرض يمانية (*Lisān*).

³ cf. p. 4, n. 1 above.

⁴ cf. *RES*, 3902, 142; *CIH*, 423, 1.

⁵ op. cit., 210.

⁶ See postscript on p. 22.

show close relation to the usages of *šrb* 'autumn' or 'harvest', *CIH*, 174, 3, etc., and *mšrb*, an 'altar for burned offerings', *RES*, 4182 and 4170. The new sense of *mšrb*, 'spout', suggested in the note on *mrtn*, l. 3 above, is to be compared with مزراب.¹

RES, 2869, 5, reads: *whmr/w'r/zln/wmnurt/mqdn/wmšrb/mrtn/wmšrb/ḏn/wwṯhs*. Rhodokanakis translates: 'und sie überzogen mit Asphalt die Unebenheit (Fugen) der Rampe (dieses Turmes); und (sie stellen wieder her) die Feuerstellen des Altarherdes und den Altar für die Myrrhe und den Altar für das wohlriechende Holz und versahen ihn mit einem Baldachin . . .'. It will be noticed that this translation breaks the sequence after *zln*, in order to make what follows, up to *wwṯhs*, governed by a verb to be understood from somewhere in the context of the lines before, although not explicitly expressed anywhere in the previous lines, rather than make the verb *hmr* govern all these substantives. The translation inserts, further, another verb before *wwṯhs*, since the verb inserted formerly after *zln* would not fit. The verb *hmr*, whether finite or infinitive, governs all that follows up to *wwṯhs*, inclusive, and the whole period should be translated 'and they covered with asphalt the slope of the platform (of this tower) and the embankments (sides) of the duct (gutter) and the spout of limestone and the spout of wood and its canopy'. All these are the parts on, through, or over which rain falls and runs. They are naturally the parts which need be covered with asphalt or bitumen.² One other point in favour of this translation is that it dispenses with the supplying of 'wohlriechende' before 'Holz'. But it is necessary to explain and justify the new meanings given to many of the words in this passage.

mnurt/mqdn has been translated 'the embankments (sides) of the duct (gutter)'. It is most tempting to take these two words as meaning 'die Feuerstelle des Altarherdes', especially in the context of *mšrb*, as accepted here before. But *mnurt*, here, is to be compared with منار (pl. منائر) 'a thing that is put as a limit or boundary between two lands made of mud or clay or of earth' or, 'the middle or main part and middle of a road' (Lane, *Lexicon*). So, it either means the raised sides of the duct, comparing the first meaning, or, the bed of the duct, comparing the second meaning. *mqd* is to be derived from *qwd* and not *wqd*; cf. 'قاد: to lead أقاد الغيث: the rain spread wide; قائد:

¹ *zrb* also has a usage which can be compared with *mšrb*, an 'altar for burnt offerings'; cf. this usage of *zrb* reported by Schmidt and Kahle: 'Zarb ist hier der Braten, der in einer kleinen Grube, die eigentlich Zarb heisst, zubereitet wird. Diese Grube, die etwa 20-100 cm. lang, 40 cm. breit und 20-40 cm. tief ist überwolbt man mit Steinen und Erde; innen zündet man ein starkes Feuer an. Auf die niedergebrannte Glut wird das vorher abgezogene, ausgenommene, mit Salz und Pfeffer eingeriebene Tier gelegt und darüber alles Luftdicht verschlossen. Nach einer knappen Stunde ist der Braten gar. Er gilt als besonders wohlschmeckend'. Then the authors say further, 'Vgl. Dalman im *Palestinajahrbuch* VIII (1912), S. 135. (D. schreibt Zarb (Zurb) und kommt bei Beschreibung des samaritanischen Passahfestes darauf zu sprechen)'. Schmidt and Kahle, *Volks Erzählungen aus Palästina*, Göttingen, 1918, I, p. 158, Anm. 7.

² cf. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden, 1955, I, 80.

extending along the surface of the ground ; applied to . . . a dyke ; and the largest of the channels for irrigation of a land ' (Lane, *Lexicon*).

RES, 2980 *bis*, 2-4 reads :

2. . . /w'ully/ws'db/kl/(d)hbl/bmknt/symn . . . gwn
3. bgwbn/(')dm/wblqm/wmsrby/wt'(d)bt/wzltly/mkntn/w'ilyn/wqbly/hbl
4. bsgfh/q . . .

It is translated : ' et il a relevé et restauré tout ce qui avait été ruiné dans la *cella* du patron . . . dans les interstices du bois et du *balag* ; — et les deux autels à holocaustes et la restauration et les deux surfaces surélevées de la *cella* et du baldaquin, et (il restaura tout cela tel que cela était) avant que cela ne tombât en ruine sur la toiture . . . '. It will be noticed here again that the period had to be broken into three parts to make the translation possible. I would first like to point out that the amended reading *t'(d)bt* for Halevy's *t'ibt*, or, in preference to *twtbt* (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, 257) is unjustifiable. For *twtbt*, Hommel's reading, cf. ' ميثب : a rivulet, stream, streamlet ; syn. جدول ' (Lane, *Lexicon*). For *t'ibt*, Halevy's original, cf. ' ثعب : he made it (water) flow forth ' and ' مئعب : a channel, or conduit, for water ' (Lane, *ibid.*). If Halevy's reading is to be kept, then *t'ibt* would be a metathesis of ثعب.

It surely makes for easier translation not to break the period before *msrby*, and still more so, to give up the amended reading *t'(d)bt*. The passage should then be translated : ' and he raised and repaired all that had been destroyed in the patron's hall . . . and in the cracks, with wood and alabaster, and the two spouts, the gutter, and the drainage platform, of the hall, and the canopy and the slabs of stone that had been ruined in the roof . . . '.

wqbly/hbl/bsgfh/q . . . : this phrase was separated, in the *RES* translation, from the rest of the period by an ambiguous clause, because *qbly* was taken for the conjunction *qbl*. But the word is a substantive ; cf. قبيلة ' a platform consisting of several projecting stones of the casing ' (of the mouth of a well).¹ Cf., also, صفائح : قبال : principal bones, namely, the frontal, occipital, and two parietal bones of the head ' (Lane, *ibid.*). قبيلة is actually a synonym of صفيحة in its basic sense, which is a wide or broad and flat slab. The slabs referred to, in this case, must have been the slabs which formed the actual roofing of the building, and which, possibly, were across the stone beams in the manner described by M. Tawfik.² For a similar modern usage in South Arabia, cf. *qubl*, pl. *qibāl* in this passage given by Landberg : ولما يطلع قياس

¹ E. Braunlich, *The well in ancient Arabia*, Leipzig, 1926, 49

² Mohammed Tawfik, *Les monuments de Ma'in*, Cairo, 1951, 12, 16-17, and Plate IX, Fig. 13 ; cf., also, *ibid.*, 18, and Plate XV, Fig. 24, for the description and picture of a spout in limestone.

قصر يطرحون له القبال ويودفون الریم، یعنی یغموه بالشحط فوق القبال والسلق فوق الشحط والطين فوق الكل.

Landberg translates: 'Lorsqu'on a bâti à la hauteur d'un étage, on y pose les solives, on construit la terrasse, c'est-à-dire, on la couvre avec des éclisses sur les solives et [on met] des nattes sur les éclisses et sur le tout on met de la terre'.¹

PS. While this article was in the press, Major Van Lessen communicated to me a photograph, Plate III, which he describes as '“cult object” from Timnā', allaged to come from building near South gate'. It is a symbol of the female organ cut in alabaster. He also sent me a cast in plaster of 'a phallus and testicles' made from 'a glass object in the possession of Capt. John Davis, RAMC'. He does not indicate its provenance, but it seems implied that it comes from the same place; cf. Plate IV.

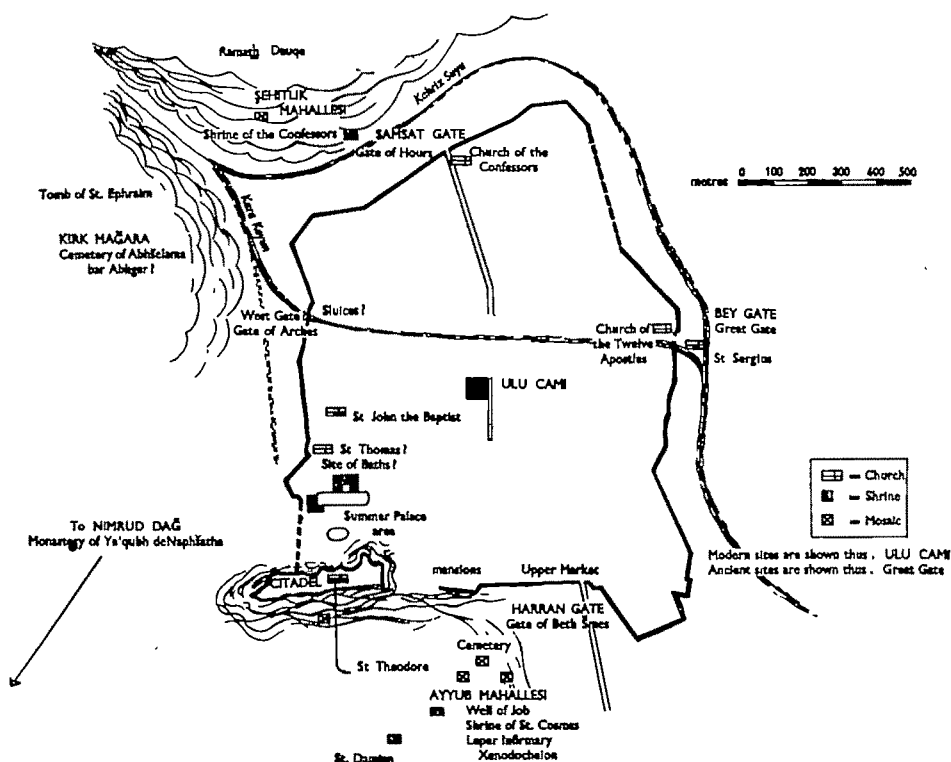
¹ Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale. I. Hadramout*, Leiden, 1901, 396 f.

NEW SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS FROM EDESSA

By J. B. SEGAL

(PLATES I-VIII)

THE inscriptions published here for the first time were discovered in the course of a visit to Edessa, the modern Urfa, during the summer of 1956. My journey was made possible by generous subventions from the Central Research Funds of the University of London and the Pilgrim Trust Fund



administered by the British Academy. It is a pleasure to express here my gratitude not only to those bodies, but also to the officials of the Turkish Department of Antiquities and to the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, whose ready co-operation greatly facilitated our work in the field; and my sincere thanks are due no less to the energy and perseverance of Dr. D. S. Rice and his assistants Dr. Donald Strong and Mr. Michael Ballance, my companions in the rigours of an Anatolian heat-wave.

An account—by its very nature provisional—of the mosaics of the 1956 season at Urfa will appear in *Archaeology* in 1959. In the present article I treat only of the inscriptions themselves. They are found on the walls and mosaic floors of cave tombs, on gravestones, and on stone reliefs. All, except the reliefs, were on their original site outside the city walls when I examined them; the gravestones lay in precisely those places with which the

chronicles of Edessa suggest they would have been associated. With the exception only of No. 2 and possibly of No. 6C, all the inscriptions discussed here are almost certainly pagan. Their location—except, of course, that of the reliefs—is shown on the accompanying sketch-map, for which I am indebted to Dr. Donald Strong; and my analysis of the inscriptions follows, as far as possible, the order of their position on the map. It would be premature to derive definitive conclusions on the topography of Edessa from the location of the burial-places in which these inscriptions were found; this must await the results of the survey of the antiquities of Urfa which I hope to carry out during my next season there.

Letters that are doubtful in the inscriptions are marked in the transcription by a dot below; readers are referred to the accompanying facsimiles.

Principal abbreviations

- Acta mart.* = St. Ev. Assemani, *Acta sanctorum martyrum*, 1748
 Arab. = Arabic
 Aram. = Aramaic
ASD = W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac documents*, 1864, p.
BO = J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 1719–28
 Cantineau, *Gram.* = J. Cantineau, *Grammaire de palmyrénien épigraphique*, 1935, p.
 Cantineau, *Inscr. palm.* = J. Cantineau, *Inscriptions palmyréniennes*, 1930, p.
 Cantineau, *Inventaire* = J. Cantineau and J. Starcky, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, 1930–
 Cantineau, *Nabatéen* = J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, II, 1932, p.
 Caquot, *Tessères* = A. Caquot, in H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, 1955, p.
Doct. Add. = G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai*, 1876, p.
Dura-Europos = P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, etc., *The excavations at Dura-Europos*, 1929–46, p.
 Duval = R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 1881, p.
Eph. = M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1900–15
 Gr. = Greek
 Heb. = Hebrew
 Ingholt and Starcky, *Palmyrène* = H. Ingholt and J. Starcky in D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du nord-ouest*, 1951, p.
 Leroy = J. Leroy, 'Mosaïques funéraires d'Édesse', *Syria*, xxxiv, 1957, p.
 Littmann, *BSOAS* = E. Littmann, 'Nabataean inscriptions from Egypt', *BSOAS*, xv, 1, 1953, p.
 Littmann, *Inscriptions 1899* = E. Littmann, *Semitic inscriptions* (Part IV of the *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900*), 1904
 Littmann, *Inscriptions 1904* = E. Littmann, *Semitic inscriptions* (*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–05 and 1909. Division IV*), 1914–49
 Nab. = Nabatean
 Noldeke = Th. Noldeke, *Compendious Syriac grammar*, tr. A. Crichton, 1904
NSI = G. A. Cooke, *A text-book of North-Semitic inscriptions*, 1903, p.
 Palm. = Palmyrene
 Payne-Smith = R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, 1868–1927
 Phoen. = Phoenician
 Pognon = H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, 1907
RES = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 1900–, No.
 Ryckmans = G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 1934, p.
 Saf. = Safaitic
 Segal = J. B. Segal, 'Some Syriac inscriptions of the 2nd–3rd century A.D.', *BSOAS*, xvi, 1, 1954
 Wright, *Cat.* = W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1870–2

1. The Tripod Mosaic; in Şehitlik Mahallesi, north-west Urfa. No date, but probably to be assigned to the second–third century A.D. From photographs, rubbings, and drawings; see *Archaeology*, 1959.







Photograph by courtesy of Dr. D. S. Rice



Photograph by courtesy of Dr. D. S. Rice



Photograph by courtesy of Dr. D. S. Rice



Photograph by courtesy of Dr. D. S. Rice



Photograph by courtesy of Dr. D. S. Rice

5
 4
 3

cm.

cm.

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100

A

- | | |
|------|--------------------------|
| ܚܝܬܗ | 1. Ḥ ^a rī[thā |
| ܡܝܬܐ | 2. his] mother |
| ܡܝܬܐ | 3. wif[e of |
| ܒܝܬ | 4. GBY |

B

- | | |
|-----------|-------------------|
| ܡܫܝܬܐ | 5. Ḥaphsai |
| ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 6. son of 'Adhōnā |

C

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 7. ^R
'DYT' daughter of
^W |
| ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 8. 'Adhōnā son of GBY |

D

- | | |
|-----------|------------------------|
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 9. This is the tomb |
| ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 10. made by 'Adhōnā |
| ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 11. son of GBY son of |
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 12. ŠLM ^c T |

E

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 13. He who prayed for (?) |
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 14. a child (a), oh Ḥ ^a rīthā (b), |
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 15. (a) tears (?) (b) |
| ܕܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ | 16. a goodly latter end (?) |

L. 1. See below on l. 14 (b). Tesserae are missing at the end of lines 1 and 2.

L. 2. It is also possible to conjecture 'my, ' my mother ' ; in both cases the possessive suffixes are hypothetical. For the inclusion of a mother in an Edessa mosaic, see Leroy, 312, on the mosaic of Belai. There, however, the name of the mother's husband is not given.

L. 3. Either Gabbai or G^ebhai. The latter is the more probable, reduced from *gabhyā*, emphatic form of *g^ebhē*, 'chosen'.

Ll. 5, 6. For other occurrences of these names in the region of Edessa, see Segal, 23, 18.

L. 7. The first letter seems to be ' , and not the end of a *h*. With 'DYT' may be compared Nab. 'DYW, Littmann, *BSOAS*, 9. It is preferable to read 'Awitā. This would be fem. of 'Awidā, a name well known in the early history

of Edessa ; see *Doct. Add.*, , , *ASD*, , , . The name is found in Nab. as 'Awidā, *RES*, 1096, and 'Awidū, *RES*, 1395, etc. ; in Palm. we have 'Awidā, *Eph.*, II, 278 f., 299Ea, *RES*, 1628-30, 2127, 2148, Caquot, *Tessères*, 177, Gr. Αουείδου or Αυείδου, see *Eph.*, II, 85, 338, etc. Note further 'WYDLT, Cantineau, *Inscr. palm.*, No. 76.

L. 10. Or, ' 'Adhōnā made for himself '.

L. 12. Probably to be vocalized, Šelām'atā ; cf. ŠLMLT in Nab., *RES*, 1465 (?), and in Palm., *RES*, 974, Cantineau, *Inscr. palm.*, No. 74, Cantineau, *Inventaire*, II, No. 1, III, No. 13, VII, No. 10, VIII, No. 157, etc.

L. 13. Restoring *b* ; for *b'y* = *b'*, cf. Nöldeke, § 176. It is, however, possible to translate, ' After the child prayed '.

L. 14. (a). Škr could be read here, but gives no sense.

(b) The name is found in an incomplete form in line 1 (A). H^D_RYT^p may be read in two ways. H^adīthā recalls Saf. HDY, Palm. HD^p, Caquot, *Tessères*, 183. I have preferred H^arithā ; cf. Nab. pr.n.m. HRYTW, *Eph.*, II, 75, Palm. pr.n.f. HRT^p, *Eph.*, II, 317. The name is perhaps related to Arab. Hārith.

L. 15. (a) The letters *l n r q d* ' he shall not mourn ' may be traced, but they are too faint to be read with any certainty.

(b) *Y* may be read instead of ' , i.e. *dmyt'*, ' of the dead one ' , or the last letters of *qdmtyt'*, ' former '.

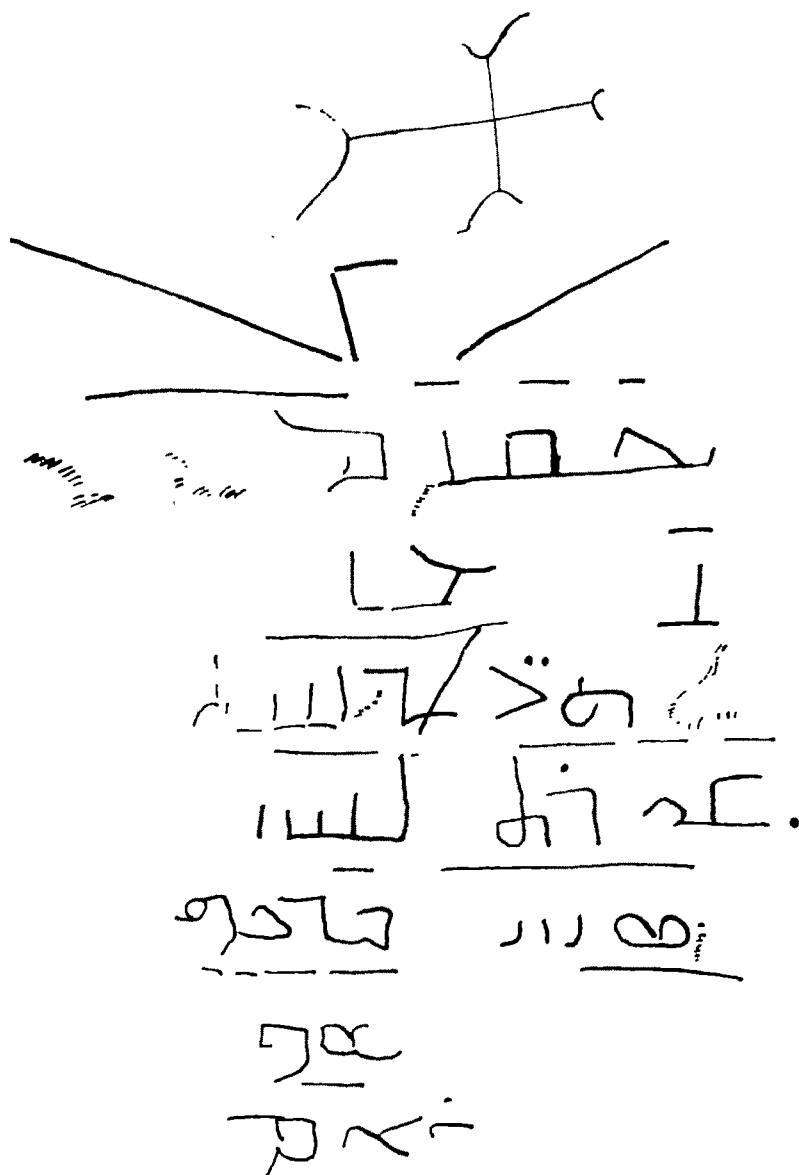
L. 16. The last word seems certain. For the preceding word, *hrt'* (in which *h* is badly written), an alternative reading is *hdt'*, ' new ' ; it is then possible to conjecture the phrase *hywt' hdt' tbt'*, ' a goodly new life ' . This is, however, far from certain, and it would be precarious to attach to it any speculations on the religion of these Edessa pagans.

This is the only one of the Edessa mosaics so far found to bear a text of the character of an elegy. It is unfortunate that the text is largely indecipherable.

2. On the Citadel mount, Urfa ; on, or close to, the site of the Church of St. Theodore (the cathedral church of the Frankish metropolitan of Edessa during the occupation of the city by the Crusaders). The inscriptions are written on two sides of a stone sarcophagus, similar to those found at, for example, Šueib Šahr in the Tektek mountains in the vicinity of Urfa. (I owe this observation to Dr. Donald Strong of the British Museum.) From squeezes, photographs, and drawings.

A

Inscribed on a *tabula ansata* ; cf. Pognon, Nos. 70-1, 101, 105, 111, etc., Littmann, *Inscriptions* 1899, p. 34, Littmann, *Inscriptions* 1904, B, p. 39. The inscription is surmounted by an ornate cross, and there is a line under each row of letters. Dated A.D. 1159-60 ; Edessa had fallen to the Muslims 15 years previously. Plate I.



cms. 0 10 20 30

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| חמור | 1. In the former K(anun)..... |
| א | 2. in the yea[r |
| הנהיג את הרוח | 3. 1471 (a) there appeared (b) |
| לדוד. הנהיג | 4. consolation to the deceased |
| הנהיג את הרוח | 5. I]saa[c.] The blessing of |
| א | 6. a]dd |
| הנהיג | 7. (a) M]ay he arise (from the |
| | dead) (b). |

L. 2. After the name of the month there is room for the words *bryš yrh'* 'at the beginning of the month'. This is, however, conjectural.

L. 3. (a) A *syāmē* sign is written over the year formula.

(b) This reading is probable, but not certain.

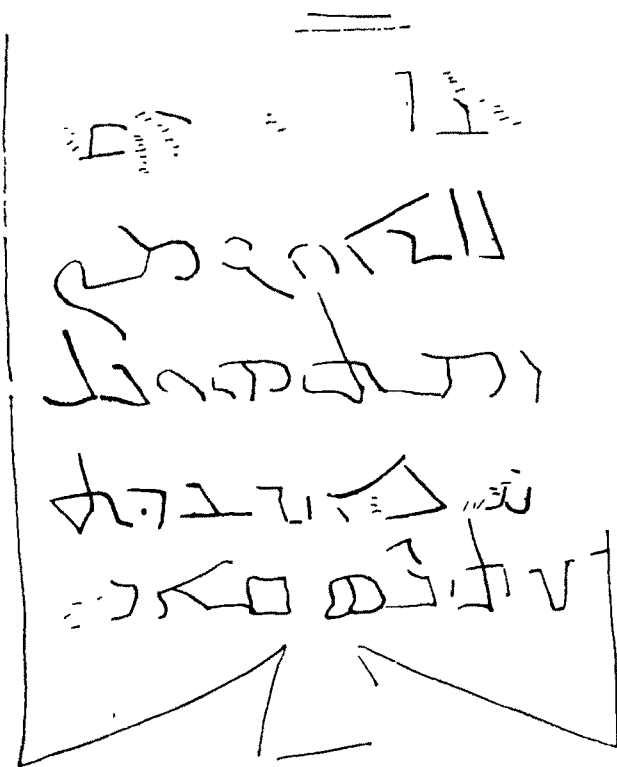
L. 4. There may be an ' at the end of the word. The full phrase is *qurt rwh'*.

L. 7. (a) Perhaps, 'blessings of the Lord may he add (or, 'he added') for us'.

(b) For the use of a ptc. with this sense, see Nöldeke, § 272. I have not found this formula elsewhere.

B

This inscription is also written on a *tabula ansata*, but beginning at the other end. No date; the script, which is different from that of (A), may be later. Plate II.



cms. 0 10 20

- | | | |
|--------|--------|--|
| ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | 8. A good]ly mem[orial(?) |
| ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | 9. to Leon, when |
| ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | 10. he died for |
| ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | 11. the power of the church of |
| ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | ܐܘܪܝܢܐ | 12. the Orthodox (a). May he arise (from the |
| | | dead) (b). |

L. 11. The mason seems to have written $yd'dt'$ by mistake for $d'dt'$.

L. 12. (a) d has been omitted, and inserted later above the line.

(b) The same formula as at the end of (A) (L. 7).

3. On the walls of a cave on the south side of the wadi running south-south-east of, and skirting, the Citadel mount; this cave is not far from the cave of the Family Portrait Mosaic, Segal, 29. The inscription is written in red ink, as in the Harran inscription studied in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 514. No date, but to be assigned to the second-third century on the basis of the script. From drawings.

אבד סבא
 וסבא סבא
 לעבד סבא
 לעבד סבא
 סבא סבא

cms. 0 10 20 30

אבד סבא
 וסבא סבא
 לעבד סבא
 לעבד סבא
 סבא סבא

1. I Rabbai (a) son of 'Abhešlāmā (b)
2. the courier made
3. for myself this tomb,
4. for myself and for my sons and for my heirs,
5. and for GNY² my son.

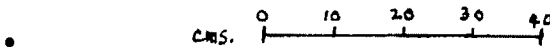
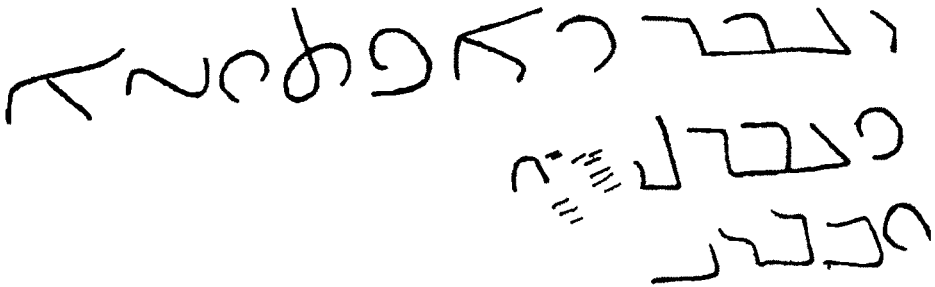
L. 1. (a) This pr.n. is found in Saf., *Eph.*, II, 16, Ryckmans, 196; cf. RB² in Palm., Caquot, *Tessères*, 165. Nab. has both RB², *Eph.*, I, 332D, *RES*, 1095, and RBW, *Eph.*, II, 258V, *RES*, 805.

(b) The name is well known at early Edessa, *Doct. Add.* אבד, ASD אבד, אבד, אבד; cf. the nephew of Ephraim Syrus of this name (or 'Abhsamyā), *BO*, I, 169, B. Cowper, *Analecta nicaena*, 10, etc. Palm. has both the uncontracted form 'BDŠLM², Caquot, *Tessères*, 158, and 'BŠLM², *RES*, 2151. For the contraction $dš > š$, cf. Cantineau, *Gram.*, 39, and Segal, 21.

L. 4. The repetition of 'for myself' occurs also in Nos. 5, 7(B), 8(B), 9(A) below, cf. Leroy, 310, 313. The first 'for myself' is part of the stylized formula of dedication.

L. 5. It is possible to read GLY'; GNY' is more likely. On Palm. GNY and GNY', *Eph.* III, 156k, *RES*, 1081k, see Caquot, *Tessères*, 143. But the name here is probably to be associated not with *gn'*, 'recline', but with the divine name GNY'; cf. H. Seyrig and J. Starcky, *Syria*, xxvi, 1949, 230 ff., and Ingholt and Starcky, *Palmyrène*, 158.

4. On the walls of a cave adjacent to that of No. 3. No date; according to the script it should be assigned to the same period as No. 3. From drawings.



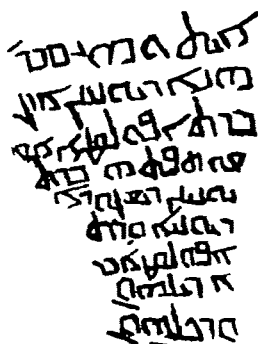
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ 1. Made by 'Aph^tūhā
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ 2. and 'Abhedhallat (?)
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ 3. and Bakrai.

L. 1. For this name at Edessa, see Leroy, 320. It is found also in No. 8(B) below.

L. 2. The last letter (or two letters) being uncertain, the name adopted here is the most probable. It is found in Nab., cf. Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, index, and Ryckmans, 241.

L. 3. A legendary chief of Edessa bore this name, Cureton, *Spicilegium syriacum*, 25, *BO*, I, 418 (but see C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, III, 1900, 206). Bakrū is a Nab. pr.n.m., Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, index; in Palm. it is apparently pr.n.f., *Eph.*, III, 30. The name is frequent in Arabic, and perhaps it is to be associated with Heb. Bekher, Bokhrū, etc., cf. *Eph.*, II, 11, 146.

5. On the wall above the arched recess of a cave situated in the north-west sector of Ayyub Mahallesī, Urfa; this is the south-eastern quarter of the city,



cm. 0 10 20 30

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| | A |
| ܟܝܠܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ | 1. This is the |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܡ | 2. grave of John the Gov(ernor) |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 3. son of Theophylactos (a), sh[ared by (b) |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 4. his spouse the daughter |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 5. of John captain of the troops |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 6. of the Greeks, and (this is the grave) of Th- |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 7. eophylactos the- |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 8. ir son |
| ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ | 9. and of all of them. |

L. 3. (a) I have not been able to identify this John from the chronicles of Edessa.

(b) ܕܝܗܢ is probably an abbreviation of ܕܝܗܢ ܩܘܪܬܐ 'she shared'.

L. 6. This officer is not likely to be a general since this rank would be rendered in Syriac by *'strlyg'* or, more commonly in a strictly military connotation, *'strlyys'*. The composite Syriac word in the present text probably corresponds to a composite Greek word—perhaps *φρούραρχος*, better *χειλάρχος* or *χιλίαρχος*, all of which are found in contemporary texts at Dura, *Dura-Europos*, II, etc.

L. 9. The last word is awkward, but there can be no doubt of the reading. The absence of any Christian formula indicates that this inscription commemorates a pagan burial. There cannot have been a non-Christian governor of Edessa after the middle of the fourth century; the dating of the inscription on this ground accords well with its dating on the basis of the script.

B

A fragment of stone lying beside (A). The script resembles that of (A). From drawings.

- ܠܢܐ... 10. ...*wn*?
ܠܠܐܠܐ 11. s]isters (?)

C

A fragment lying beside (A) and (B). The script appears to be later than both. From photograph and drawings. Plate V.

ܥܢܐ ܦ ————— ܝܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ

- ܥܢܐܬܐ 12. This] i[s ...
ܥܢܐܬܐ 13. ..L.. and
ܥܢܐܬܐ 14. daughters of ...
ܥܢܐܬܐ ܕܬܡܡ 15. dau]ghter of TWM?
ܥܢܐܬܐ 16. the virgin (?)

L. 12. The opening formula probably continues, 'the grave of . . .', as in lines 1-2(A). The same formula is found also on an unpublished Syriac tombstone discovered at Şueib Şahr near Urfa by Dr. Rice in 1956.

L. 13. There must have been two fem. proper names in this line.

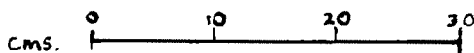
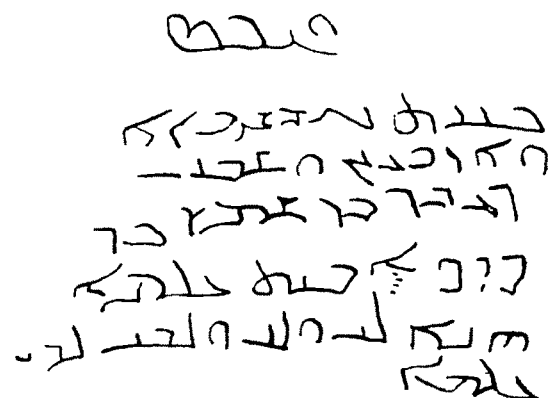
L. 14. *Bnṯh* is preferable to *byṯh*, although the latter is possible. The line must end with the name of a third female occupant of the tomb.

L. 15. This pr.n. seems to occur only here. Is it abbreviated from T'WMP, Thomas?

L. 16. Reading 'lymt' ; there is space for a letter between *l* and *m*. Less likely is 'lmyt', either 'the lay sister' or, in two words, '(pray) for the dead'.

The cross to the right of the first two lines of this text may indicate that it is Christian.

7. The Phoenix Mosaic, on the floor of a cave in Ayyub Mahallesī, Urfa, near No. 6. Dated A.D. 235-6. From rubbings, photographs, and drawings; see *Archaeology*, 1959.



1. Phoenix

B

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| ܕܒܪܗܡܐ ܕܒܪܗܡܐ | 2. In the year five hundred |
| ܕܒܪܗܡܐ ܕܒܪܗܡܐ | 3. and forty seven |
| ܕܒܪܗܡܐ ܕܒܪܗܡܐ | 4. made by (a) Bar Š ^o meš (b) son of |
| ܕܒܪܗܡܐ ܕܒܪܗܡܐ | 5. BRQ' (is) this |
| ܕܒܪܗܡܐ ܕܒܪܗܡܐ | 6. tomb for myself and for myself and for my children as [a |
| ܕܒܪܗܡܐ ܕܒܪܗܡܐ | 7. tomb. |

L. 4. (a) The wording of this inscription would have been better at this point had the conjunction *d* been omitted. That it is inserted is due to the common practice of opening these tomb inscriptions with the word *d'bd* without regard to what follows; see on the inscription from Harraṇ, *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 515.

(b) The name is found at early Edessa, *ASD* ܕܒܪܗܡܐ; see further Leroy, 322, on 'BDŠMŠ'. It occurs also in Palm., *RES*, 449, 2168.

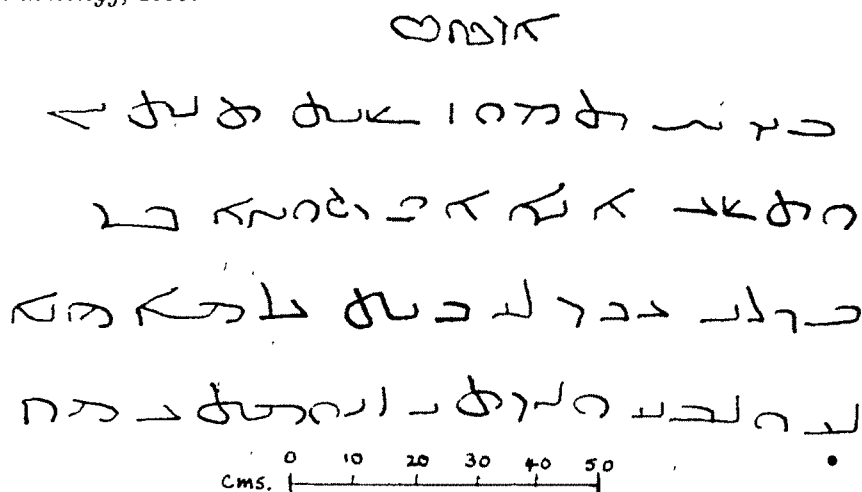
L. 5. The pr.n.m. BRQ occurs in Syriac, *ASD* ܕܒܪܗܡܐ, Bedjan, *Acta mart.*, I,

144, and in Palm., *NSI*, No. 137. Palm. has also the form BRWQ', *Eph.*, I, 206D, 207E, Caquot, *Tessères*, 171; so also the Talmud.

L. 6. The mosaicist has repeated *wly* by error; but cf. above, No. 3, line 4.

L. 7. After *wlby* one would have expected the words *lywmt 'lm*, 'to eternity', instead of the repetition of *lbyt 'lm* from l. 5. This inscription is of inferior quality (cf. the note on l. 4); so, too, is the mosaic, which has, in consequence, fallen into disrepair.

8. The Orpheus Mosaic, on the floor of a cave about 200 yards from No. 7. Dated A.D. 227-8. From rubbings, photographs, and drawings; see *Archaeology*, 1959.



A
1. Orpheus

- B
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ | 2. In the month Tammuz in the year thirty |
| ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ | 3. nine (a), I 'Aphtūhā (b) son of |
| ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ | 4. BRLY (a) made (b) for myself this tomb, |
| ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ | 5. for myself and for my children and for my heirs to eternity. |

L. 3. (a) The figure 500 should be supplied; see above on No. 5.

(b) cf. No. 4, line 1.

L. 4. (a) I do not know of this form of name elsewhere. Gr. *βαρλαας*, *Eph.*, I, 214 represents Barlāhā, a name well known at Edessa; one of the city gates was, according to Procopius, called the Gate of Barlaus—probably after the nearby church of Barlāhā built in the early fifth century in memory of the bishop of that name. Perhaps, instead of BRLY, we should read here BRNY, cf. Palm., *Eph.*, I, 342k.

(b) 'bd in error for 'bdt; the latter form is used when the verb is preceded by the pronoun 'n', cf. *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 516.

9. The Funerary Couch Mosaic on the floor of a cave very close to that of No. 8. Dated probably A.D. 277-8. From rubbings, photographs, and drawings; see *Archaeology*, 1959.

ܠܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

ܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ

CMs, 0 10 20 30 40

A

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖

L. 2. (a) i.e. 'may Allat increase'; cf. Ryckmans, 227. Nab. has the cognate names ZYD'LHY, *RES*, 1189, 1427C, ZYDQWM and ZYDQWMY, Cantineau, *Nabatéen*. The simple forms of the name, ZYD, ZYDW are common in Nab., *RES*, 1117B, 1129D, 1167, etc., cf. Arab. In the present text ZYRLT would make a less satisfactory reading, but cf. Aram. ZYRY, *Eph.*, II, 13, Palm. ZWRW, *Eph.*, II, 79A.

(b) B'LŠMYN or B'LŠMN, and, with elision of *l*, B'ŠMYN or B'ŠMN occurs in Palm., Ingholt and Starcky, *Palmyrène*, No. 61, at Hatra, Caquot, *Syria*, XXIX, 1952, Nos. 24, 25, xxx, 1953, No. 29, xxxii, 1955, No. 49, and in Nab., Littmann, *Inscriptions* 1899, p. 85. BRB'ŠMYN or BRB'ŠMN (see (D) below) is found in Syriac as the name of a martyred bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon in the fourth century, Labourt, *Christianisme en Perse*, 72; cf. also *Acta mart.*, II, 97. We may note the derivation of this name given in the chronicle of Bar Hebraeus in order to avoid its pagan associations or when these associations had been forgotten; it is said to mean 'of the four names', 'rb' šmlyn, *BO*, II, 399, note.

(c) The first line of the text and *wtš'* at the end of the second are shown in brown tesserae, presumably to distinguish these words from the rest of the text, which is in black tesserae. It may be assumed that the date was added at a later time.

L. 4. The reading of this name is certain, but I have not found parallels elsewhere. The conjectured reading 'WYTY, in Egyptian Aram., *RES*, 1794, corresponds to *Aouros*, Avitus, and is unlikely both there and in the present text.

L. 7. Written defectively; cf. QYMY at Hatra, Caquot, *Syria*, xxx, 1953, No. 35. Nab. has QYMW, Littmann, *BSOAS*, 6, and Saf. QYM, Ryckmans, 189.

L. 11. The name has its full form here; see above on line 2 (b).

L. 12. In early Syriac, *ASD* ١.

L. 14. cf. Nab., M'MW, *Eph.*, III, 271, *RES*, 1125B, and the doubtful M'MPN, *Eph.*, II, 75M. It is possible to read here MYMY, cf. *Mημια* at Dura, J. Johnson in *Dura-Europos*, II, 1931, 116, and MYMW (?), Ryckmans, 279.

L. 18. Probably diminutive of Ma'nū; on the latter see Leroy, 321. The letter *y* is not clear, and we should perhaps read simply M'NW, Ma'nū.

L. 20. See above on line 2 (b).

10. Inscription on bust in relief, now standing in the courtyard of the Vatan Okul, Urfa. No date; on the grounds of script it may be assigned to the third century. From squeezes, photographs, and drawings. Plate VI. For facsimile, see Plate VIII.

ܕܝܢ ܕܫܠܡܬ ܕܬܝܬܐ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܪܒܝܬܐ
ܕܕܝܢ

1. Statue of Šalmath daughter of
2. Mārōnā (a) and of Rabbaitā (b)
3. her daughter

IBN ISHĀQ AND AL-WĀQIDĪ

THE DREAM OF 'ĀTIKA AND THE RAID TO NAKHLA IN RELATION TO THE CHARGE OF PLAGIARISM

By J. M. B. JONES

IN al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and in that part of Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra* which deals with Muḥammad's life in Medina and is contained in Ibn Hishām's version of al-Bakkā'ī's recension, there are similar and sometimes identical passages. Since Ibn Ishāq is the earlier of the two authorities, it has been assumed on a plausibly *a priori* basis that al-Wāqidī modelled himself on his predecessor in the arrangement of his material, and drew from him much of the basic warp of his narrative to which he then added his own weft.¹ The tenability of this assumption, so the argument goes, is strengthened by the fact that at no place in his *Kitāb al-maghāzī* does al-Wāqidī mention Ibn Ishāq,² being content to include him amongst his anonymous sources—the use of *وقالوا* in place of an orthodox *isnād* is a distinctive feature of al-Wāqidī's method of presentation.

In the following pages, I propose to test the validity of this charge by an analysis of the accounts of the dream of 'Ātika and the raid of 'Abdallah b. Jaḥsh to Nakhlā, as they appear in al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra*. These two topics are chosen, not only because they are referred to by Wellhausen in assessing the comparative merits of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, but also because they provide homogeneous narrative units of manageable length and can be said to represent the main polarities of subject matter and style in the *sīra*, i.e. the 'märchen' and the historical reminiscence.

Ibn Ishāq introduces the account of the dream of 'Ātika with an *isnād*, albeit an *isnād* of a casual character—'one whom I do not mistrust informed me, on the authority of 'Ikrima, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and Yazīd b. Rūmān, on the authority of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr . . .'.³ al-Wāqidī's version begins with the outwardly suspect *وقالوا*,⁴ his use of which has been one of the

¹ See Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vaki'di's Kitāb al-Maghāzī in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, Berlin, 1882, introd., 11 seq.; Horovitz, *De Wāqidīi libro qui Kitāb al-Maghāzī inscribitur*, Berlin, 1898, 9 seq.; Horovitz, 'The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors', *Islamic Culture*, II, 1928, 518 seq.; Horovitz, article 'al-Wāqidī', *EL*.

² The references to Ibn Ishāq in the editions by von Kremer and al-Shirbīnī of a portion of the text, are interpolations in the MSS hiding an earlier lacuna. (*Wāqidī's history of Muhammad's campaigns*, Calcutta, 1855, 7; *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh*, Cairo, 1948, 7.)

³ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiya*, Cairo, 1936, II, 258. For a discussion of Ibn Ishāq's use of this form of *isnād*, see Robson, 'Ibn Ishāq's use of the *isnād*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXVIII, 2, 1956, 452 seq.

⁴ al-Shirbīnī's edition has *قال* (*Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh*, 19), as does von Kremer's (*Wāqidī's history of Muhammad's campaigns*, 22). The only surviving MS of the complete work has *وقالوا* (B.M. Or. 1617, fol. 9a). The latter accords with al-Wāqidī's conceptual framework for his *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (see below, p. 50).

focal points for the charge of plagiarism.¹ On a cursory examination, the apparent similarity of narrative detail in the two accounts would seem to provide striking justification for this charge. The description of 'Ātika informing her brother al-'Abbās of her dream, the taunting of al-'Abbās by Abū Jahl, and the arrival of Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr to justify 'Ātika's apocalyptic vision, develops along the same lines and appears to use the same phraseology in both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Ishāq. The additional features of al-Wāqidī's narrative, not present in Ibn Ishāq, are regarded by Wellhausen as later accretions to the tale collected by al-Wāqidī to supplement the basic narrative which he obtained from Ibn Ishāq.²

A collation of the two texts, however, and in particular an analysis of their literary styles, produce some challenging reflections on this accepted attitude. The first point to be noted is that the detailed similarity is not as complete as one would initially believe. In those portions of the tale which overlap in Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, the following variants are to be noted :

- (i) (W.)³ قبل قدوم ضمضم مكة⁴ for (I.I.) قبل ضمضم بن عمرو (W.).
- (ii) (I.I.)⁴ بثلاث ليال, omitted (W.).
- (iii) (W.)⁵ فأفرعتها وعظمت في صدرها⁶ for (I.I.) أفزعته⁶.
- (iv) (W.)⁵ فأرسلت⁶ for (I.I.) فبعثت⁶.
- (v) (I.I.)⁶ ابن عبد المطلب, omitted (W.).
- (vi) (I.I.)⁶ له, omitted (W.).
- (vii) (W.)⁵ والله لقد رأيت الليلة رؤيا⁷ قد والله رأيت رؤيا أفزعته⁸ for (I.I.) أفزعته⁸.
- (viii) (W.)⁸ فآكم عنى ما أحدثك به⁹ for (I.I.) فآكم على ما أحدثك منها⁹.
- (ix) (I.I.)⁹ فقال لها وما رأيت⁹, omitted (W.).
- (x) (I.I.)¹⁰ له, omitted (W.).
- (xi) (W.)¹¹ يا ال غدر انفروا إلى مصارعكم في ثلاث فصرخ بها ثلاث مرّات¹² for (I.I.)¹² ألا انفروا يا لغدر لمصارعكم في ثلاث¹².
- (xii) (W.)¹³ فبيناهم حوله مثل¹⁴ for (I.I.)¹⁴ إذ مثل¹⁴.

¹ Horowitz, *Islamic Culture*, II, 1928, 518.

² *Muhammed in Medina*, introd., 12

³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, 1. 3 Where possible, references are given to that portion of the complete text edited by al-Shirbīnī. If his text happens to be incomplete, reference is made to the British Museum MS (Or. 1617).

⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 258, 1. 12.

⁵ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, 1. 4.

⁶ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 258, 1. 13.

⁷ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 258, 1. 14.

⁸ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, 1. 6.

⁹ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 258, 1. 15 Var. مى (ibid., note 5).

¹⁰ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 258, 1. 16.

¹¹ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, 1. 7.

¹² *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, 1. 1.

¹³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, 1. 9.

¹⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, 1. 2.

- (xiii) (W.) ¹ ثم صرخ بمثلها ثلاثاً, for (I.I.) ² ثم صرخ بمثلها, omitted (W.).
- (xiv) (I.I.) ² ثلاثاً, omitted (W.).
- (xv) (W.) ³ ثم صرخ بمثلها ثلاثاً, for (I.I.) ⁴ ثم صرخ بمثلها, omitted (W.).
- (xvi) (W.) ³ من أبى قيس, omitted (I.I.).
- (xvii) (W.) ⁵ ولا دار من دور مكة, omitted (I.I.).
- (xviii) (W.) ⁶ قال العباس والله ⁷ قالوا فقال أخوها إن هذه لرؤيا, for (I.I.) ⁷ قال العباس والله ⁷ قالوا فقال أخوها إن هذه لرؤيا, omitted (W.).
- (xix) (I.I.) ⁷ وأنت فاكتمها ولا تذكرها لأحد, omitted (W.).
- (xx) (W.) ⁸ ثم خرج العباس فلقى, for (I.I.) ⁹ ثم خرج العباس فلقى, omitted (W.).
- (xxi) (I.I.) ¹⁰ إياها, omitted (W.).
- (xxii) (I.I.) ¹⁰ فذكرها الوليد لأبيه عتبة, omitted (W.).
- (xxiii) (W.) ¹¹ بمكة, for (I.I.) ¹⁰ بمكة, omitted (W.).
- (xxiv) (I.I.) ¹⁰ حتى تحدثت به قريش في أندية, omitted (W.).
- (xxv) (W.) ¹¹ قال, for (I.I.) ¹² قال العباس, omitted (W.).
- (xxvi) (W.) ¹¹ لأطوف, for (I.I.) ¹² لأطوف, omitted (W.).
- (xxvii) (W.) ¹¹ وأبو جهل بن هشام, for (I.I.) ¹² وأبو جهل بن هشام, omitted (W.).
- (xxviii) (W.) ¹³ قعود يتحدثون قعوداً, for (I.I.) ¹⁴ قعود يتحدثون قعوداً, omitted (W.).
- (xxix) (W.) ¹³ فقال أبو جهل ما رأيت عاتكة هذه فقلت وما ذاك, for (I.I.) ¹⁴ فلما رأي أبو جهل قال يا أبا الفضل إذا فرغت من طوافك, فأقبل إلينا فلما فرغت أقبلت حتى جلست معهم فقال لي أبو جهل يا بني عبد المطلب متى حدثت فيكم هذه النبئة قال قلت وما ذاك قال تلك الرؤيا التي رأيت عاتكة قال فقلت وما رأيت, omitted (W.).
- (xxx) (I.I.) ¹⁵ قد, omitted (W.).

¹ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 9.² *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 10.³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 12.⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 6.⁵ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 8.⁶ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 18.⁷ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 19.⁸ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 16.² *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 3.⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 4.⁶ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 16.⁸ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 19, l. 17.¹⁰ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 9.¹² *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 11.¹⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 259, l. 12.

- (xlvii) (I.I.)¹ أتعرّضه ليعود لبعض ما قال فأقع به, omitted (W.).
- (xlviii) (W.)² نحو باب بني سهم, for (I.I.)³ نحو باب المسجد.
- (xlix) (I.I.)⁴ في نفسي, omitted (W.).
- (l) (W.)⁵ قال وإذا, for (I.I.)⁶ وإذا.
- (li) (W.)³ ما به, for (I.I.)⁴ ما له.
- (lii) (W.)² فرق منّي أن أشاتمّه, for (I.I.)⁴ فرقاً من أن أشاتمّه.
- (liii) (I.I.)⁶ قال, omitted (W.).
- (liv) (I.I.)⁷ الغفاريّ, omitted (W.).
- (lv) (W.)⁸ وهو يقول يا معشر قريش يا آل لؤي بن غالب اللطيمة أموالكم قد عرض لها محمد في أصحابه الغوث والغوث والله ما أرى أن تدركوها. وضمضم ينادى بذلك بيطن الوادي قد جدّع أذني بعيره وهو يصرخ ببطن⁷ (I.I.)⁷ وشقّ قبيصه قبلاً ودبراً وحوّل رحله الوادي وافقاً على بعيره قد جدّع بعيره وحوّل رحله وشقّ قبيصه وهو يقول يا معشر قريش اللطيمة اللطيمة أموالكم مع أبي سفيان قد عرض لها محمد في أصحابه لا أرى أن تدركوها الغوث الغوث.

Considering the question from a purely general standpoint, it may well be asked whether the number of variants alone is consistent with direct plagiarism. Furthermore, if *وقالوا* is here to be regarded as a device covering al-Wāqidi's indebtedness to Ibn Ishāq, the use of synonyms (iv, xxiii, xxxvii, xlviii, li), the change or omission of prepositions, pronouns, or particles (vi, viii, x, xxi, xxvi, xxx, xli), or an alteration in the word sequence (xxviii, xxxiii, lv), would seem to be singularly naïve methods of obscuring the act of plagiarism.

I believe that it is necessary to approach the problem from a different angle by examining the idiosyncracies of style and thematic presentation which characterize the two versions, idiosyncracies which are themselves reflected in the variants. The first conclusion to emerge from such an examination is that Ibn Ishāq's version is undoubtedly the less crude of the two. Notably lacking are the jerkiness, the short, broken sentences, the quick change of person without identifying the speaker and the apparent ellipses, which led Wellhausen to complain that al-Wāqidi was only intelligible at this point by referring to Ibn Ishāq.⁹ The main characteristics of the two accounts can be illustrated from the list of variants given above. For example, lacking

¹ *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 260, l. 12.

² *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 260, l. 13.

³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 20, l. 18.

⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 260, l. 16.

⁵ *Muhammed in Medina*, introd., 12.

⁶ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 20, l. 17.

⁷ *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 260, l. 14.

⁸ *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 260, l. 15.

⁹ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 20, l. 18.

the explanatory gloss to be found in Ibn Ishāq's version (xxii), the close cause and effect of al-'Abbās telling the story to al-Walīd b. 'Utba and its dissemination throughout Mecca is weakened. Similarly, the dialogue between Abū Jahl and al-'Abbās is developed much more logically in Ibn Ishāq (xxix). In al-Wāqidi proper names are shortened (v, xxvii, liv), the verb is substituted for the full name of the subject (xx, xxv, xxxvi), and, in a revealing example of *iltifāt*, the 1st Person Singular is found instead of the 3rd (vii).

No less significant are the instances where al-Wāqidi contains elaborations not found in Ibn Ishāq—I refer to elaborations of detail in those portions of the texts which overlap and not to accretional themes such as the testimony of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.¹ A notable feature of al-Wāqidi's narrative is the more frequent repetition of certain phrases and the emphasis on a number (xi, xiii, xv, and, particularly, xlv). The use of such devices in the climactic building up of a dramatic situation is a feature of the technique of the *qāṣṣ*, or professional story-teller,² and here may lie the key to the understanding of the difficulties noted by Wellhausen in al-Wāqidi's narrative. Seeming anomalies such as abrupt sentence structure, the apparent ellipses, the use of *قال* in place of a person's name even where confusion may thus result, the abbreviation of personal names, the incidence of *iltifāt*, and the repetition and emphasis on numbers—all these are perfectly in keeping with an oral and semi-dramatized presentation. It would appear that we have in al-Wāqidi a version which contains more of the distinctive features of *qāṣṣ* style than that of Ibn Ishāq. This would be an inexplicable paradox if looked at from the customary viewpoint of intentional plagiarism on al-Wāqidi's part, but the conclusion to be drawn is an obvious one—that al-Wāqidi's version represents the *qisṣa* of his own time, faithfully recorded even to the point of preserving the literary shortcomings endemic in *qāṣṣ* style.

By definition, such a tale as the dream of 'Ātika with its strong dramatic qualities and supernatural overtones, would be a part of the stock-in-trade of the professional story-teller. Both Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi draw freely upon *qāṣṣ* material and it can be presumed that it is a common repertoire, rather than plagiarism on al-Wāqidi's part, which explains the similarities in their two versions of the tale of 'Ātika's dream. That is not to suggest that the *qisṣa* is an immutable form—its capacity for organic growth is shown in the tale under discussion by the additional elements found only in al-Wāqidi, such as 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's claim, *mirabile dictu*, to have seen pieces of the rock which figured in 'Ātika's dream³ and in the presentation of al-'Abbās's brush with Abū Jahl in a more favourable light.⁴ What I do suggest is that the dramatic outlines of such a tale and much of the language in which it was presented were already formalized by the second century A.H.—i.e. prior to

¹ *Maḡhāzī Rasūl Allāh*, 19, 1. 12.

² See Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, London, O.U.P., 1955, introd., xxiv.

³ *Maḡhāzī Rasūl Allāh*, 19, 1. 12, seq.

⁴ *Maḡhāzī Rasūl Allāh*, 19, 1. 23, seq.

Ibn Ishāq. This is confirmed by a reference in Ibn Kathīr to the lost *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, who died before Ibn Ishāq in A.H. 141. When discussing the dream of 'Ātika and having presented Ibn Ishāq's version, he declares that 'Mūsā b. 'Uqba mentioned the dream of 'Ātika in much the same form as Ibn Ishāq'.¹

So far, I have tried to indicate that the similarity between Ibn Ishāq's account of 'Ātika's dream and that of al-Wāqidi may be due, not to plagiarism, but to the fact that they were drawing upon a common reservoir of *qāṣṣ* material. If the charge against al-Wāqidi is to be contested further, it is clear that his use of *وقالوا* calls for analysis and explanation. In the attempt to evaluate some of the principles which lie behind al-Wāqidi's use of this device, the account of the raid to Nakhla provides a convenient theme, contrasting as it does in subject-matter, style, and method of presentation with that of the dream of 'Ātika. The Arabic text which follows is being made available for the first time, since that portion of the work edited by von Kremer and al-Shirbīnī is corrupt at this point.² An itemized presentation has been adopted as an aid to the analysis.

A ثم سرية أميرها عبد الله بن جحش إلى نخلة، ونخلة وادي بستان ابن عامر، في رجب على رأس سبعة عشر شهراً.

B قالوا: قال عبد الله بن جحش: دعاني رسول الله صلعم حين صلى العشاء فقال: «واف مع الصبح معك سلاحك أبعتك وجهاً». قال: فوافيت الصبح وعلى سيني وقوسي وجعيتي ومعى درقتي، فصلاني النبي صلعم بالناس الصبح ثم انصرف فيجدني قد سبقته واقفاً عند بابه، وأجد نفرأ معي من قريش. فدعا رسول الله صلعم أباي بن كعب فدخل عليه، فأمره رسول الله صلعم وكتب كتاباً، ثم دعاني فأعطاني صحيفة من أديم خولاني فقال: «قد استعملتك على هؤلاء النفر، فامض حتى إذا سرت ليلتين فانشر كتابي ثم امض لما فيه». قلت: يا رسول الله، أي ناحية؟ فقال: «اسلك النجدية، تؤم ركية».

C قال: فانطلق حتى إذا كان ببئر ابن ضميرة نشر الكتاب فقرأه فإذا فيه: «سر حتى تأتي بطن نخلة على اسم الله وبركاته، ولا تكرهن أحدًا من أصحابك على المسير معك، وامض لأمرى فيمن تبعك حتى تأتي بطن نخلة فترصد بها غير قريش». فلما قرأ عليهم الكتاب قال: لست مستكرهاً منكم أحدًا، فمن كان يريد الشهادة فليمض³ لأمر رسول الله صلعم، ومن أراد الرجعة فمن الآن. فقالوا أجمعون: نحن

¹ *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, Cairo, 1932, iv, 258.

² Von Kremer's text is defective from p. 7, l. 9, to p. 9, l. 2; al-Shirbīnī's from p. 7, l. 14, to p. 8, l. 22. The version given here is based upon the British Museum MSS Or. 1617 and Add. MS 20737.

³ Var. فليمش فاني ماض (Add. MS 20737).

سامعون ومطيعون لله ولرسوله ولك، فسر على بركة الله حيث شئت. فسار حتى جاء نخلة فوجد عيراً لقريش فيها عمرو بن الحضرمي، والحكم بن كيسان المخزومي، وعثمان بن عبد الله بن المغيرة المخزومي، ونوفل بن عبد الله المخزومي، فلما رأوهم أصحاب العير هابوا وأنكروا أمرهم، فحلق عكاشة رأسه من ساعته ثم أوفى ليظمن القوم.

D قال عامر بن ربيعة: فحلقت رأس عكاشة بيدي، وكان رأى واقد بن عبد الله وعكاشة أن يغيروا عليهم ويقولوا: هم عمار نحن في شهر حرام. فأشرف عكاشة فقال للمشركون بعضهم لبعض: لا بأس قوم عمار، فأمنا في أنفسهم، وقيدوا ركابهم وسرحوها، واصطنعوا طعاماً. وتشاور أصحاب رسول الله صلعم في أمرهم، وكان آخر يوم من رجب ويقال أول يوم من شعبان، فقالوا: إن أخرتم عنهم هذا اليوم دخلوا الحرم فامتنعوا وإن أصبتموهم ففي الشهر الحرام. وقال قائل: لا ندرى¹ أمن الشهر الحرام هذا اليوم أم لا. وقال قائل: لا نعلم هذا اليوم إلا من الشهر الحرام، ولا نرى أن تستحلوه لطمع أشفيتم عليه. فغلب على الأمر الذين يريدون عرض الدنيا، فشجع القوم فقاتلوهم، فخرج واقد بن عبد الله يقدم القوم، قد أنبض قوسه وفوق بسهمه، فرمى عمرو بن الحضرمي، وكان لا يخطيء رميته بسهم فقتله، وشد القوم عليهم فاستأسر عثمان بن عبد الله بن المغيرة وحكم بن كيسان، وأعجزهم نوفل بن عبد الله بن المغيرة، واستاقوا العير.

E حدثنا² محمد قال: حدثنا محمد قال: حدثني علي بن يزيد بن عبد الله بن وهب بن زمة الأسدي، عن أبيه، عن عمته، عن أمها كريمة ابنة المقداد، عن المقداد بن عمرو، قال: أنا أسرت الحكم بن كيسان فأراد أميرنا ضرب عنقه فقلت: دعه تقدم به على رسول الله صلعم. فقدمنا به على رسول الله صلعم فجعل رسول الله صلعم يدعو إلى الإسلام فأطال رسول الله صلعم كلامه فقال عمر بن الخطاب: تكلم هذا يا رسول الله؟ والله، لا يسلم هذا آخر الأبد، دعني أضرب عنقه ويقدم إلى أمه الهاوية. فجعل النبي لا يقبل على عمر حتى أسلم الحكم، فقال عمر: فما هو إلا أن رأيته قد أسلم، وأخذني ما تقدم وتأخر وقلت: كيف أردت على النبي صلعم أمراً هو أعلم به مني، ثم أقول إنما أردت بذلك النصيحة لله ولرسوله؟ قال عمر: فأسلم والله فحسن إسلامه، وجاهد في الله حتى قتل شهيداً يوم بئر معونة، ورسول الله صلعم راض عنه ودخل الجنان.

F حدثنا محمد قال: حدثنا الواقدي قال: وحدثني محمد بن عبد الله، عن الزهري،

¹ Var. لا يدري (Add. MS 20737).

² i.e. Muhammad b. Shujā' al-Thaljī, from Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi.

قال: قال الحكم: وما الإسلام؟ قال: قال: «تعبّد الله وحده لا شريك له، وتشهد أن محمداً عبده ورسوله». قال: قد أسلمت. فالتفت النبيّ صلعم إلى أصحابه فقال: «لو أطعتم فيه أنفأ فقتلته دخل النار».

G قالوا: واستاقوا العير وكانت العير فيها خر وأدم وزيت جاءوا به من الطائف، فقدموا به على النبيّ صلعم. فقالت قريش قد استحلّ محمّد الشهر الحرام فقد أصاب الدم والمال، وقد كان يحرم ذلك ويعظمه. فقال من يردّ عليهم: إنما أصبتم في ليلة من شعبان. وأقبل القوم بالعير فلما قدموا على رسول الله صلعم وقف العير فلم يأخذ منها شيئاً، وحبس الأسيرين وقال لأصحابه: «ما أمرتكم بالقتال في الشهر الحرام».

H فحدّثنى ابن أبي سبرة، عن سليمان عن سجين، قال: ما أمرهم رسول الله بالقتال في الشهر الحرام ولا غير الشهر الحرام، إنما أمرهم أن يتحسّسوا¹ أخبار قريش. I قالوا: وسقط في أيدي القوم، وظنّوا أن قد هلكوا، وأعظم ذلك من قدموا عليه، فعنفوهم ولا موهم، والمدينة تفور فور المرجل. وقالت اليهود: عمرو بن الحضرميّ قتله واقد بن عبد الله التميميّ، عمرو عمرت الحرب، الحضرميّ حضرت الحرب، وواقد وقدت الحرب. قال ابن واقد: قد تفاعلوا بذلك فكان ذلك من الله على يهود.

J ² قالوا وبعثت قريش

K ⁸ فحدّثنى أبو بكر

L ⁴ قالوا وكان من قول

M ⁶ فحدّثنى عمر بن عثمان الجعفيّ

N ⁶ فحدّثنى محمّد بن يحيى بن سهل

O ⁷ قالوا ونزل القرآن

P ⁸ فحدّثنى معمر

Q ⁹ فحدّثنى أبو بكر بن أبي سبرة

R ¹⁰ وفي تلك السرية

S ¹¹ تسمية من خرج

¹ Var. (Add. MS 20737). يتحسّسوا.

² *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 8, l. 22. The text of al-Shirbīnī's edition is complete from this point and reference is thus made to the opening words of each passage only.

³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 9, l. 1.

⁴ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 9, l. 15.

⁵ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 9, l. 23.

⁶ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 10, l. 9.

⁷ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 10, l. 13.

⁸ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 9, l. 12.

⁹ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 9, l. 20.

¹⁰ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 10, l. 6.

¹¹ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 10, l. 11.

A, in the above list, represents al-Wāqidi's customary method of introducing a new topic by referring to the date and often to the geographical location of the place involved. S is his list of participants and his own glosses also appear in I, K, O, Q. No source is referred to for C, and D and R have a single authority only. E, F, K, M, N, P, and Q, have normal *isnāds*.

It will be noticed that B, G, I, J, L, and O make use of the formula قالوا. Of these, B has no parallel in Ibn Ishāq, its gist being referred to very briefly in the introductory sentences.¹ In the case of G, only the sentences beginning فقالت قريش and فقال من يرد have approximate equivalents in Ibn Ishāq²; the Prophet's words ما أمرتكم, etc., are found in both sources.³ The doggerel in I appears in a slightly different form in Ibn Ishāq.⁴ The Prophet's words in J⁵ are also found in Ibn Ishāq with slight variants and in a much fuller context.⁶ L does not appear in Ibn Ishāq and O, apart from the quotations from the Qur'ān, is different in form from the parallel passage in Ibn Ishāq.⁷ It is apparent that al-Wāqidi is using قالوا in places where no close similarity between his text and that of Ibn Ishāq can be said to exist. If this is simply regarded as a device to hide a plagiarized passage, are we then to assume that plagiarism other than from Ibn Ishāq has occurred at this point? The idea is clearly fallacious, and we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the seemingly random interspersing of قالوا amongst the sequence of orthodox *isnāds* and unprefaced statements.

The first incidence of the formula in al-Wāqidi's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* is found in his own preface to the text itself. After enumerating some 23 of his main sources he goes on to say . . . الذي حدثنوني قالوا.⁸ The reference to written material is very important for it suggests the opportunity for comparison and collation of a range of sources. I am of the opinion that when al-Wāqidi uses قالوا, or to give it a convenient title, the 'collective *isnād*', he is not using it haphazardly in a naive attempt to hide a plagiarized passage, but is referring to the majority opinion amongst his original sources. That being so, قالوا in B, G, I, J, L, and O above, would be a repetition of the formula already used in his prefatory acknowledgment. This explains the attitude of the early critics towards him—it was not simply his use of the collective *isnād* which aroused censure, for Ibn Ishāq made use of the same device⁹ and, according to Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, so did al-Zuhrī.¹⁰ It was, presumably, due to the fact that al-Wāqidi used it extensively and as an essential part of the conceptual framework of his *Kitāb al-maghāzī*. The point is well illustrated by a further account on the authority of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī—I heard al-Musayyibī say: "We said to

¹ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 252, lines 3, 5.

² *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 254, l. 10.

³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 8, l. 23.

⁴ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 254, l. 20.

⁵ *al-Sū'at al-nabawīya*, II, 257.

⁶ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 254, l. 13.

⁷ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 254, l. 17.

⁸ *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya*, II, 255, l. 11.

⁹ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allah*, 3, l. 18.

¹⁰ Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-athar*, Cairo, 1937, I, 20.

al-Wāqidi: You group together the *rijāl* and you say so and so related to us and you come with a single text instead of relating the *ḥadīth* of each man separately”¹

In discussing the question of possible plagiarism of Ibn Ishāq it is necessary here, as in the case of the account of ‘Ātika’s dream, to refer to the surviving fragments of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba. The readiness with which plagiarism is assumed to have taken place is possibly a reflection of an exaggerated assessment of the innovatory and individualistic element in Ibn Ishāq’s work. The quotations in Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās from the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba indicate that his version was very close to that of Ibn Ishāq—‘and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba and Muḥammad b. ‘Ā’idh mentioned the like of that [concerning Nakhlā]’.² There are differences of detail in the three sources—for example, Mūsā b. ‘Uqba’s version mentions Safwān b. Bayḍā’ and ‘Āmir b. Iyās among the raiding party.³ Both Ibn Ishāq⁴ and al-Wāqidi⁵ describe the reading of the Prophet’s letter, and record that the members of the party were given the choice of going on or dropping out and that they all elected to follow ‘Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh to Nakhlā. According to Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, when the Prophet’s letter was read, Sa’d b. Abi Waqqāṣ and ‘Utba b. Ghazwān turned back from Buḥrān while the others went on. Some parts of the narrative are found in one source only, such as the account of the ransom in al-Wāqidi⁶ and the poem in Ibn Ishāq.⁷ In general, however, there is obviously a large degree of uniformity in the three accounts of the event. To say that al-Wāqidi is borrowing from Ibn Ishāq without acknowledgment is an unwarranted assumption in such circumstances as these. Ibn Ishāq is clearly using material shared by Mūsā b. ‘Uqba and we must, accordingly, look beyond both for the nodal point in the early development of the *sīra-maghāzī* literature. A more acceptable theory would be that the greater part of the *sīra* was already formalized by the second century A.H. and that later writers shared a common corpus of *qāṣṣ* and traditional material, which they arranged according to their own concepts and to which they added their own researches.

¹ *Uyūn al-athar*, I, 18.

² *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 252.

³ *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh*, 10.

Uyūn al-athar, I, 230.

⁴ See above, p. 47.

⁵ *al-Sīrat al-nabawiyya*, II, 256.

THE DIALECT OF SHĀHRUD (KHALKHĀL)¹

By E. YARSHATER

THE object of this paper is to give preliminary information about Shāhrudi, one of the Iranian dialects spoken in Khalkhāl, the south-eastern province of Āzarbāijān lying between the Caspian province of Tālesh to the east, Ardabil to the north, Zanjān to the south, and Miyāna(j) to the west.

Our information about the Iranian dialects of Āzarbāijān, where a form of Turkish is the common language, has until recently been very defective. The scanty material available was summed up by Professor W. B. Henning in a recent article.² Since then, however, several studies of the current dialects of Āzarbāijān have been published.³ Among them one may mention Y. Zoka's description of the dialects of Karingān⁴ (a village in the Dizmār district of the province of Ahar, near the Russian border) and Galin Qaya,⁵ and the work of A. A. Karang⁶ and M. Mortazavi⁷ on Harzani. Yet, so far, no proper study of the Iranian dialect of Khalkhāl has been published and, in the absence of Dr. Baer's lost materials,⁸ the information about this dialect remains very meagre. Professor Henning's discussion of Khalkhālī, based on the late A. Kasravi's quotations,⁹ is unique.¹⁰

Recently, when intending to travel to Khalkhāl, I was fortunate enough to meet in Tehrān a native of Kulur, the main village among those in Khalkhāl where this dialect (called *Tāti* by its speakers) is spoken. From him I collected some material about his language. I feared, however, that his speech might have been influenced by *Tāleši*, owing to the close relations between the people of Kulur and Tālesh. As a check, therefore, I secured the help of two long-sought informants from Shāl, a village about three kilometres distant from Kulur, who happened to stay in Tehrān. In the course of working with them I found one, Tahmuresi, a young man of 32, a particularly articulate and intelligent informant. Owing to the longer period I could work with him the material collected was more extensive and included three tales and two interesting descriptive pieces. Although my Kuluri materials were entirely confirmed I have, therefore, preferred to base the present paper on the materials obtained from Tahmuresi.

¹ I am deeply grateful to Dr. D. N. MacKenzie for the generous help he has given me in the preparation of this article.

² 'The ancient language of Azerbaijan', *TPS*, 1954.

³ A number of Iranian words used in Āzarbāijāni Turkish can be found in Dr. Y. Navvab's *Zabān-e konuni-ye Āzarbāijān*, Tabriz, 1954.

⁴ *Guyeš-e Karingān*, Tehrān, 1954.

⁵ 'Guyeš-e Galin Qaya', *Farhang-e Irān zamin*, v, 1.

⁶ *Tāti va Harzani*, Tabriz, 1955.

⁷ 'Nokte'i cand az zabān-e Harzani', *Našriye-ye Dānešcade-ye adabiyāt-e Tabriz*, vi, 3.

⁸ See Henning, op. cit., 166.

⁹ S. A. Kasravi, *Āzari*, 3rd ed., Tehrān, [1940].

¹⁰ [Dr. Yarshater, apparently, has not had access to A. A. Karang's pamphlet *Khalkhālī*, s.l., 1934, which concerns *Kajali*.—W. B. H.]

Both Shäl and Kulur, whose dialects differ slightly, belong to Shährud, one of the five rural districts of Khalkhāl, of which it occupies the south-eastern corner. It comprises about 32 villages and hamlets, the largest being Kulur, of some 3,000 inhabitants, lying 24 km. to the south of the road leading from Miyāna(j) to Haru-ābād, the administrative centre of Khalkhāl. In all these villages both Tāti and Turkish are generally spoken, Tāti being the native language, with the exception of four (according to my Shāli informants) to seven villages (according to the *Farhang-e joyrāfiyā'i-ye Irān*, IV, Tehrān, 1951) where Turkish is the sole language in use.

In studying Shährudi one gains, from the first, the impression that this dialect closely resembles southern Tāleši, especially the variety spoken in Shānderman and Māsāl, the southernmost districts of the Persian province of Tālesh.

In what follows occasional reference is made to the following dialects :

- As. Tāl. of Asālem, a central district of Pers. Tālesh.
- Cāl. Tāti dialect of Chāl, or Shāl, a village in the Rāmand district of Qazvin.
- Har. Harzani.
- Kaj. Tāti dialect of Kajal, a village in the Kāghazkonān district of Khalkhāl, 27 km. north of Āq-Kand.
- Karg. Tāl. of Kargāna-Rud, a northern district of Pers. Tālesh.
- Karin. Karingāni.
- Kul. Kuluri.
- Māsāl. Tāl. of Māsāl.
- Māsul. Tāl. of Māsule, in north-western Gilān.
- Shān. Tāl. of Shānderman.
- Tāk. Tākestāni.
- Tāl. Tāleši.
- Tāl.-D Tāl. of Tālesh-Dulāb, a central district of Pers. Tālesh.

PHONOLOGY

CONSONANTS. The Shāli consonants appear to be the following :

	Dental and					
	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
Plosive . . .	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	[<i>k ǵ</i>]	<i>k g</i>		
Affricate . . .			<i>c j</i>			
Fricative . . .	<i>f v</i>	<i>s z</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>x ɣ</i>	<i>h</i>	
Nasal . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		[<i>ŋ</i>]		
Rolled . . .		<i>r</i>				
Lateral . . .		<i>l</i>		[<i>ɭ</i>]		
Semi-vowel . . .	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			

The dental plosives are generally heard with appreciable aspiration [*tʰ*, *dʰ*] when prevocalic, but in final position they have a weaker plosion.

The velar plosives *k*, *g*¹ are somewhat advanced [k̟, ɡ̟] under the influence of neighbouring palatal sounds, but hardly ever as advanced as Pers. palatal plosives. *g* tends to become devoiced in final position following another consonant, e.g. [kar̟ɡ̟] 'hen', [rɛʃ(ɡ̟)] 'nit', [mɒŋ^h, mɒŋ^k, mɒŋ] 'moon', [zɛŋ^h, zɛŋ^k] 'knee'.

In *saṃdhi* there is evidence of both the voicing of final *k*, e.g. [xu:k̟] 'earth', [xik̟] 'skin bag' (but always [xɛ'lɛk̟] 'spade'), and the devoicing of *d*, *g*, e.g. [pɛr̟d̟] 'bridge', [sɛŋ̟] 'stone'.

The affricate *c* is most strongly aspirated [tʃ^h] in initial position.

f, *v* are normally labio-dental. I heard bilabial [ɸ] in [ɖafarsəm, ɖaɸarsəm] 'I ask' only. *v* is loosely articulated when intervocalic.

z is normally dental, but occasionally I heard it tend towards palatal [ʒ], probably through Tāl. influence (see p. 62).

x, *ɣ* are almost uvular. It is not always easy to decide whether *ɣ* is a fricative or a weak plosive [q]. In initial position and as the first member of a cluster it is perhaps best described as a flapped uvular [ɢ].

h is rather unstable in (*h*)*a*'*n*i 'again', (*h*)*a*'*m*a 'we', (*h*)*a* 'that'. It is lost intervocalically in derivatives of *hardan* 'to eat', with compensatory vowel lengthening, e.g. ['na:ɾəm] 'I do not eat', ['ba:ɾdeʃe] 'he ate'.

n is alveolar. Both *n* and *m* are sometimes weakened when final, giving rise to nasalized vowels (notably in the 1st person sg. and pl. of the present indicative). [viri'dʒɔ̃] *verijəm* 'I run', [viri'dʒã] *verijam* 'we run', [ʃa:'nanã] *šāna-nam* 'with a fork', [tʃe'mã] *ceman* 'my, mine', [eʃ'tã] *eštan* 'self, own'. The velar nasal [ŋ] is heard only when *n* is followed by *g*, [mɒŋ^h] *māng* 'moon', [zɛŋ^h] *zeng* 'knee', [zəŋɡe'la, zãŋɡe'la] *zəŋɡala* 'bell'.

r is rolled alveolar. *l* is generally broad, but it is greatly influenced by its phonetic context. It is an advanced palatal in [zai'lə] 'woman' and ['mavlin] 'do not tread', and a broad velar in ['i:ɬa] 'illa < 'i-*g*la 'one', where the velar plosive has been attracted to *l*.

VOWELS. The vowel phonemes of Shāli have appeared to me, with due reservations, to be the following:

<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
(<i>a</i>)	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>

i is articulated almost at the cardinal point: [i:] 'one', [mi:ɪ] 'nail', [ʃim] 'I went', [li:] 'leaf', [gi:]s'bɒn] 'cowherd'.

e is slightly more open and less spread than the cardinal, its quality varying somewhat according to the neighbouring sounds: [xɛri:]ame] 'I have bought', [be:xe:]rime] 'I bought', ['bɛkan] 'dig!'. Lengthened in [me:ɪ] 'seal', Pers. *mohr*, in compensation for the lost aspirate.

A closer [ɪ] is heard in a number of words: [ɪm] 'this', [viri'dʒɛm] 'I run', [zɪɪ, zɛɪ] 'yesterday'. In unstressed syllables *e* is sometimes reduced to a very

¹ Unlike northern Tāl. (see B. V. Miller, *Talishkiy yazık*, Moscow, 1953, 59), Shāli evinces no interchange of *g* and *ɣ*.

short central vowel: [tʃ^əman] 'mine', [ʃ^əte] 'thine'. My informants were not always consistent and I have not infrequently noted overlapping of [ɪ, e, ə].

[ɛ] occurs but rarely, e.g. [ge're be.za] '(he) threshed (wheat)', [fe'ter] 'medlar'. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether to assign it to the *e* or *a* phonemes. For example, [tʃa] *ca* 'his' was frequently heard as [tʃɛ, tʃə] in rapid speech. Tahmuresi quoted [ʃɛʃ] as the older pronunciation of his [ʃɛʃ] 'six', probably due to Persian influence.

a is somewhat closer [ɶ] than the cardinal: [aʒ] 'I', [a'tɶʃ] 'fire', [gɶ'ze] 'broom', ['agɪr] 'take!'.¹

ā represents the same vowel, regularly lengthened [a:] in compensation for a lost fricative: *pā'lu* 'side', *dā'vā* 'quarrel', *ā'mad* 'Ahmed'. It is quite distinct from *ā*, e.g. [ba:d] *bād* 'then': [ba:d] *bād* 'wind'.

ā is an open back vowel, varying between [a] and [ɔ], being generally longer in stressed syllables. The closer variety is mainly heard after labials and before nasals. [vaʃ] 'grass', [a'vadʒ] 'undress!', [a:laf] 'find!', [xu:v] 'sister', [be'da:ʃe] 'he gave', [ma:] 'mother', [h'ja:s] 'fox'. ['bo:ra] 'bring ye!', [bɔ:m] '(if) I be', [zɔ:'mɔ:] 'son-in-law', [zū'wɔn] 'tongue', even [nɔ:] 'he does not come', [dɔ'gɔ] 'heap (of grass, etc.)'.

In the pronominal forms *cān*, *avān*, *-mān*, *-rān*, *-šān*, [ɔ:] is even more close and I have also noted [tʃɔn] etc.

o is a very infrequent vowel. I heard it otherwise only in *otāy* 'room', *boɣca* 'bundle', *no* 'nine', and in the diphthong *ou*, as in *kou* 'blue, green', *louš* 'wheatsheaf'. Except in the diphthong it is probably not a genuine Shāli phoneme. Internal *o* in loanwords from Pers. is often rendered by *ə* or *e*¹: *pašt* 'back', *mez* 'salary', *səm* 'hoof', *məɣyāna* 'egg'. But note [na:xəʃ] 'ill', [məstafa] 'Mustafa', [ə] reflecting perhaps Turkish influence.

u is generally more central and less rounded [ʊ] than the cardinal: [ku] 'in', [dʊʃ] 'dance', [fʊʃ] 'sand', [gu'le] 'calf', [xu'ma] 'nest'. In some words, however, it closely approaches the cardinal, possibly under Pers. influence: [zu:r] 'power', [dʊr] 'far', [dʊ:] 'smoke; buttermilk', [mu:] 'hair'. In [stʊ] *su* (< *sobh*) 'morning', [(d)ʊz] (*y*)*uz* 'walnut' the vowel is closer than usual.

ə, apart from rendering Pers. *o* in a number of borrowed words, is heard in genuine Shāli words: *dət* 'daughter', *kəl'la* 'girl', *fət* 'full', *tərt* 'squashed', *a'serk* 'tear', etc. I have not always been able to distinguish between *ə* and *e*, especially when the latter appears in unstressed closed syllables. I have noted, e.g. ['beber, 'bebər] 'cut!', [gan'dim, gan'dəm] 'wheat'. *ə* appears here mostly in the neighbourhood of labials and liquids.

Diphthongs are not common. I have met instances only of the following:

ei: *tei* 'empty' (Pers. *tohi*, *tahi*), *kei* 'when', *heize* 'gets up', *beiz* (with loss of *h*) 'get up!';

¹ cf. northern Tāl. *ī*, *ī* < Pers. *o*, Miller, op. cit., 35, 80.

ou: *louš* 'wheatsheaf', *gou* 'cattle', *kou* 'blue, green';

ai: *vāi* 'whoa!', *harāi* 'shout', and whenever *-i* (*yā-e vahdat*) follows a word ending in *-ā*, e.g. *'i us'tāi* 'a master';

āu: *kāu* 'lettuce' (Pers. *kāhu*).

ai occurs in *paidā* 'obvious' (probably a loanword from Pers.), *'ailla* < *'a illa* 'that one', and *bāmai* beside *bāmaye* 'he came'.

PHONETIC DEVELOPMENT. In the treatment of sounds Shāli shares the main traits of north-western Iranian dialects. A rather conservative dialect, it generally preserves fuller forms than are seen in Tāleši and avoids the far-going phonetic changes of Harzani and, more especially, Karingāni.

Original *y-* is preserved in *yav* 'barley', *ye* 'yoke' (< **yuga-*). Words with *j-*, such as *jeft* 'pair', *jui* 'stream', are loanwords from Persian.

OIr. initial *v-* is preserved in numerous examples: *var* 'snow', *vini* 'nose', *varg* 'wolf', *vak* 'kidney' (Av. *varəδka-*), etc. OIr. *dv-* is represented by *b-*, as elsewhere, e.g. in *bar* 'door'.

OIr. intervocalic *-č-* is regularly represented by *j* (against Pers. *z*): *vāje* 'he says' (*vač-*), *seje* 'it burns' (*suč-*), *betājān* 'make . . . run!' (*tač-*), *bepaj* 'cook!' (*pač-*).

Original intervocalic *-t-* disappears, or is replaced by a glide: *ā-dā* '(he) gave' (*-dāta-*), *bešim* 'I went' (*-šuta-*), *bim* 'I was', *be* 'he was' (*būta-*), *pe* 'father', *mā* 'mother', *bērā* 'brother' (*pitā*, etc.).

The change of intervocalic *-t-* to *r*, a characteristic feature of Harzani and Tāti of Bāku, is attested only in the 2nd person pronoun suffixes, sg. *-r*, pl. *-rān*, e.g. *te nāhār bārdere*, *nāhārer bārde*, *šema nāhār bārdērāne* 'you ate lunch'.¹

In the dialects of Shāl and Kulur I was not able to confirm the *šera* 'he went', *bera* 'he was' quoted by Kasravi.² But Shān. does have *šera*, in marked distinction from Shāli *beše* 'he went'.³

-x- and *-f-* disappear before *t*, chiefly in past participles: *bevrīte* 'he fled' (pres. *v(e)rīj-*), *bāte* '(he) said' (pres. *vāj-*), *dorunte* '(he) pulled' (pres. *dorunj-*), *xet(t)e* 'he slept', *agate* '(he) took'.⁴ In one case *-f-* disappears before the *s* of an inchoative present: *xese* 'he sleeps' (Av. *x^vafsa-*).

Shāli has *xr-* for original *fr-* in *bəxrūš* 'sell!', cf. Shān. *bexrāš*, Māsul. *boxrūš*.⁵

OIr. *s* (OP *θ*, Pers. *h*) is preserved: *pas* 'sheep', *āsen* 'iron'. Original *sy* (Av. *sp*, OP *s*) appears as *s̄b* with prothetic or intrusive vowel: *seba*, *səba*

¹ Kaj. *kerom* 'which' (Av. *katāma-*) points to the same development.

² op. cit., 64.

³ cf. Henning, op. cit., 174.

⁴ cf. Miller, op. cit., 55, for numerous examples of the same development in Tāl.

⁵ Differently in Tāl, where *fr-* produces *h-* with the loss of *-r-* normal in that dialect: *hamuc* 'to order' (< *fra-mā-*), *havāte* 'to sell' (MPers. *fravāzian*), see Miller, op. cit., 54. An exception is Shāli *pašara* 'day after to-morrow', the second part of which goes back to *fratāk* (suggested by Professor Henning). Kaj. (*h*)*ara* 'to-morrow' and *paš* 'back, behind' leave no doubt about this etymology; cf. further Shān. and Māsāl. *pašera*, Cāl. *pešarā*, Tāk. *sarā*.

'dog' (Av. *span-*), *sebi* 'white' (Av. *spaēta-*), *sebej*, Kul. *esbej* 'louse' (Av. *spiš-*).¹

OIr. *z* (IE *ǵ*, *ǵh*, OP *d*) appears as *z*, as in all other north-western dialects: *zāmā* 'son-in-law', *zānēm* 'I know', *zer* 'yesterday' (cf. Pers. *dī*, Skt. *hyas*), *az* 'I'.

Various forms of shortening occur, mostly involving the loss of dentals, *r*, *h*, or *v*²: *vak* 'kidney', *γam-ba* 'look after . . . !' (< **γam behar*), *ruan* 'butter' (Av. *rao-yna-*), *ka* '(he) did', *bājen* 'say!' (< **bevāj-*), *benāše* 'he laid' (< **nī-dāta-*). Abbreviated forms also occur in words borrowed from Persian: *ker* 'worm' Pers. *kerm*, *tal* 'bitter' Pers. *talx*, *kene* 'old' Pers. *kohne*, *kāu* 'lettuce' Pers. *kāhu*, *lef* 'quilt' Pers. *lehāf*.

In the treatment of vowels Shāli is generally conservative. The principal exception is the frequent change from older *u* to *e* and *ə*: *sejessan* 'to burn' (intrans.) (< *suč-*), *ser* 'red' (MPers. *suzr*), *te* 'thou, thee' (OP *tuvm*), *det* 'daughter'.

ō and *ē*, resulting from older diphthongs, coincide with original *ū* and *ī*: *i* 'one', *izēm* 'fuel', *nīma* 'half', *sebi* 'white', *via-dār* 'willow tree', *suje* 'burns (trans.)' (< *sauč-*), *guš* 'ear', *ruan* 'butter', but note *lyās* 'fox', Kul. *luvās* (Pers. *rubāh*, Skt. *lopāśa-*).

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS. No distinction of gender is made in Shāli. A two-case system, direct and oblique, can be distinguished in the singular. The obl. case is generally marked by the addition of *-e*, but only to nouns ending in a consonant. The old nouns of relationship ending in *-ar-* have mostly preserved this in the obl. form: *mā*, obl. *mār* 'mother', *pe*, *piar* 'father', *berā*, *berār* 'brother', *xāv*, *xāvar* 'sister', *det*, *datar* 'daughter', and by analogy *zan*, *zanar* 'wife'. *-ān* marks the plural of both cases.³

The obl. case expresses (i) a definite direct object, e.g. *ceman dassē agir* (Kul. *ceman daste igr*) 'take my hand', *eštan piar xaš dāre* 'he likes his father', (ii) a genitive, which precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g. *em ceman arbābe zāye* 'this is my master's son', *otāye bare-ku axlen* 'hang (it) on the door of the room', (iii) an indirect object, with or without a postposition, e.g. *ešte datar bājen* 'tell your daughter', *hasame-ku agateše* 'he took it from Hasan', (iv) the agent of a transitive verb in the preterite or a compound tense, e.g. *ceman zanar eštan māš beza* 'my wife beat her mother'. The logical direct object of this construction is expressed by the direct case, e.g. *mā* in the above example. An indefinite direct object of a verb in the present or imperfect tenses likewise

¹ cf. further Har. *espej*, Karin. *peš*. For forms with *š* see Žukovskiy, *Materiali*, II, 264, and Horn, *Neupers. Etym.*, s.v. *supuš*. Professor G. Morgenstierne sees the true Persian form with **s-* in Baxtiyāri and Davāni *šeš* < **seš*, *s* having been assimilated to *š* as in the case of Pers. *šepes* < **sepes*. He considers *teš* and *heš* (in some Fārs dialects) as the outcome of a southern dialect form **θiš*, and Baškardi *hreš* as a combination of *heš* and *reš* 'nit'.

² cf. Miller, op. cit., 53-5.

³ Unlike As., Kaj., Karg. where the two-case system exists also in the pl., dir. *-e*, obl. *-ān*, *-un*.

appears in the direct case, e.g. *kena xalāv ca sare a-dinde* 'they put old clothes on its top', Kul. *pase vāš bedaya, ca šeta sare begira* 'give ye grass to the sheep, collect its cream', *i tika nemak bezer* 'buy a little salt'.¹

A further distinct ending *-a* occurs (i) in seeming semi-compound formations,² e.g. *cua tike* 'a piece of wood', *yuza mayz* 'walnut kernel', *šeta sar* 'top of the milk, cream', *dasmāla sar* 'head kerchief', *sebia dān-dān* 'white and granular', (ii) apparently as a 'locative' postposition in, e.g. *liyās raza miyāna-ku venda* (Kul. *luwās bāya-ku dare*) 'the fox is in the garden', *tei ā-kare yazāna dela* 'she empties (it) into a cauldron', (iii) occasionally for a definite direct object, e.g. *ešta pā nāxena begir* 'pare your toe-nail', *ceman dasmāla sara bāren* 'bring my head kerchief'. This may be due to colloquial Pers. influence, *-a* < *-rā*.³

PRONOUNS. The *personal* pronouns have four forms in Shāli, direct, oblique, possessive, and suffix, as follows:

	Direct	Oblique	Possessive	Suffix
Sg. 1.	<i>az</i>	<i>man, men</i>	<i>ceman</i>	<i>-(e)m</i>
2.	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ešte, ešta</i>	<i>-(e)r</i>
3.	<i>a</i>	<i>ave</i> ⁴	<i>ca, ce</i>	<i>-(e)š</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>ama</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>cema</i>	<i>-(e)mān</i>
2.	<i>šema</i>	<i>šema</i>	<i>šema</i>	<i>-(e)rān</i>
3.	<i>avān</i>	<i>avān</i>	<i>cān</i>	<i>-(e)šān</i>

All four types can be seen in the sentence: *az ceman piar ka-ku šia bim ave manes vīnde* 'I had left my father's house (when) he saw me'. It will be seen that, as with nouns, the agent of a preterite etc. transitive verb is expressed by an obl. case form, *ave*, the construction being to that extent 'passive'.⁵ But when the logical direct object is pronominal it equally is expressed by an obl. case form, as here *man*. This weakening of the 'passive' construction is general, e.g. *man avem binde* 'I saw him', Kul. *aveš beza* 'he hit him', *manes beza* 'he hit me'.

In all the examples of this construction quoted so far the agent has been resumed by a suffix pronoun. In this, its only function, it is suffixed either to the verbal stem itself or to a preceding word, normally the logical object, e.g. *man yazā bārdeme, man yazām bārde* 'I ate food', or occasionally to both, e.g. *illa gadiakarem bindeme* 'I saw a beggar', *hasane ca kaš ātaš bezaše* 'Hasan

¹ Note the same distinction in Shān., where *-i* is the sign of the obl., *gusandi vāš bedaya, ce šeta sari begira*; *i tika nemak bezer*.

² cf. Miller, op. cit., 103 ff.

³ No 'ablative' ending *-o* occurs in Shāli, Kul., or southern Tāl. The northern Tāl. form should, I think, be considered a shorter form of the postposition *-rā* etc. known from other dialects (v. Henning, op. cit., 174), rather than a continuation of the old ablative, Av. *-āi* (so Miller, op. cit., 75, 91).

⁴ The only marked difference in Shān. is 3rd sg. obl. *ai*, cf. Miller, op. cit., 118. The secondary 'accusative' forms *mīni, tīni, avi*, etc. (ibid., 115-22) do not occur in either Shān. or Shāli.

⁵ Or, as Benveniste has now shown (BSL, XLVIII, 1, 1952, 52 ff.) 'possessive'.

set his house on fire'. The suffix pronoun is not, however, essential to the construction, e.g. *šema bâte* 'you said', *əm te vatae* 'you have woven this'.

The oblique and possessive pronominal forms appear in precisely the functions their names imply, with the exception that the possessive may occasionally serve for the oblique¹ with pre- or postpositions, e.g. *bi ešta* 'without you', *cema(n)-rā zālat bārinde* 'they may bring a robe of honour for me'.

VERBS. The Shāli verbal system is based on two stems, present and past, which represent the old present stem and past participle in *-ta* respectively. Apart from the Imperative the following tenses are formed from the present stem: Present Indicative, Subjunctive and Conditional, and Imperfect. On the past stem are based a Preterite tense and a Past Participle employed in forming compound tenses.

Four series of personal endings are found, each distinguishing six persons. They are:

	Present	Conditional	Imperfect	Preterite
Sg. 1.	-(ə)m	-ām	-im	-im
2.	-i	-āš	-iš	-iš
3.	-(e)	-ā	-i	-e
Pl. 1.	-am	-āmān	-imān	-imān
2.	-a	-ārān	-irān	-irān
3.	-inde	-āinde	-imbe	-inde

The 3rd pl. Imperfect ending *-imbe* does not occur in any Tāl. dialect and is difficult to account for.

The Preterite endings, which are markedly different from the Present, also serve as the enclitic present of the Substantive verb. Following a vowel they are then sometimes preceded by a glide *-r-*, e.g. *az yārim* 'I am here', *a zerde care* 'that child is his', *kārinde* 'where are they?'.

In distinguishing the tenses one prefix, *b(e)-*, is employed (except when a preverb is present) and one 'continuous' particle, *kerā*. The general negative prefix is *ne-*.

The *Imperative* is formed by adding stressed *b(e)-*, negative *m(a)-*, to the present stem with the endings 2nd sg. nil, pl. *-a*, e.g. *bevrīj* 'run!', *bevrīja* 'run ye!', *bāya* 'come ye!', *makaša* 'do not kill!'.

A number of verbs take *-en* in the 2nd sg. Imperative, apparently when the prefix and stem together form one syllable, e.g. *bdren* 'eat!' (< *har-*), *bājen* 'say!' (< *vāj-*), *bāren* 'bring!' (< *vār-*). *beše(n)* 'go!' (< *šu-*) and *buren* 'come!' (cf. MPers. *'wr*) appear to be analogical formations.

The *Present Indicative* is formed directly from the present stem by adding the stressed present endings, e.g. *verijəm* 'I run' etc. When the stem ends in a vowel this supersedes the vowels of the 1st and 3rd sg. endings, but is lost before the other endings, e.g. *šum*, *ši*, *šu*, *šam*, *ša*, *šinde* (Kul. 3rd pl. *šun*)

¹ As generally in Tāk., which has lost its simple obl. pronouns (v. Henning, op. cit., 162).

'I etc. go'. Ambiguities appear to be avoided by irregular forms, as in the 1st and 2nd pl. of *nam*, *nī*, *na*, *niyam*, *niya*, *ninde* 'I etc. put' (cf. Kul. *ādam*, *ādai*, *āda*, *ādayam*, *ādaya*, *ādan(d)* 'I etc. give').

The inflexible particle *kerā*, also employed in southern Tāl., forms a *Continuous Present* when placed immediately before the Indicative, e.g. *az kerā pajēm* 'I am cooking', *te kerā šī* 'you are going'.

The *Present Subjunctive* is formed by adding the stressed prefix *b(e)-* to the Indicative. When the verb has a preverb this takes the stress. *jallāde da-xāna bā* 'call ye the executioner (that) he may come', *šum ā-diyašēm* 'I go (that) I may look, I am going to look', *biri . . . bekari* 'you must do . . . '.

The *Present Conditional* is formed with the stressed prefix *b(e)-* and the appropriate endings with the 'conditional vowel' *-ā-*, e.g. *age az bepajām* 'if I (should) cook', *age bevirijāš bargeni* 'if you run you will fall'. The conditional endings appear to be obsolescent, however, giving way to the present endings in the sg. (so coinciding with the Subjunctive) but the past endings in the pl., e.g. *bevirijēm*, *bevirije* (3rd sg.), *bevirijimān*, *bevirijirān*, *bevirijinde* 'if I etc. run'.

The *Imperfect* is formed from the present stem with its characteristic endings. It has habitual meaning, e.g. *a harruz heizi*, *ēštan nemāze xāni*, *bād ēštan pasān duši* 'every day he used to get up, say his prayers, (and) then milk his sheep'. A *Continuous Imperfect* is formed with the particle *kerā*, e.g. *az kerā larzim* 'I was trembling', *kerā harimbe* 'they were eating'.

The *Preterite* of Intransitive verbs is formed by attaching the preterite endings to the past stem with the prefix *b(e)-*. The stress falls on the last syllable of the stem, e.g. *be'ritim* 'I ran', *betar'sesim* 'I was afraid', *be'šim*, *bešiš*, *beše*, *bešimān*, *beširān*, *bešinde* 'I etc. went'. The 3rd sg. ending *-e* is not normally found when the stem ends in a vowel, e.g. *beza* 'hit', *bāma*, but also *bāmaye* 'he came', the latter perhaps influenced by the Perfect.

With Transitive verbs the 3rd sg. form is employed throughout, e.g. *man avānēm binde* 'I saw them'. When the pronominal suffix agent is attached to the verbal stem it precedes the ending *-e*, e.g. *bezerime* 'I bought', *bezerirāne* 'you bought', *bezrutemāne* 'we sold'. Very occasionally the ending *-e* is lost, e.g. *hasane puleš bind(e)* 'Hasan saw the money', *bašnavessešān* 'they heard'.

The *Perfect* is apparently formed from a Past Participle in *-a* (< *-aka*) by the addition of the enclitic substantive verb. In Shāli, however, this supplants the final *-a* of the participle in all persons but the 3rd sg.,¹ with the result that in general the Perfect differs from the Preterite only by the absence of the prefix *b(e)-* and the placing of the stress on the ending, e.g. *ā'mirān* 'you have come', *āmaye* 'he has come'. With Transitive verbs the pronominal suffix agent precedes the 3rd sg. enclitic substantive verb when it is attached

¹ In Kul. the Past Participle preserves its identity throughout, thus *šīyeim(a)*, *šīyeiš*, *šīyei*, *šīyeimān*, *šīyeirān*, *šīyeinde* 'I etc. have gone'. This agrees with Shān. perfect *šēma*, *šēša*, *ša*, *šēmuna*, *šēiruna*, *šēina*.

to the verbal form, e.g. *patame* 'I have cooked', *patare* 'you have cooked', *xerīame* 'I have bought', but also *man pul avēm ā-dāye* 'I have given him money'.

The *Pluperfect* is formed regularly from the Past Participle by adding the Preterite of the auxiliary *bīan* 'to be' (viz. *bim*, *bīš*, *be*, *bimān*, *birān*, *binde*), e.g. *az šia bim* 'I had gone', *dāvāšān gata be* 'they had quarrelled', *vataš be* 'he had woven'.

A *Past Conditional* is similarly formed with the Present Conditional of the auxiliary (viz. *bām*, *bāš*, *bā*, but coinciding in the pl. with the Preterite, *bimān*, *birān*, *binde*), e.g. *age az šia bām* 'if I had gone', *age man patam bā* 'if I had cooked'.

The *Infinitive* seems to have limited use in Shāli. The examples noted show it to be formed by adding *-(a)n* to the past stem, e.g. *šian* 'go', *ām(i)an* 'come', *hardan* 'eat', *dān* 'give', *nān* 'put'. A large number of infinitives end in *-es(s)an*, apparently modelled on Pers. infinitives in *-estan*, e.g. *āressan* 'grind', *ā-rasesan* 'arrive', *ašnavessan* 'hear', *zānessan* 'know'. With the equivalent secondary past stem in *-es(s)* Shāli thus preserves, where necessary, the two-stem system.

The following *Preverbs*, the presence of which precludes the prefix *b(e)-*, occur in Shāli: *a-* (Kul. *i-*), *ā-*, *bar-*, *da-*, *pa-* (Kul. *pi-*).¹ *ā-* is commonly present in compound verbs with *bīan* and *kardan* as auxiliaries.

a-bīan 'pour (intrans.)', *a-kardan* 'pour out; shut', *a-gatan* 'take', *a-gateše*, Kul. *i-gateše* 'he took', Kul. *i-gir* 'take!'.

ā-dān 'give', *ā-kardan* 'open', *ā-lusesan* 'lick', *ā-vatan* 'take off (clothes)'; *radā ā-bīan* 'pass', *sard ā-bīan* 'become cold', *rac ā-kardan* 'arrange', *tei ā-kardan* 'empty'.

bar-āmīan 'come out', *bar-genessan* 'fall', *bar-kardan* 'drive out', *bar-šian* 'go out', *bar-še* 'go out!'.

da-farsessan 'ask', *da-genessan* 'fall', *da-kardan* 'put on (clothes); pour in', *da-runtan* 'pull', *da-vaštan* 'snatch', *da-xetan* 'hide oneself', *da-xes* 'hide!', *da-xesānessan* 'hide (trans.)', *da-xesān* 'hide (it)!'.

pa-gatan, Kul. *pi-gatan* 'take up', *pa-nān* 'put upon', *pa-runtan* 'pull up', *pa-runj* 'pull (it) up!'.

The close relationship between Shāli and Shāndermani Tāl. is nowhere better brought out than in the pronominal and verbal systems, where agreement between the two dialects is almost complete. Although they preserve the two stems both verbal systems are much simpler than that of northern Tāl., based largely on one stem. Thus the continuous present of the type *votedam* 'I am saying' (Miller, op. cit., 144 ff.),² the future with prefix *ba-* (*bakardam* 'I shall do', ibid., 155 ff.), the negative future employing a present

¹ In general agreement with Tāl., cf. Miller, op. cit., 135 ff., *e-*, *o-*, *be-*, *da-*, *pe-*; Shān., Tāl.-D also *ve-*, *vi-*, Shān. *ve-gerēm*, Tāl.-D *vi-gerēm* 'I take'.

² See also Henning, op. cit., p. 174, n. 3.

participle with *a-* (*avot-nim* 'I shall not say', *ibid.*, 157), and the *futurum necessitatis* employing a future participle in *-anin* (*vindaninim* 'I am to see', *ibid.*, 159) are all foreign to both Shān. and Shāli.

The Tāl. of Tālesh-Dulāb has a middle position between north and south, possessing features of both. To quote a few, it has the imperfect with 'augment', 'ašī' 'he used to go' (v. Miller, *op. cit.*, 152-4), the future with *ba-*, *ba'sim* 'I shall go', and the future participle in *-ani(n)*, as in northern Tāl. On the other hand it has preserved special endings for the present tenses and forms continuous tenses with the particle *kerā*.

There are a number of obvious differences between Shān. and Shāli. The most outstanding phonetic difference is Shān., and Tāl. generally, *ž* against Shāli *z-* (< *ʃ-*) and *-j-* (< *-č-*), e.g. Shān. *žen*, *ža*, *ruž*: Shāli *zan* 'wife', *beza* '(he) hit', *ruz* (loanword from Pers.) 'day'. Shān. has the 'augment' imperfect and infinitives in *-e*, as in northern Tāl. (Miller, *op. cit.*, 141 ff.): Shān. *vinde*, *harde*: Shāli *vindan* 'see', *hardan* 'eat'. Shān. has lost the *-d* of the 3rd pl. verbal endings: Shān. *bun*, *šina*: Shāli *binde* 'they were', *bešinde* 'they went'. Finally, the negative particle precedes preverbs in Shān. while it sometimes follows in Shāli and Kuluri: Shān. *na-ā-dam*: Shāli *ā-ne-dam* 'I do not give' (Kul. *pi-ni-girəm* 'I do not take up').

Although the two dialects are very close in vocabulary there follows a list of common words in which they differ:

	Shāli	Shān.		Shāli	Shān.
father	<i>pe</i>	<i>dada</i>	big	<i>pilla</i>	<i>lōla</i>
mother	<i>mā</i>	<i>nana</i>	small	<i>villa</i>	<i>ruk</i>
son	<i>zā</i>	} <i>zua</i>	to stay	<i>vendardan</i>	<i>mondā</i>
boy	<i>kula</i>		to hear	<i>ašnavessan</i>	<i>masse</i>
girl	<i>kalla</i>	<i>kina</i>	given	<i>dā</i>	<i>dua</i>
sheep	<i>pas</i>	<i>gusand</i>	put	<i>nā</i>	<i>nua</i>
kidney	<i>vak</i>	<i>verek</i>	I was	<i>az kerā</i>	<i>az kerā</i>
to-day	<i>meruz</i>	<i>uri</i>	running	<i>verijim</i>	<i>musim</i>

Looking further afield, Shāli also bears a resemblance to Tākestāni on the one hand and to Karingāni and Harzani on the other. As Professor Henning has traced the relation between these dialects in his article I may be brief on the point.

There is general agreement in the pronominal and verbal systems between Tāk. and Shāli, though with interesting differences, the most striking of them being the use of the possessive pronouns in Tāk. to the exclusion of the oblique. The distinction of gender still preserved to a certain degree in Tāk. and Semnāni, and more fully in Kaj., is absent from Shāli. The characteristic combination of the *-š-* of the 3rd person pronominal suffixes with the dental ending of the past stem, *-t/d-š-* > *-c-*, a feature Tāk. shares with Karin. and Har. (where > *-j-*), is not found in Shāli: Tāk. *vāce* 'he said', *šireš bedušt*, *šir beduše* 'he milked', Karin. *harce*, *harcuna* 'he, they ate', Har. *vinje*, *vinjuna* 'he, they saw', but Shān. and Shāli *vindeše* 'he saw', *vir bārdeš* 'he remembered'.

Although Shāli differs from Karin. and Har. in some grammatical features (such as the formation of the present indicative, which in Har. is based on the past stem and in Karin. on the past participle), and despite the fact that the phonetic developments are considerably different in the three dialects (for instance, the change of postvocalic *-t-* to *-r-* in Har., the change of original *a* to *u* and the loss of original *s-* before *-p-* in Karin., e.g. *pī*, *pa*, *pež*: Shāli *sebi* 'white', *seba* 'dog', *sebej* 'louse'), yet there is fundamental agreement between the three dialects in the pronominal system, the tenses of the substantive verb, and in vocabulary.

The striking similarity of Shāli and Shān. bears out, as far as Shāhrudi is concerned, Professor Henning's view of the common origin of Tāleši and the present Iranian dialects of Āzarbāijān.

In general, there are important factors contributing towards the assimilation of these two languages to each other. Many Shāhrudis spend more than half the year working in southern Tālesh, especially in Shānderman and Māsāl, and a number of Tālehis use Shāhrud as their regular *yeilāq*. Tālesh supplies Shāhrud with rice, wool, and dairy products, and buys fruit in return. Girva, the most popular *yeilāq* of Shānderman and Māsāl, is almost within Shāhrud. Indeed, most Shāhrudis can also speak Tāleši.

In considering the position of the Iranian dialects of Āzarbāijān, I believe one should take Shāli, Kuluri (i.e. Shāhrudi) and Shāndermani, Māsālī, and Māsule'i Tāleši as close members of the same group rather than separate dialects.

TEXTS

I

neira 'zan ruana ga'tan

av'val šete pa'jinde, 'bād ninde kanā're-ku. telāyoli ke sard ā-be, bād ave mā'ya zaninde. mā'yašin 'i cekalu 'duye. bād ave paruši'ninde, 'ca sare pa-'ninde, ke'na zalāv ca sa're a-'dinde. 'dā sāte bād ce 'ru ā-ka'rinde. bād eš'tan gi're. 'hajur 'ninde tā sub.

sub-rā ave da-ka'rinde neira dela. bād ca sa're pust 'ninde, da-van'dinde, seinā keta mā'nandi ce 'bone 'ninde. bād 'i zalla a'gā ne'se, a've takkān-tak'kān da tā 'i sā'ti.

'bād zal'la xā 'bine du bia yā bia 'ni. neira pa'lu-ku xela ti'ki dāre. a'gā kena pā'ra za'ninde. 'a pāra ti'ke pa-gi're. bād cua ti'ke a-'xā 'ca dela. bād pa-gi're, ā-diya'se. 'age vi'ne sebia dān-dā'ne, ce sa're 'ā-kare, 'tei ā-kare yazā'na dela. bād das'se-nam ca ruane gi're. bād ca 'du hin'jinde. age 'bindeše ke se'bia dān-dān ni'e (h)a'ni kena pā'ra (h)a xe'la zana, (h)a'ni takkān-tak'kān da tā 'bōbu.

Rocking the *neira*¹ and getting butter

First they cook the milk, then they put it aside. When it has cooled a little they put 'starter' in it; its 'starter' moreover is a spoonful of buttermilk.

¹ An earthenware jar, about half a metre or more high, with one loop handle near the mouth.

Then they mix it (and) cover its top : they put old clothes on its top. Two hours later they uncover it. Then it curdles.¹ They leave it like this till morning.

In the morning they pour it into a *neira*. Then they put a skin on its top (and) fasten it (and) put a small cushion underneath it. Then a woman sits there and shakes it for an hour.

Then the woman wants to see whether it has become buttermilk or not. The *neira* has a small hole in (its) side. There they push in an old rag. She takes out that piece of rag, then she puts a piece of wood inside it. Then she takes (it) out (and) looks (at it). If she sees it is white (and) granular she opens its top (and) empties it into a large copper cauldron. Then she collects its butter by hand. Then they drink its buttermilk. If she sees that it is not white and granular she pushes the old rag into that hole again and shakes it again until it becomes (ready).

II

yeta kar'dan, gandəma käre'san, gandəma deru'an

av'val zami 'āv dārinde, 'narm ā-bu. bād 'də gəla varzā vā'rinde, 'ye wə yam'rāz ban'dinde, gāvāse'ne ce sa're-ku za'ninde, 'šum karinde. šum tamān ā-'be 'tum da-ka'rinde. de'rā-nam deru'ninde. a've da-van'dinde. bād lou'se pəš'ta pəš'ta da-van'dinde, vā'rinde xarma'na-ku, dā'gā karinde. bād lou'se ve'lā ā-karinde, gere da-van'dinde 'panj gəla mā'le-nam. də'rəs ke xərd ā-'be ave šā'na-na(m) 'kua ā-karinde. nā(h)āre 'paš-ta 'bād ā. ave šā'ninde, ce gan'dəm səmba're-ku jedā ā-bu. səmba're ba'rinde, ambā're da-ka'rinde. zəmə'sān-da mā'lān ha'rinde.

Ploughing, sowing of wheat, (and) reaping of wheat

First they water the land (so that) it becomes soft. Then they bring two oxen (and) they fasten the yoke and the shaft (and) tie the ploughshare to its end, (then) they plough. (When) the ploughing is finished they scatter the seed. (Later) they reap (the wheat) with sickle(s). They tie it (together), then they tie the sheaves in bundles, bring (them) to the threshing-floor (and) stack (them) up.

Then they spread the sheaves and fasten the threshing-machine with five animals. (When) it has become properly threshed they heap it with the winnowing-fork. In the afternoon ² the wind comes. They winnow it (so that) the wheat of it separates from the chaff. They take the chaff (and) put it into the store. The animals eat it in winter.

III

'na'yle rama'bāne dəruavā'jen

'i rama'bāni be 'pəs, šī'a be 'ku-da ra'ma 'becarāne. 'igara dəruda'ni ha'rāiš be'karde, 'varg bā'ma, ramaš 'bārde. de ādamā(n) bašna'vessešān, bešinde ca 'paš-ta, 'bindešāne də'ru vāje. ā-gar'desinde, bā'minde.

¹ Lit. 'takes itself'.

² Lit. 'after lunch'.

ca su'ba rās'si vā'ji, varg āma be. ha'ni ha'rāiš be'karde, 'varg bā'ma, ramaš 'bārde'. de āda'mān em safar 'nešinde, 'bātešāne, 'dā'ru vāje'. rama'bāne 'binde 'nāmīnde ca paš, bōv'rite, be'se a 'dīm-da, da-'xete. 'varg bā'ma, ra'ma 'bārdeše.

ša've-ra 'pis bāma 'ka. mālase'bān 'bindešāne cān mālān 'nāmīnde. da-far'sesinde [sic], 'cama mā'lān 'kārīnde?' 'bāteše, 'var'ge 'bārde. man 'handā harāim bekar'de 'cerā šema 'nāmīrān? 'manim 'binde šema ce'man ha'rāi-rā ā-'nerasesirān,¹ be'sim, da-'xetīm'. de āda'mān 'bātešāne, 'daruavāje'ne ka 'vaš be'gate,² šema 'bāte, "dā'ru vāje"'.³

The story of the lying shepherd

There was (once) a scald-headed shepherd (who) had gone into the mountain(s) to graze (his) flock. Suddenly he cried, falsely, 'The wolf has come (and) eaten the flock'. The people of the village heard, went after him (and) saw (that) he was lying. They returned and came (back).

On the morrow he was telling the truth: the wolf had come. He cried thus, 'The wolf has come (and) eaten the flock'. The village people this time did not go. They said, 'He is lying'. The shepherd saw (that) they did not come after him, (so) he fled, went to that side (and) hid. The wolf came and ate the flock.

In the evening the scald-headed one came home. The animal-owners saw (that) their animals did not come. They asked, 'Where are our animals?' He said, 'The wolf ate (them). Why did you not come, however much I cried? I too saw (that) you did not come to my rescue, (so) I went (and) hid'. The village people said, 'The liar's house caught fire (and) you said, "He is lying"'.³

IV

'na'yle pārca'vaj va 'šā

a vaz'ti vā'jinde us'tāi be pārca'vaj. ave pārce va'tan-da 'esmeš 'bar-karda be. 'can sāl āstan 'vazteš ca 'rā-da be'nāše. 'igara 'illa tāqa pār'ca ke 'zeili xās 'be va ca 'pulī(n) ziyād 'be āstan das'se-nam va'taš be. bād be'nešte, āstan 'var-da 'bāteše, 'āmi ke ceman das'se-nam va'tame, va 'zeili xāse, 'ā-dam 'bebarīnde 'šā-rā. 'ca yāblati dāre. zā'nām 'šā ave vi'ne 'xašeš ā, da-xā'ne, vā'je, "ceme vajā're xā'lat bediya"'. i(n)jur āstan 'var-da salāš bezā'nesse.

va 'i ā'dati dā'ri, a-in em be, āstan zuwā'ne 'nešāi yam (h)ardan, tura lā'va ka'ri. āstan zu'wāneš 'bāte, 'ei zuwān, te bi'ri manam⁴ me'ruz kə'mak 'bekari, cema(n) can sālē zāma'te puc ā-'makari. i juri bi'ri šā va're-ku xāsa lā'va bekari ke šā ceman lā'va 'xašeš bā, 'bāje cema(n)-rā xā'lat 'bārīnde'. ā'māneš āstan zuwā'ne 'bāteše, darasmā'resseše, 'bešte, be'se, āstan xa'lāveš 'raceš ā-karde, da-'kardeše. 'a pārca pa-'gateše, illa xāsa dasmā'le-ku da-'vasseše, 'bešte, be'se šā 'ka-rā.

ā-ra'sese šā 'ka, šā āda'mā(n) ca 'pišešān be'gate. 'bāteše, 'az 'šā-nam kār

¹ of. Pers. *be faryād rasidan*.

² A proverbial saying.

³ vaš 'flame'; of. Pers. *alou gereftan*.

⁴ i.e. *man-nam*.

dārem. *šā* 'bāteše, 'bā dela'. *be*'še dela, *boγ*'ca *pa*'gateše, *šā* *va*'reš *be*'nā. *šā* *ā*-dī'yašte, 'bindeše *ca* *vajā*'re 'xāseš *va*'tae, 'xāseš *bā*mayə. *va* 'can *gə*la *pī*la *marda*'kān *a*'gā-ku neš'ta *bimbe*. *avān* *vazir* *va*'kīl *bimbe*. 'bindešāne *šā* 'əm *pārce* *xeil*i 'xāseš *bā*mayə. *əmāni* *ā*-gar'desinde, 'bātešāne, 'xāseš *vatae*'.

'*handasān* *ceme* *vatan*-da *lā*'vašān *be*'karde 'šā *ā*-gar'dese, 'bāteše, 'illa *il*'la 'bāja, *əm* 'ce-ra *xube*?' 'i *nafari* 'bāte, 'šā-rā *bāš*'lāγ *rac* *ā*-kara. *ave* *da*'xure'. 'i *nafari* 'bāte, 'a've 'pa-gira, *šā* *zā*-rā 'γam *bāra*. *ca*-rā *xube*. *valiyād* 'bu 'əma *du*'je, 'da-kare'. *cemān* *lā*'vān *šā* *xāseš* 'nāmaye. 'bāteše, 'še'ma *nešās*serāne *vātan*, *ceme* *vajā*'re 'da-xāna, 'bāra, *bedā* 'a *bā*'je *əm* 'ce-rā *xube*, 'binəm 'ca *ayl*'cejure'.

pārce'vaje *bicāra*, *ke* *hama* *tura* *lā*'va *ka*'ri *va* *əstan* *zuwā*'nə-ku *hamiša* *nā*'la *ka*'ri, *bā*'maye *šā* *var*. *šā* *ave* 'bāte, 'əm 'te *vatae*, *əm* 'ce-rā *xube*?' *hə*'zin *əstan* *zu*'wāneš *ā*-karde, *bāteše*, 'šā 'sāγ *bebu*, *əm* *tābu*'te *sa*'re-rā *xube*, *va* *əm* *ca* *vā*'si *vār*'dame'. *šā* 'əm *lā*va *bašna*'vesseše, 'yeizeš *be*'karde. *da*'xandeše *əstan* *γalā*'ma. *ca* *γalām* *bā*'mayə, *ave* 'leseš *beza*, *a*'gā-ku *bar*'kardešāne.

The story of the cloth-weaver and the king

In olden times, they say, there was a master cloth-weaver. He had made a name for himself in cloth-weaving. Several years he had spent¹ his time in that way. Once he had woven a piece of cloth with his own hands that was very fine and its value, moreover, was great. Then he sat (and) said to himself, 'This which I have woven, and it is very fine, I shall give for them to take to the king. It is worthy of him. I know (that when) the king sees it he will be pleased (and) will call (and) say, "Give ye a robe of honour to the weaver of this"'. He thought to himself (that) this way (of acting was) advisable. •

He had a habit, and it was this: he could not control his tongue (and) he would say foolish things.² (So) he said to his tongue, 'O tongue, you must help me to-day (and) not spoil my toil of several years. You must say nice words before the king (so) that my words may please him (and) he may tell them to bring me a robe of honour'. He said these (words) to his tongue, admonished (it), got up, went (and) arranged his clothes (and) put (them) on. He took up that cloth, wrapped it in a fine kerchief, rose and went to the king's house.

(When) he reached the king's house the king's men checked him. He said, 'I have business with the king'. The king said, 'Let him come in'. He went in, took up the bundle (and) put it before the king. The king looked (and) saw that its weaver had woven it well. It pleased him. And several great men were sitting there. They were ministers and deputies. They saw that this cloth pleased the king greatly. These also turned (and) said, 'He has woven it well'.

They said so much about its weaving (that) the king turned (and) said, 'Tell (me), one by one, what is this good for?' One person said, 'Arrange ye a mantle for the king. It suits that (purpose)'. One person said, 'Take it (and) keep (it) for the king's son. It suits him. (When) he becomes heir to

¹ Lit. 'put'.

² Lit. 'words'.

the throne he will sew this (and) wear it'. Their words did not please the king. He said, 'You were not able to say, (so) call ye the weaver of this, bring him (and) let him say what this is good for (so that) I may see how his wit is'.

The poor weaver, who used to say all foolish things and used always to complain of his tongue, came before the king. The king said to him, 'You have woven this. What is this good for?' He loosed his tongue in this manner (and) said, 'May the king be well, this is good for the top of (your) coffin and for that reason I have brought it'. (When) the king heard this talk he grew angry. He summoned his servant. His servant came (and) beat him with a stick (and) they drove him out from there.

V a (Shāli)

nayle mollā, dā zalla, i xerdi

dā gōla zalla 'bimbe, de-ben'di-nam dā'vāšān gata be 'i xerdi 'sar-da. be'šinde mol'lā var. mollā 'bāte, ' 'cerā āmirān yā?' bātešāne, 'ama xer'de sar-da dā'vāmān ga'tae'. 'i zal'la ā-gar'dese, 'bāteše, ' 'a vāje, "em xer'de ce'mane". ha'ma zā'ninde em xerde ce'mane'. mollā 'bāteše, 'jal'lāde 'dā-xāna, 'bā, em 'nesf bekare, 'i tika 'ā-da 'a zal'la, 'i tika 'ā-da 'em zalla'.

jal'lād bā'maye. jal'lād ke bāma'yā 'illa zalla berame'sa(n) da-genesse, 'bāteše, 'ceman xerde 'makša'. a-illa zalla 'nevrami, hici 'nevāji, agā vān'da be ā-diya'si. mollā 'bindeše a zalla ke bera'me, befā'messeše, 'em xerde 'māye'. xerdeš pa-gateše, 'ha zalleš ā-dā. 'bāteše, 'em xerdei 'mā 'teiš. 'pa-gi, 'bešen'. a've pa-'gate, be'se. mollā 'bāte, 'a zal'la 'less bezana'.

• The story of the judge, two women, (and) a child

There were two women who had quarrelled with each other about a child. They went before a judge. The judge said, 'Why have you come here?' They said, 'We have quarrelled about this child'. One woman turned (and) said, 'She says, "This child is mine". (But) everybody knows this child is mine'. The judge said, 'Call ye the executioner (that) he may come (and) halve this (child and) give one piece to that woman (and) one piece to this woman'.

The executioner came. When the executioner came one woman fell to weeping (and) said, 'Do not kill my child'. The other woman neither wept nor said anything (but) stood there looking on. When the judge saw that that woman wept he realized that, 'This is the child's mother'. He took up the child (and) gave it to that woman. He said, 'You are the mother of this child. Take (it and) go'. She took (it and) went. The judge said, 'Beat ye this woman'.

V b (Shāndermani) ¹

'dā žen 'binan ben'di-na dā'vāšān geta ba 'i xerda'ni sar. šina mol'lā var. • mol'lā 'vāta, ' 'cerā umaina?' 'vātešuna, 'a'ma em xerda'ni zone dā'vā getamuna'.

¹ Versions in related dialects, see *Gr. ir. Ph.* I, 2, 376 ff.

THE TRIPARTITE IDEOLOGY OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS : AN EXPERIMENT IN METHOD

By JOHN BROUGH

'For the Snark *was* a Boojum, you see.'

THOSE who wish to ascertain 'le dernier état de ces questions' will be grateful to Professor G. Dumézil who has now summed up for us in brief compass his immense labours of nearly a quarter of a century in the study of Indo-European religion.¹ Although the book does not cover the whole wide range of his researches, it does deal comprehensively (and with full bibliographical notes) with the central dogma :

'La comparaison des plus vieilles traditions des divers peuples parlant des langues indo-européennes a révélé un fond considérable d'éléments communs, et d'éléments non pas isolés, mais organisés en structures complexes, dont les autres peuples de l'ancien monde n'offrent pas l'équivalent. L'exposé qu'on va lire est consacré à la plus importante de ces structures' (introduction, p. 5).

The main delineaments of this structure may be outlined as follows² :

'Les Indo-Européens avaient une conception de la structure sociale fondée sur la distinction et la hiérarchisation des trois fonctions' (pp. 17-18).

The three social classes are 'prêtres, guerriers et pasteurs', or, in more general terms, 'prêtres, guerriers, producteurs'. This conception, deduced from a comparison of the oldest Indo-Iranian, Celtic, Italic, and Greek sources, is not to be interpreted too rigidly in terms of social reality :

'(La comparaison) . . . ne peut naturellement enseigner grand chose sur la forme — ou les diverses formes — concrètes où se réalisait cette conception' (p. 18).

Nevertheless, one assumes, some social reality must have given rise to the abstractions referred to as the 'trois fonctions'³ :

'Il faut entendre par là, certes, les trois activités fondamentales que doivent assurer des groupes d'hommes . . . pour que la collectivité subsiste et prospère. Mais le domaine des "fonctions" ne se limite pas à cette perspective sociale' (p. 18).

'Il est maintenant facile de mettre sur la première et sur la deuxième

¹ Georges Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (Collection Latomus, Vol. XXXI), Bruxelles (Berchem), 1958. Where no other indication is given, references to pages in the present article are to the pages of this book.

² This summary of a summary is given merely for convenience of reference. In the interests of 'fair play' (p. 104, § 5) it must be said that the summarization, though carried out conscientiously (and, I hope, 'loyalement'), is no more than it claims to be. The quotation of passages out of context, and without detailed discussions of evidence, may lead to distortions of perspective. The reader is therefore warned of possible bias, and is referred to Professor Dumézil's own writings.

³ Since the English word 'function' would be more than a little misleading, it has seemed advisable to retain the French term for this technical usage.

“ fonctions ” une étiquette couvrant toutes les nuances : d’une part le sacré et les rapports soit des hommes avec le sacré (culte, magie), soit des hommes entre eux sous le regard et la garantie des dieux (droit, administration), et aussi le pouvoir souverain exercé par le roi ou ses délégués en conformité avec la volonté ou la faveur des dieux, et enfin, plus généralement, la science et l’intelligence, alors inséparables de la méditation et de la manipulation des choses sacrées ; d’autre part la force physique, brutale, et les usages de la force, usages principalement mais non pas uniquement guerriers. Il est moins aisé de cerner en quelques mots l’essence de la troisième fonction, qui couvre des provinces nombreuses, entre lesquelles des liens évidents apparaissent, mais dont l’unité ne comporte pas de centre net : fécondité certes, humaine, animale et végétale, mais en même temps nourriture et richesse, et santé, et paix — avec les jouissances et les avantages de la paix — et souvent volupté, beauté, et aussi l’importante idée du “ grand nombre ”, appliquée non seulement aux biens (abondance), mais aussi aux hommes qui composent le corps social (masse). Ce ne sont pas là des définitions *a priori*, mais bien l’enseignement convergent de beaucoup d’applications de l’idéologie tripartite ’ (p. 19).

Theological and mythological structures reflect the same distribution of ‘ fonctions ’ :

‘ Partout où nous sommes suffisamment informés, il est aisé de reconnaître un groupement central de divinités solidaires, qui se définissent les unes par les autres et se répartissent les provinces du sacré selon le plan dégagé dans le chapitre précédent ’ (i.e., according to the ‘ trois fonctions ’) (p. 34).

The first rank is occupied by two antithetic and complementary divine rulers, of whom the one (represented for example by the Rigvedic Mitra and the Scandinavian Týr) is the divine jurist, ‘ Contract ’ personified, ‘ rassurant, bienveillant, protecteur des actes et rapports honnêtes et réglés, étranger à la violence ’ ; while the other (exemplified by Varuṇa and Óðinn) is ‘ un maître inquiétant, terrible, possesseur de la *māyā*, c’est-à-dire de la magie créatrice de formes, armé de nœuds, de filets, c’est-à-dire opérant par saisie immédiate et irrésistible ’ (p. 38).

II,¹ represented by Indra (also Vāyu), and Thor, calls for no special comment ; while III is particularly represented by the twin deities, the Ásvins (pp. 38–9, *et passim*).

In addition to dominating these main provinces, triplicity can be traced in a host of other places. Thus, we find triads of calamities (e.g. I injustice ; II war ; III famine) and of wrong-doing (I harming by charms ; II physical violence ; III theft) ; three types of medicine (I healing by charms ; II surgery ; III herbs) ; tripartite eulogies of kings ; triple juridical mechanisms. The Judgment of Paris has the same significance (I Hera ; II Athene ; III Aphrodite) ; and triplication in Plato’s *Republic* cannot be lightly passed over.

Now this tendency to think of things in groups of three, all of which groups

¹ For convenience, the roman numerals I, II, III will be used as labels to indicate the three ‘ fonctions ’, or, where appropriate, any correlating hierarchization.

can be set in one-to-one correspondence with the three 'fonctions',¹ is held to be, not merely Indo-European, but characteristically and exclusively Indo-European. This point is so important that it is worth citing the passages where the claim is made :

' *La tripartition sociale dans l'ancien monde.*—A ces schémas concordants, c'est en vain qu'on a cherché une réplique indépendante dans la pratique ou les traditions des sociétés finno-ougriennes ou sibériennes, chez les Chinois ou les Hébreux bibliques, en Phénicie ou dans la Mésopotamie sumérienne ou sémitique, et généralement dans les vastes zones continentales contiguës aux Indo-Européens ou pénétrées par eux : . . . de près ni de loin, rien . . . ne rappelle la structure des trois classes fonctionnelles hiérarchisées. Il n'y a pas d'exceptions. Quand un peuple non indo-européen de l'ancien monde, du Proche-Orient notamment, semble se conformer à cette structure, c'est qu'il l'a acquise sous l'influence d'un nouveau venu de son voisinage, d'une de ces dangereuses bandes indo-européennes qui, au second millénaire, — Louvites, Hittites, Arya — se sont hardiment répandues sur plusieurs routes ' (p. 16).

The obvious objection to the whole analysis is anticipated :

' *Les trois fonctions et la " nature des choses "*.—De telles formules, objecte-t-on parfois, ne sont-elles pas trop naturelles, trop bien modelées sur l'uniforme et inévitable disposition des choses, pour que leur accumulation et leurs similarités prouvent une origine commune et l'existence d'une doctrine caractéristique des Indo-Européens ? Une réflexion même élémentaire sur la condition humaine et sur les ressorts de la vie collective ne doit-elle pas, en tout temps et en tout lieu, aboutir à mettre en évidence trois nécessités : une religion garantissant une administration, un droit et une morale stables ;
 • une force protectrice ou conquérante ; enfin des moyens de produire, de manger et généralement de jouir ? Et quand l'homme réfléchit sur les périls qu'il court, sur les voies qui s'ouvrent à son action, n'est-ce pas encore à quelque variété de ce schéma qu'il est ramené ? Il suffit de sortir du monde indo-européen, où ces formules sont si nombreuses, pour constater que, malgré le caractère en effet nécessaire et universel des trois besoins auxquels elles se réfèrent, elles n'ont pas, elles, la généralité, la spontanéité qu'on suppose : pas plus que la division sociale correspondante, on ne les retrouve dans aucun texte égyptien, sumérien, accadien, phénicien ni biblique, ni dans la littérature populaire des peuples sibériens, ni chez les penseurs confucéens ou taoïstes, si inventifs et si experts en matière de classification. La raison en est simple, et détruit l'objection : pour une société, ressentir et satisfaire des besoins impérieux est une chose ; les amener au clair de la conscience, réfléchir sur eux, en faire une structure intellectuelle et un moule

¹ The correlation, however, is not in every case equally clear. It would require more ingenuity than I find myself capable of to correlate the 'fonctions' with the Indian 'aims of existence', *dharma artha kama*, quoted on pp. 24 and 97 in the unusual order *dharma kama artha*, and translated as 'la loi morale, la passion, l'intérêt économique'. This still seems to me to be I, III, III—'fécondité' is given pride of place in the characterization of III (p. 19). The point can hardly be simply 'the lascivious soldiery', nor, specifically, the notorious libertinism of Indra, since, although Indra himself is II, his adultery is held to be a sin against III (p. 30) ; and we would not in any case wish to believe that sinful behaviour could really be a *puruṣārtha*. Perhaps this is one of the cases where we have to admit 'quelque flottement dans la représentation ou définition des trois fonctions' (p. 32).

de pensée est tout autre chose ; dans l'ancien monde, seuls les Indo-Européens ont fait cette démarche philosophique¹ (pp. 22-3).

'Ce rapide échantillonnage suffit à montrer les directions et domaines très divers dans lesquels l'imagination des peuples indo-européens a utilisé la structure tripartite. Ici encore, comme pour les autres applications de cette structure, nous devons nous retourner vers les peuples non indo-européens de l'ancien monde et rechercher si, autour d'un héros ou de quelque autre manière, elle a produit un thème épique ou légendaire, la mise en scène d'une leçon morale ou politique, la justification imagée d'une pratique ou d'un état de fait. Jusqu'à présent, les résultats de l'enquête sont négatifs. De Gilgamesh à Samson, des grands Pharaons aux empereurs fabuleux de la Chine naissante, de la sagesse arabe même aux apologues confucéens, aucun personnage historique ou mythique ne revêt nulle part l'uniforme trifonctionnel où se précipitent au contraire tant de figures indo-européennes. Il est donc probable que cet uniforme est indo-européen' (p. 32).

In spite of the modest 'jusqu'à présent' in the last passage with reference to other subsidiary tripartitions, the claim is categorical for social structure—'il n'y a pas d'exceptions'—and for the general conception of the three 'fonctions'—'on ne les retrouve dans *aucun* texte'. The erudition which is necessary in order to be able to assert with confidence these vast negatives is so breathtaking that it deserves only profound admiration and respectful acceptance. But a native scepticism, refusing to accept the axiom of the Bellman, suggested that so large a claim ought at least to be examined : and the Bible is explicitly mentioned in each of these passages ; and the Bible lay close to hand. It was natural therefore to re-read several of the books of the Old Testament with the tripartite hypothesis in view. The results were surprising.

As we would expect, Hebrew monotheism precludes any exuberant mythology. But all three 'fonctions' are in fact represented by the various aspects of the Divinity : the God of the Covenant (I, aspect Mitra) ; the jealous God, the God of the penitential Psalms (I, aspect Varuṇa—indeed, a comparison between some of the Rigvedic hymns to Varuṇa and the penitential Psalms has frequently been drawn in the past) ; the Lord mighty in battle (Joshua xxiii, 3 ; Psalm xxiv, 8, etc.) (II) ; and the God who sends the thunder and the rain, and 'causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man : that he may bring forth food out of the earth ; And wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart' (Psalm civ, 14-15) (III) ; or, if

¹ In an earlier book, *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, 1949, the condemnation of the argument from 'la nature des choses' appears in less forthright terms, and it is even admitted (p. 239) that 'la tripartition consciente et explicite de la société ou de la partie directrice de la société en prêtres, guerriers et agriculteurs n'est pas propre au monde indo-européen'. But the final conclusion is the same (ibid., pp. 240-1) : 'Très précisément, si l'on considère la portion d'humanité déjà vaste que connaissaient les anciens, on constate qu'un système triparti conscient et explicite ne se rencontrait que dans des civilisations où une puissante composante indo-européenne est incontestable'.

the thunder and rain suggest a comparison with Indra and his Indo-European cognates, II and III combined :

‘ L'exemple majeur est celui de la pluie, qui gonfle les eaux du sol, qui fournit directement ou indirectement le type de richesse pastorale et agricole, la santé même, dont s'occupent les dieux de la “ troisième fonction ” ; mais elle est obtenue par la bataille céleste, . . . et cela est l'affaire, la grande affaire d'Indra ’ (pp. 46-7)).

This is perhaps not very much, but it is a reasonably good start in a field which, from the nature of the Hebrew religion, was bound to be limited ; and we may already seem to have the beginnings of a ‘ coincidence which would be difficult to attribute to chance ’ (p. 89). The reader may no doubt be tempted at this stage to invoke ‘ la nature des choses ’ ; but if we deny the force of this argument in the Indo-European field, would it be legitimate to use it here ?

In the legendary history of Rome, the three tribes are held to represent the three functional classes : Ramnes, I ; Luceres, II ; Titienses, III (pp. 12-15). The twelve tribes of Israel continued to play an active role in later history, and it would not be easy to deduce their origins from the later books. But a remarkable passage in Genesis, put into the mouth of Jacob, neatly allocates them, four to each of the three ‘ fonctions ’ :

- I. ‘ Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power ’ (Genesis xlix, 3).
 ‘ Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise : thy hand shall
 • be in the neck of thine enemies ; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. . . . The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet ’ (8, 10 ; cf. also Psalm cviii, 8, ‘ Judah is my lawgiver ’).
 ‘ Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel ’ (16).
 ‘ Naphtali is a hind let loose : he giveth goodly words ’ (21).
- II. ‘ Simeon and Levi are brethren ; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. . . . Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce ; and their wrath, for it was cruel ’ (5, 7).
 ‘ Gad, a troop shall overcome him : but he shall overcome at the last ’ (19).
 ‘ Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf : in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil ’ (27).
- III. ‘ Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea ; and he shall be for an haven of ships ’ (13).
 ‘ Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens : And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant ; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute ’ (14-15).
 ‘ Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties ’ (20).
 ‘ Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well ; whose branches run over the wall : The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him : But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob . . . who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb ’ (22-5).

This speaks for itself. There are, however, singularities deserving comment in the cases of Judah and Levi. Although Judah's position as ruler and lawgiver places him indisputably in I, he is also a successful warrior—'thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies'. In this is reflected the characteristic fluctuation of the Indo-European king between I and II (pp. 32-3). Likewise Levi, in spite of the priestly functions of the Levites in later days, is here placed firmly in II, showing as he does the characteristic *Wut* of the warrior. Rome provides us with a parallel for migration from one 'fonction' to another in the person of Romulus, who started his career as III, became I, type Varuṇa, as king, and was deified as III after his death (pp. 80-2). A still closer parallel may be seen in the Indian conception of the *rājarsi*, the man of warrior origin who has become a sage. The best known case is that of Viśvāmitra, originally a Kṣatriya, but later a Brahman and the eponymous founder of an important Brahman clan. These two coincidences with the Indo-European field, which could hardly have been expected *a priori*, are thus highly significant.

Can we still attribute all this to mere chance, or to 'la nature des choses'? Perhaps so. But there is still more to come.

In 1939 Professor Dumézil discovered that the early history of Rome could be interpreted, as a sort of mythology brought down to earth, in terms of the three 'fonctions'; and in 1947 Stig Wikander performed the same service for the *Mahābhārata*:

'D'une part la plus grande épopée indienne, le *Mahābhārata*, développe les aventures d'une équipe de héros qui correspondent, terme à terme, aux grands dieux des trois fonctions de la religion védique et même prévédique, en sorte que l'Inde présente, avec cet énorme poème et le *R̥gveda*, comme une double édition, répondant à deux différents besoins et avec de sensibles variantes, de son "idéologie en images". D'autre part, si Rome a perdu toute mythologie et réduit ses êtres théologiques à leur sèche essence, elle a en revanche conservé, pour en constituer, sur le tard, l'histoire à la fois merveilleuse et raisonnable de ses propres origines, un vieux répertoire de récits humains, colorés et divers, parallèle à ce qu'avait dû être, en des temps moins austères, le dossier mythique des dieux' (p. 74).

And in 1958 I have now discovered that ancient Jewish history provides us with not one, but two distinct series of persons and events which are illumined by a similar tripartite analysis. The first series, while clear in detail, is occasionally scanty, and in its last part fragmentary (though that fact also can be explained). But the second series is complete and rounded, and affords many pleasing and curious occasions for exegesis.

I am not sure that I understand the precise *modus operandi* of the 'temps austères' in depriving the Romans of the mythology which they otherwise should have enjoyed; but it is certain that the Hebrews were subjected to this influence in no small degree, and they had in addition an obstacle to mythology in their monotheism. It was therefore only to be expected that, like the Romans, they should have developed their 'mythologie trifonctionnelle' in historical terms.

The first series forms the main framework of the book of Judges, while the second occupies the two books of Samuel, except that the last term in the series, Solomon, is held over for the first book of Kings (and, as we shall see, there is a reason for that). There is no need here to elaborate too minutely—though there is indeed enough material for a treatise as large as *Jupiter Mars Quirinus*. I leave it to the reader to consult the Old Testament narrative and to pick up points of detail which I have missed. It will suffice to set out the two schemata, and note only the principal reasons for the inevitable attribution to 'fonction' in each case.

A	I type Mitra	Ehud
	I type Varuna	Deborah
	II type Indra	Gideon
	II type Vāyu	Samson
	III	[The wives of the Benjamites]
B	I type Mitra	Eli
	I type Varuna	Samuel
	II type Vāyu	Saul
	II type Indra	David (as king)
	III	David (as a youth)
	I, II, III	Solomon

We are told very little about Ehud (just as in the Rigveda Mitra remains a somewhat shadowy figure, cf. p. 64), but that little is of astonishing significance. Ehud was 'a man lefthanded' (Judges iii, 15 ff.) who delivered Israel by stabbing to death Eglon the king of Moab, who was 'a very fat man'. He had gained access to Eglon under the pretext of bringing him a 'present'. This tale is thus, beyond question, a reflex of the same legend as we find in Rome attached to C. Mucius Scaeuola (the 'Lefthanded'); and Scaeuola, as Professor Dumézil has repeatedly assured us, is the Roman counterpart of the Scandinavian 'dieu manchot' Týr.¹ There is no need to underline the significant relationship between Gift and Contract (Mitra); and the treachery involved has the same motivation as that of Týr, namely, the extirpation of a dangerous enemy. Finally, in the Roman version the City is besieged and suffering from famine; and the fatness of Eglon is clearly the reverse of the same medal.

The narrative tells us still less about Deborah (Judges iv), but her status

¹ See p. 106, § 19, for bibliographical references. I have not, however, been able so far to trace a Hebrew counterpart of the 'dieu borgne' (Ódinn, Horatius Coolea). One is naturally tempted to think of the blinded Samson, but this would probably be a mistake: see Dumézil, *Déeses latines et mythes védiques*, p. 97, n. 2. In this note we are promised a study of the 'dieu souverain aveugle', and it will be interesting to see whether this study will throw light on the 'valeur qualificatrice, fonctionnelle' of the blindness of Samson. It is important to emphasize the fact that in these studies the mere *absence* of a particular element is never significant, since we must naturally always make allowance for loss and change with the passage of time.

as the representative of I type Varuṇa is indicated by her position in the temporal series, and by the significant fact that *she does not herself intervene in the battle*, although she accompanies the commander Barak, to whom she announces that the Lord will draw the enemy to the river Kishon and deliver them into the hand of Barak. Now it is characteristic of the Varuṇa-Óðinn type that they do not directly take part in fighting, but bring about the victory by supernatural power :

‘ Nulle part, certes, ni dans l’Inde ni à Rome, les dieux du premier niveau, Varuṇa, Jupiter, ne se désintéressent de la guerre : s’ils ne combattent pas proprement comme Indra et Mars, ils mettent leur magie au service du parti qu’ils favorisent et c’est en définitive par eux qu’est attribuée la victoire qui, en effet, si elle est gagnée par la Force, intéresse surtout l’Ordre par ses conséquences. On n’est donc pas surpris de voir Óðinn, lui aussi, intervenir dans les batailles, sans beaucoup y combattre, et notamment en jetant sur l’armée qu’il a condamnée une panique paralysante, mot-à-mot liante, le “ lien d’armée ”, *herfjöturr* ’ (p. 57).

The correspondence is perfect. Even though the ‘ lien ’ is not specifically mentioned, the mechanism is the same (the ‘ drawing ’ of the enemy to the river) ; and the resulting ‘ panique paralysante ’ allows Barak to annihilate the whole enemy army.

Gideon need not detain us. His Indra-character is underlined by his 300 picked warriors selected from among 10,000 (Judges vii, 4 ff.). These are clearly *marianni* (pp. 17, 37), the *sardhas*, ‘ le bataillon des jeunes guerriers divins ’, the Maruts who accompany Indra (pp. 35, 39). In this respect, Israel has preserved a more logical version than Rome, for in Rome the same 300 young warriors have migrated to the story of Mucius Scaevola (Liv, II, 12). The latter days of Gideon are obscure :

‘ And Gideon made an ephod thereof (sc. of the earrings), and put it in his city, even in Ophrah : and all Israel went thither a whoring after it : which thing became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house ’ (Judges viii, 27).

But it is natural to assume that this statement forms the remnant of an earlier and fuller version which included the typical ‘ trois péchés du guerrier ’ (pp. 29-31).

We cannot fail to recognize in Samson the other facet of II, the Vāyu type of warrior :

‘ Le héros du type Vāyu, sorte de bête humaine, est doué d’une vigueur physique presque monstrueuse et ses armes principales sont ses seuls bras, prolongés parfois par une arme qui lui est propre : la massue. Il n’est ni beau, ni brillant, il n’est pas non plus très intelligent et s’abandonne aisément à de désastreux accès de fureur aveugle. Enfin, il opère souvent seul, hors de l’équipe dont il est pourtant le protecteur désigné, cherchant l’aventure, tuant principalement des démons et des génies. Au contraire le héros du type Indra est un surhomme, si l’on veut, mais d’abord un homme réussi et civilisé, dont la force reste harmonieuse et qui manie des armes perfectionnées (Arjuna est notamment un grand archer, le spécialiste des armes de jet). Il est brillant, intelligent, moral même, et surtout sociable, guerrier de bataille plus que chercheur d’aventures, et généralissime naturel de l’armée de ses frères ’ (p. 77).

The picture of the Vāyu type might almost have been drawn directly from Samson. When he killed the lion, 'he had nothing in his hand' (Judges xiv, 6); and he slew a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass for his club (Judges xv, 15-16). He always operates alone, and his frequent 'accès de fureur aveugle', euphemistically described as 'the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him', hardly require mention; and his dealings with Delilah (Judges xvi, 4 ff.) give a fair indication of his intelligence. We can even perhaps risk the conjecture that Samson's ultimate blinding is simply the result of a misunderstanding by the narrator of his 'fureur aveugle': the same metaphor is used in India, e.g. *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, iii.32, where Aśvatthāman describes himself as *krodhāndhaḥ*, 'blinded by *Wut*'. This last suggestion, however, is put forward tentatively, until we see whether Professor Dumézil's forthcoming discussion of the 'dieu souverain aveugle' suggests some other more satisfying explanation (see above, p. 75, n. 1). We may note at this point that Professor Dumézil's mistake with regard to Samson (p. 32, quoted above, p. 72) was to treat him in isolation. When he is considered as an element in a whole articulated complex 'structure', his 'caractère fonctionnel' leaps to the eye.

The narrative of Judges has thus supplied, and in proper sequence, representations of both types of I, and both types of II. It remains to inquire for III. Here, as already indicated, the richness of detail falls off. It may well be, to some extent at least, that Samson represents III as well as II—note his preoccupation with *food* (honey) and *clothing*, and *women*; and there is no intrinsic objection to two 'fonctions' inhering in the same person, since, as we have seen, Romulus is III as well as I, and could in fact also be II, if we will,* in view of his young men, the *celeres*, who are clearly *marianni*.¹ But, quite unexpectedly, the last chapter of the book of Judges suddenly suggested quite a different answer. In the savage Benjamite wars, not only were the men of the tribe slaughtered in great numbers, but all their women were also slain.

'Then the elders of the congregation said, How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing the women are destroyed out of Benjamin? . . . Therefore they commanded the children of Benjamin, saying, Go and lie in wait in the vineyards; And see, and, behold, if the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance in dances, then come ye out of the vineyards, and catch you every man his wife of the daughters of Shiloh, and go to the land of Benjamin. And it shall be, when their fathers or their brethren come unto us to complain, that we will say unto them, Be favourable unto them for our sakes: because we reserved not to each man his wife in the war: for ye did not give unto them at this time, that ye should be guilty. And the children of Benjamin did so, and took them wives, according to their number, of them that danced, whom they caught: and they went and returned unto their inheritance, and repaired the cities, and dwelt in them' (Judges xxi, 16, 20-3).

* ¹ The Indian 'Männerbund' is attached to Indra (II), and the Germanic to Óðinn (I, type Varuṇa) (p. 95, § 10); and in Rome, as we have seen, we find a second set attached to Mucius Scaevola (I, type Mitra).

Need I do more than merely mention the rape of the Sabine women? Now, it was the Sabines who, by providing Rome with *opes* and women, represented III in the Roman account (pp. 12-13). The wives of the Benjamites, then, clearly give us something of III in the first series, and may perhaps also give us some reason to think that this element was more fully developed in an earlier version of the story.

The second series, from Eli to Solomon, covers the same ground again, but with considerable differences of emphasis. As in series A, the character of I type Mitra is not very largely developed. But his priestly office assures to Eli his status as I, and from the little we do hear of him (I Samuel i-iv) we can readily see that he was benevolent, gentle, and reassuring. He is to that extent, then, a reasonable representative of the Mitra-aspect: 'L'amical Mitra est bienveillant, doux, progressif, rassurant' (p. 63). As for Varuṇa, he is 'impitoyable, violent, soudain, quelque peu démoniaque' (ibid.). How better could we describe the character of the stern Samuel, and his treatment of Agag, a prisoner of war?—'And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal' (I Samuel xv, 33). The calling up of the spirit of Samuel by the witch at En-dor (I Samuel xxviii, 7 ff.) is highly Varuṇesque. It is of course again to be expected that when the representatives of I *are themselves priests*, as in series B, they should not, under monotheism, be given the same mythic range of expression of their aspects as we found in the more archaic series A. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Eli and Samuel stand in the same opposition of *senior* to *junior* as do Numa and Romulus; and it is Samuel, the Varuṇa-aspect, who is appropriately associated with the representatives of II, Saul and David.

In Saul, a king and warrior, we find a hero different, admittedly, from Samson, but in his own way an excellent expression of the Vāyu type. 'From his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people' (I Samuel ix, 2). Although, atypically, he is handsome (ibid.), he is moody and suspicious, not over-intelligent, and jealously antagonistic to his Indra type successor, David, in spite of the services performed for him by the latter. A striking feature, which he shares with Herakles (also a Vāyu type, p. 77), is his disobedience to the divine command (I Samuel xiii, 13, and xv, 19); and as Herakles was punished for his disobedience by a fit of madness, in the course of which he slew his own children (p. 31), similarly with Saul, 'an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him' (I Samuel xvi, 14), and he sought, though unsuccessfully, to slay his own son Jonathan (I Samuel xiv, 44). It is traditional for Indra to defy Varuṇa (p. 85), and just as that great Roman incarnation of II, Tullus Hostilius, defied Jupiter (there is a confusion of levels here, but let it pass), so Saul slew the priests in the city of Nob (I Samuel xxii, 17 ff.), and 'put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land' (I Samuel xxviii, 3). And just as Tullus, suffering under the retribution of Jupiter, later sought refuge in superstitions and vain practices, and tried to save himself by a secret

ritual, but perished because of a mistake in the rite, so Saul in his distress turned to the witch at En-dor to raise the spirit of Samuel, but received no comfort, and

‘died for his transgression which he committed against the Lord, even against the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire of it; And inquired not of the Lord: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse’ (I Chronicles x, 13–14).

The first military undertaking which is reported of David, the slaying of Goliath, shows that he, like Arjuna, is a ‘spécialiste des armes de jet’. He is intelligent, cultured (a harpist, I Samuel xvi, 23, and the reputed author of many psalms), ‘moral même’—at least in his early days (I Samuel xviii, 14), and, all in all, a good Indra type. It is true that he occasionally showed a proclivity for the slaughter of giants (cf. I Chronicles xx, 8, ‘These were born unto the giant in Gath; and they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants’; and of course Goliath himself); and as we have seen, giant-killing is rather a Vāyu characteristic. But this need not disturb us. The attentive reader will have observed that in dealing with Vāyu-Saul, we have quoted the Indian parallel of the antagonism of *Indra* to *Varuṇa*. The overall impression of the distribution of characteristics is sufficient to establish our case, ‘sans que la démarcation soit rigoureuse’ (p. 77). (This is indeed a most useful contribution to method, since by devices of this kind we can frequently not merely neutralize elements recalcitrant to our hypothesis, but can actually press them into service as arguments in support.) Just as Indra is the Dancer, *ṛtú* (p. 39), so also ‘David danced before the Lord with all his might’ (II Samuel vi, 14). The functional significance of this, however, was not understood by his wife: ‘Michal Saul’s daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart’ (ibid., 16).

We have already had occasion to mention the three typical ‘péchés du guerrier’ (pp. 29–31). It is interesting to find that in the Hebrew account these are distributed between the two types of II, thus underlining the essential unity of the ‘deuxième fonction’. The first sin, disobedience to the divine command, we have already seen in Saul. The second, the treacherous slaying of an enemy, is found in David’s method of getting rid of Uriah the Hittite (II Samuel xi), and the third, adultery, in his relationship with Uriah’s wife, Bath-sheba. The fact that David is described after his death as having walked before God ‘in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart’ (I Kings iii, 6) indicates that the chronicler was in some degree aware that these sins were not really reprehensible, but in a sense a necessary part of his characterization as II.

• When we come to III in series B, we find the same inversion of order as in the case of Romulus, who was III before he became I. Like Romulus, David

was originally a shepherd¹; and if, unlike Romulus, David was not a twin, we cannot fail to see in his remarkable friendship with Jonathan a projection of the same twin motif, which thus links him, equally with Romulus, with the divine *Aévíns*.

The culmination of the series is reached in Solomon, the end-point to which the whole complex has been tending. Under Solomon the kingdom at last became a harmonious and integrated expression of all three 'fonctions', a wealthy and prosperous state, with proper balance preserved between religion, defence, and material welfare. This is emphasized, at the beginning of the narration of his reign, in two ways: in terms of social structure, by lists of priests, officers, and officers of his household who 'provided victuals for the king' (I Kings iv; see also I Chronicles xxiii ff. for a more detailed if less perspicuous account), thus indicating a society 'hiérarchisée' in the correct order; and in terms of the 'fonctions', in the famous Choice of Solomon:

'Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people? And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon had asked this thing. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life; neither hast asked riches for thyself (III), nor hast asked the life of thine enemies (II); but hast asked for thyself understanding to discern judgment (I); Behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart . . . And I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches, and honour' (I Kings iii, 9-13).

With this compare, for example, the choice of the sons of Feridūn (quoted p. 27): 'Salm demanda de *grandes richesses*, Töz la *vassillance*, et Erič . . . la loi et la religion'; and other Indo-European examples (pp. 28-9).

Solomon then unites in his own person all three 'fonctions'; and we see now the reason for the somewhat reduced representation of III in series A: the redactors wished to reserve for Solomon the full development of the material prosperity of III. A similar motive also lies behind the closing of the second book of Samuel with David, leaving the glory of Solomon to open the new book of Kings, thus showing that Solomon, in a sense, stands outside the series of which he is nevertheless the culminating point.

¹ In *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, p. 240, Professor Dumézil actually noted that all three 'fonctions' could be attributed to David: 'Le petit berger David (III) tue le champion philistin sur la ligne de bataille (II) et bientôt il sera l'oint du Seigneur (I)'. It is difficult to see the relevance of this example to the general proposition which it purports to illustrate: 'Ce qui domine l'idéologie (sc. dans la Bible), c'est bien plutôt le sentiment de l'omnivalence — moyennant la volonté divine — de chaque être et de l'équivalence de tous'; since there are after all not many persons in the Biblical narrative who could exemplify a similar omnivalence in respect of all three 'fonctions'. What is surprising is that David is held to be disqualified on this score from an *interpretatio trifunctionalis*, although Romulus, who was also shepherd, warrior, and king, is accepted without difficulty. Professor Dumézil has supplied his own comment on this type of procedure: 'Nous voici de nouveau en pleine philologie du bon plaisir' (*Déeses latines et mythes védiques*, p. 21).

All that now remains, if the reader will but bear with me, is to indicate, very briefly, some few of the subsidiary manifestations of tripartitism which a cursory survey of the Old Testament has brought to light. A thorough examination would no doubt yield many more.

'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel ! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side (III) . . . and his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted (I) . . . he shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them through with his arrows (II) ' (Numbers xxiv, 5-8).

Here, as sometimes in Indo-European, the king must be taken to represent I : in other instances quoted below, as also in Indo-European, kings and princes are to be interpreted as II.

'The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms (I) : and he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee ; and shall say, Destroy them (II). Israel then shall dwell in safety alone : the fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine (III) ' (Deuteronomy xxxiii, 27-8).

'So Gad came to David, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Choose thee Either three years' famine (III) ; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee (II) ; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land (I) ' (I Chronicles xxi, 11-12).

With this compare the Indo-European triads of calamities (pp. 20-1). The present instance makes it clear that in such contexts pestilence, which otherwise might be ambiguous, is to be taken as I. We may thus reasonably compare the dropsy with which Varuṇa is wont to afflict the sinner.

'In famine he shall redeem thee from death (III) : and in war from the power of the sword (II). Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue (I—sc. from magic spells) ' (Job v, 20-1).

'He shall judge the poor of the people (I), he shall save the children of the needy (III), and shall break in pieces the oppressor (II) ' (Psalm lxxii, 4).

'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits : Who forgiveth all thine iniquities (I) ; who healeth all thy diseases (III) ; Who redeemeth thy life from destruction (II) ' (Psalm ciii, 2-4).

'Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom : I am understanding (I) ; I have strength. By me kings reign (II) . . . Riches and honour are with me (III) ' (Proverbs viii, 14-15, 18).

'I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight (I) : I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron (II) : And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places (III) ' (Isaiah xlv, 2-3).

'Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will fill all the inhabitants of this land, even the kings that sit upon David's throne (II), and the priests, and the prophets (I), and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem (III), with drunkenness ' (Jeremiah xiii, 13).

'And I will make void the counsel of Judah and Jerusalem in this place (I) ; and I will cause them to fall by the sword before their enemies (II) . . . and they shall eat every one the flesh of his friend in the siege and straitness (III) ' (Jeremiah xix, 7, 9).

'He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword (II), and by the famine (III), and by the pestilence (I)' (Jeremiah xxi, 9).

'Behold, I will bring it health and cure, and I will cure them, and will reveal unto them the abundance of peace and truth (III). And I will cause the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel to return (II). . . . And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity, whereby they have sinned against me (I)' (Jeremiah, xxxiii, 6-8).

'A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord, and upon the inhabitants (III) of Babylon, and upon her princes (II), and upon her wise men (I)' (Jeremiah l, 35).

'And burned the house of the Lord (I), and the king's house (II); and all the houses of Jerusalem (III)' (Jeremiah lii, 13).

'Her gates are sunk into the ground; he hath destroyed and broken her bars: her king and her princes are among the Gentiles (II): the law is no more; her prophets also find no vision from the Lord (I). . . . They say to their mothers, Where is corn and wine? when they swooned as the wounded in the streets of the city (III)' (Lamentations ii, 9, 12).

The following example shows a certain skewness¹:

'A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence (I), and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee (III): and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will draw out a sword after them (II)' (Ezekiel v, 12).

'But the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients (I). The king shall mourn, and the prince shall be clothed with desolation (II), and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled (III)' (Ezekiel vii, 26-7).

'And for them, even for the priests, shall be this holy oblation (I). . . . And the five thousand . . . shall be a profane place for the city, for dwelling, and for suburbs (III). . . . And the residue shall be for the prince (II)' (Ezekiel xlviii, 10, 15, 21).

'For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron (II).' (There follow similar transgressions of violence in respect of Gaza, Tyrus, Edom, Ammon, and Moab. Then follows:)' For three transgressions of Judah, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have despised the law of the Lord, and have not kept his commandments (I). . . . For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes (III)' (Amos i, 3; ii, 4, 6).

How are we to explain all this typically Indo-European ideology among the ancient Hebrews? We can, of course, dismiss the whole thing as a mere burlesque, a caricature of Professor Dumézil's methods: though I protest that I have tried not to caricature, and have done my best to deal with the material in the same manner as he has dealt with the Indo-European material. The reader is free to judge whether or not my treatment is a burlesque.

¹ It is naturally tempting to see in the double representation of II a reflexion of Indra and *Vāyu*.

Or we can seek to explain at each and every point why my interpretations are wrong; for they must all, without a single exception, be wrong: 'Il n'y a pas d'exceptions'; 'on ne les retrouve dans aucun texte . . . biblique'; 'Dans la Bible, dans ces textes chargés d'une réflexion profonde et renouvelée sur la vie sociale et sur les rythmes du monde, on chercherait vainement, semble-t-il, une expression dialectique ou imagée du système des trois fonctions, soit du point de vue de Dieu, soit du point de vue des hommes'.¹ It will be interesting to see whether the Biblical position can be re-established without at the same time undermining the foundations of the Indo-European construction.

Or we might perhaps concede that some at least of my interpretations could be allowed, but suggest that the Hebrews learned this way of thinking from the sons of Heth (was not Solomon's own mother, Bath-sheba, originally the wife of Uriah the Hittite?—'Quand un peuple non indo-européen de l'ancien monde, du Proche-Orient notamment, semble se conformer à cette structure, c'est qu'il l'a acquise sous l'influence . . . d'une de ces dangereuses bandes indo-européennes . . . — Louvites, Hittites, Arya'). This indeed might be the simplest method, and if we are already persuaded that the Egyptian Pharaoh Thoutmosis IV was unable to think of the device of a standing army until his Indo-European wife put the idea into his head (p. 17), it should provide a stimulating exercise in pre-prandial credence.

One of the chief needs in this field would appear to be the development of criteria of significance. To take a trivial example: the books and manuscripts in the British Museum have been acquired either by copyright or gift (I), or *iure belli* (II), or *iure emptiois* (III). It would in fact be difficult to think of any other possible method of acquisition which could not equally be classified under one or other of the three 'fonctions'. It may nevertheless be the case that this represents a direct inheritance from one of the 'mécanismes juridiques triples' of Roman Law (cf. pp. 23-4). A historian of law could perhaps supply the answer. But if no history were available to assist us, would we be justified in seeing here an example of typical Indo-European ideology in nineteenth century England? Even if the question is meaningful, we might still have to admit our inability to assess, on the data, the probabilities of one or other answer being correct. In *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, pp. 241-2, Professor Dumézil was prepared to consider that the French monarchy and the structure of certain modern totalitarian states 'reposent sur des reviviscences claires et simples du vieil *archétype*'; but he does not ask us to believe that these latter-day instances are direct inheritors of primitive Indo-European ideology. What is then the criterion by which we may judge that the trifunctionalization of the early books of Livy is on a different footing from these? It is presumably the instinctive realization of this difficulty which has led to the extraordinary insistence on the exclusively Indo-European character of tripartition in the ancient world: for if no other peoples ever thought of it independently, any

¹ *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, p. 240.

given Indo-European example would to that extent be more likely to be an inheritance rather than a chance coincidence. Even then, a sceptic could still maintain with justice that the hypothesis was rendered only very slightly more probable, in view of the extremely elastic nature of the three 'fonctions'.

This last is really the essential point. The more general we make our categories, the greater the probability will be that an impressive quantity of data can be classified under these categories; but at the same time the chance of our results being significant will be diminished. For this reason, the excellent principle is enunciated that we should seek for systems or structures of some degree of complexity, systems which are 'improbables, au sens que les statisticiens donnent à ce mot'.¹ The trouble is that the principle has been so frequently neglected in practice. It is not even very easy to estimate *a priori* what types of combinations of facts are 'statistically improbable'; and, as we have seen, some of the most apparently 'improbable' features of the Indo-European reconstruction can be traced in the Old Testament with quite as much plausibility as they can in Rome. When we start with categories of such generality and adaptability as the 'trois fonctions', it is not surprising that we should find that they contain an admirable amount of material, and in the end, by a process of self-deception, we may come to believe that 'ce ne sont pas là des définitions a priori, mais bien l'enseignement convergent de beaucoup d'applications de l'idéologie tripartite'. In the meantime it is forgotten how very few—if indeed any—of the examples quoted could be adduced as direct and unambiguous evidence that the Indo-Europeans themselves (or the Indians, or the Romans, or the Scandinavians) 'consciously and explicitly' held the 'conception' of tripartitism as the mainspring of their ideology.

For questions of method, Professor Dumézil refers us 'une fois pour toutes' to the first chapter of *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*. I would join him in urging the same advice on the reader, who will find in this book ample material for judging the methodology of this branch of study. The present article attempts a modest additional contribution to method, namely, the application to this field of the commonplace scientific procedure of the control experiment. A process of analysis is applied to Indo-European literature, and yields a complex conceptual structure which is said to be significant. As a test of significance, we therefore set this conceptual structure against a non-Indo-European literature, and see how well it fits the new data. This is elementary, and it is in fact what Professor Dumézil has suggested: 'nous devons nous retourner vers les peuples non indo-européens' (p. 32). He reports, for the Old Testament, an entirely negative result. I perform the same experiment, and report strongly positive results. We have thus the troublesome situation of diametrically opposite results arising from the same data. I leave the matter at this point for other investigators.

It would seem that if any worker in this field still wishes to maintain that the three 'fonctions' are significantly Indo-European, he should first show that,

¹ *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, pp. 35-6.

in terms of the procedure, my analysis of the Old Testament material is incompetent and radically wrong ; or, accepting my results in principle, show that they are due to direct Indo-European influence upon the Hebrews. The latter alternative should then be followed by further control experiments upon other literatures of non-Indo-European peoples. The present experiment suggests that any sufficiently extensive and diversified body of literature might be expected to produce significantly comparable results. The indications are at least sufficiently strong to make it senseless to proceed further without extensive and thorough testing. The experiment also suggests that the Indo-European ' tripartite ideology ' could be due very largely to bias in the selection of data combined with ' la nature des choses '. If it does not prove this with the certainty of a mathematical demonstration, it does at least prove that, up to the present, no very strong reason has been given for thinking otherwise.

AN ANALYSIS OF ṚGVEDIC RECITATION

By J. E. B. GRAY

येः पूर्वैर्ऋषिभिर्दृष्टं वेदविद्भिश्च नूतनैः ।

ज्ञानं सर्वमयं त्रातं तेषां संतनये नमः ॥

UNTIL quite recently, Western students of Veda have found it difficult to obtain reliable information on the manner of chanting practised by Ṛgvedic Brahmins maintaining their sacred tradition. Some studies on Vedic recitation have appeared in the past,¹ but none has given any information on the oldest of the Vedic schools, the Ṛgveda. During the year 1952-3, some progress was made in this respect, and recordings were taken in Rājasthān² and in Bombay.³ At the time, the manner in which these two reciters chanted appeared to run so far counter to the generally accepted notions in the West concerning the nature of the Vedic accentual pattern that their evidence was simply 'filed'. More recently still, in 1957 and 1958, a further opportunity presented itself of recording chants by a Ṛgvedic Brahmin, this time from Mahārāṣṭra.⁴ Nothing fully authentic is yet available from the eastern side of India,⁵ but the fact that the above three Brahmins agree so closely that any divergences are scarcely worth noting makes useful a description, at the present date, of the chief aspects of their recitation.

The features mainly apparent are two, namely: pitch and stress. Other

¹ See, amongst others: E. Felber, *Die indische Musik der vedischen und der klassischen Zeit*, Wien, 1912; M. Haug, *Über das Wesen und den Wert des vedischen Akzent*, München, 1873; A. A. Bake, 'The practice of Sāmaveda', *Proceedings and transactions of the seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, 1933, 143. The last article contains some remarks on Ṛgvedic recitation. (The *Sāmaveda*, studied chiefly by R. Simon, A. C. Burnell, and M. Śeṣagiri Śāstri, stands completely apart from Rg- and Yajur-vedic recitation.)

² Professor W. S. Allen recorded some dozen verses of Ṛgvedic recitation from a pandit referred to as 'A'. The writer is indebted to Professor Allen for the use of this recording.

³ Some eight hymns, totalling over 100 verses, were recorded by the writer in Bombay. The reciter (referred to as 'B') was a very old man, but the consistency and accuracy of his recitation (not to mention its vigour) from memory makes his testimony most valuable.

⁴ Some six hymns, totalling over 80 verses, were recorded by the writer from a pandit (referred to as 'C'), a man in his thirties, who was also remarkably consistent and accurate in his performance.

⁵ The writer is indebted to Dr. Bake, however, for some further information. (i) An impression of Ṛgvedic chant from a Nepalese Vājasaneyī (recorded in 1956), who, presumably, had heard these recitations from eastern Ṛgvedis. (ii) An impression of Ṛgvedic chant from a Brahmin in Belgaum (recorded in 1938). This testimony is not so valuable as that of (i) since the reciter had gathered his impressions probably in Mahārāṣṭra. On the other hand, to judge from his recitation, he may have been a Ṛgvedi from Madras. Illustrations are given at the end of the article.

features are: nasality, alpa- and mahā-prāṇa, and a few points concerning junction (sandhi) and palatals (see 7 (a)-(d)).

PITCH

Three main tones are used, the high-tone varying from a full second to a full third above the mid-tone, and the low-tone from a semitone to a minor third below.¹ The total range is therefore a fifth and is not much different from that used in emphatic speech. For descriptive convenience, the tones are divided into pure tones and glides, the distribution being as follows:

Pure tones

1. High-tone :

- (a) Anudāttas² on short vowels in closed syllables.
- (b) Svaritas on short vowels in closed syllables³ where a pracaya² follows. (Such svaritas are not pure high-tone where introduced by nasals or semivowels; see 5 (c).)

2. Mid-tone :

- (a) Udāttas followed either by svaritas on short vowels or by anudāttas.
- (b) Svaritas on short vowels in closed syllables³ where anudātta follows. (Such svaritas are not pure mid-tone where introduced by nasals or semivowels; see 5 (d).)
- (c) Svaritas on short vowels before hiatus (vivṛtti).
- (d) Pracayas,⁴ though on long vowels followed by nasals and liquids the tone shows a tendency to flatten. This tendency is also found in final position in the line, the context being broadened here to include final long vowels and vowels closed by -ḥ:  . For pracayas initial in the line, see 3 (b).

3. Low-tone :

¹ In C's recitation the low-tone was nearly always a minor third below mid-tone while the high-tone was frequently a very full third above. The correspondence of the incidence of low-tone between B and C showed almost negligible variation. In the case of A, however, the passages recited were of insufficient length to draw definite conclusions with regard to low-tone.

² The term 'anudātta' is used in this article to denote those syllables which are marked with the anudātta sign (a horizontal stroke below the line) in the R̥gvedic text. An exception is made (for descriptive convenience only) where a succession of two or more anudātta signs are found at the beginning of a line, in which case only the last syllable so marked is termed anudātta. The preceding syllable(s) in such a series, as well as all unmarked syllables following upon svarita, are termed 'pracaya'. The term 'anudātta' corresponds to the *sannatara* ('more constricted') anudātta of Pāṇini (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, I, ii, 40), who uses the term anudātta for all syllables not udātta or svarita.

³ Svaritas (marked with a vertical stroke above the line) on short vowels in closed syllables are relatively rare.

⁴ See p. 88, n. 2.

(a) Udāttas followed by svaritas on long vowels.¹

(b) Pracaya² at the beginning of a line.

Glides

4. Falling high-to-mid- or high-to-low-tone  or 
Anudāttas on long vowels¹ and on short vowels in open syllables.

5. Rising mid-to-high- and falling again to mid-tone  :

Before a pracaya :

(a) Svaritas on long vowels.¹ The vowel is pure mid-tone for approximately half its length .

(b) Svaritas on short vowels in open syllables. Here the tendency is to begin rather higher than mid-tone so that the rise is less . The rise is more pronounced where the svarita is introduced by nasals or semivowels .

(c) Svaritas on short vowels in closed syllables³ where introduced by nasals or semivowels. In these cases, the rise only is apparent .

Before an anudātta :

(d) In 5 (a) and 5 (b) the compass is considerably reduced, frequently so much so that the whole vowel is heard on the mid-tone only. (For 5 (c), see 2 (b); the rise is again almost imperceptible.) In the case of 5 (a), the presence of a following semivowel or, more particularly, of a following *yod* (see 7 (d)), tends to 'invert' the glide.⁴ The variations are too numerous to record and are all simply represented as - .⁵

¹ The combination of short vowel plus homorganic nasal has the effect of counting the vowel long. At the end of a line, a short vowel plus -m or -h has the same effect.

² Pracaya means 'accumulation', i.e. an accumulation of (in Pāṇini's sense) anudāttas, i.e. unimportant syllables. The *Ṛkprāśādhya*, III, 11, states: *svarītād anudātānām pareṣāṃ pracayaḥ svarah / udātāśrutitām yānti ekam dve vā bahūni vā //* 'The anudāttas following a svarita have the accent (known as) pracaya. One, two or more acquire the sound of the udātta'. The tones at the beginning of a verse cannot always be determined accurately. This happens for two reasons: (i) a hymn is generally recited with a mounting tension and excitement, accompanied by a very gradual rise in pitch throughout (i.e. the mid-tone of the last verse of a hymn of some 20 verses may be a third above the initial mid-tone); (ii) hymns are often recited by Brahmans in a group, each individual taking a verse in turn, and the habit of rather slurred entry which thus develops may be carried over by a reciter into individual recitations.

³ See p. 87, n. 3.

⁴ In A's recitation, all svaritas on long vowels before pracaya showed a fall of a semitone. The lower tone in this case lasted for nearly the whole length of the second half of the vowel (as opposed to the swift return to mid-tone heard in the recitation of B and C). C sometimes recited this type of svarita on a long vowel before anudātta. It is possible that A's recitation showed a Yajurvedic influence, since some of the passages recited by him are given by Rgvedic Brahmans on certain occasions in Yajurvedic fashion. The anudātta, however, was almost invariably recited on the high-to-mid-(low)-tone glide by A, showing an identical pattern with that of B and C.

⁵ The remarks concerning the tones of the svarita apply also to the svaritas known as *jātya*

STRESS

To a listener with an English-speaking background, the stress is heard on the anudātta, and to a lesser extent on the svarita. While there is a quite definite intensity on the anudātta (see 7 (b)), the quality of the udātta and pracaya syllables is difficult to distinguish.

6. With reference to 4 above, the anudātta preceding low-tone udāttas is frequently high-to-low-tone on a long vowel. The incidence of such occurrences is most clear where the junction between the anudātta and the udātta consists of two voiceless plosives. On the other hand, a high-to-low-tone anudātta (see 7 (d)) has no effect on the tonality of the udātta. Of two successive udāttas, the first will not be lower in tone than the second.

Under the heading of other features, which act, to a certain extent, as modifications to the statements contained in 1-5, the following points should be noted :

7. (a) Where a vowel is introduced or followed by a nasal, and particularly where a nasal is found in both positions, the quality of the vowel is nasal.¹

(b) *Alpaprāṇa* and *mahāprāṇa*. (*Alpaprāṇa* is the term used to denote (i) the quality of udātta, (ii) the quality of the initial component of svarita,² and (iii) the quality of the absence of aspiration. *Mahāprāṇa* is the term used to denote (iv) the quality of anudātta, (v) the quality of the final component of svarita, and (vi) the quality of aspiration. Of these qualities, the order of strength is as follows : (i), (iv), (ii), (vi), (v), and (iii).)

The place of the principal accent, udātta, is fixed on any given form.³

and *kṣaipra*. Where these svaritas are immediately followed by udātta, however, the recitation becomes rather artificial. As well as the rise and fall of the svarita being maintained, a further high-tone is recited, presumably to indicate the anudātta required to introduce the following udātta. According to the context (i.e. whether the svarita vowel is short or long, and whether it is preceded or not by an udātta syllable in the case of monosyllables), a waver or *kampa* may be heard one, two, or three times.

¹ This feature was much more strongly marked in C's recitation than in that of A or B.

² Svarita is a combination of udātta and anudātta (Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, I, ii, 31 : *samāhārah svaritah*), the first part (half the length of a short vowel) being udātta (ibid., I, ii, 32 : *asyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam*). The *Ṛkprātishākhya*, III, 2, also allows a vowel (long as well as short) to be divided equally : *asyodāttatarodāttād ardhamātrārdrham eva vā* 'a half mora of it (i.e. the svarita vowel) is more prominent than the udātta or a half is the same'. Both Pāṇini and the *Ṛkprātishākhya* agree that the remainder of svarita is anudātta (i.e. has the quality of any unimportant syllable), while the *Ṛkprātishākhya* adds that it is heard on the same tone as the udātta (*Ṛkprātishākhya*, III, 3 : *anudāttah parah śeṣah sa udāttasrutih*). That these dicta on the exact nature of svarita were regarded as doubtful even in ancient times may be gathered from Patañjali's remarks under *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, I, ii, 32. Uvata, commenting on the above citations from *Ṛkprātishākhya*, wisely leaves the problem open. For present purposes, it is convenient to list the components separately.

³ Apart from those cases where the *jātya* svarita is the principal accent or where udātta has disappeared (*kṣaipra*) or has become svarita (*praśliṣṭa* and *abhinihita*). In the last case (*praśliṣṭa* and *abhinihita* svarita), did coalescence or elision not take place, there would be glottal occlusion after the udātta vowel with almost complete disappearance of the initial component of svarita. *Abhinihita* svarita has doubtless spread out from contexts with original -h, an influence which, historically, can be seen gathering strength in the case of *praśliṣṭa* svarita. In addition to the above points, many words are accentless either by nature or for syntactical reasons.

The role of anudātta is to introduce it and that of svarita to follow it. Where alpaṛāṇa and mahāṛāṇa are found on the same syllable, the weaker quality is transferred to the next (preceding or following) syllable if the latter bears a similar quality of greater strength. In this way, where an aspirate consonant introduces an udātta syllable, the mahāṛāṇa on the preceding anudātta may be further intensified.¹ In similar fashion, a svarita, where ousted by anudātta, loses its alpaṛāṇa,² but where immediately followed by anudātta, loses its mahāṛāṇa. In the case of the last svarita in a line, however, the mahāṛāṇa may be carried forward over one or more (generally short) syllables to a final mahāṛāṇa syllable of the type C(h)Ṽh. Apart from this latter context, qualities (v) and (vi) appear to be of equal strength.

(c) If, in a word, a final syllable of the type ChVh (-h being taken to include hiatus) bears an anudātta, the following udātta is invariably mid-tone. Where -h, hiatus (and possibly -h-) are found between two udāttas, the latter are again mid-tone.³

(d) A consonant or semivowel (but not nasal) plus -y depresses the preceding

¹ There is occasional evidence for a certain counterbalance between anudātta and svarita, particularly in the context mentioned, but also where the svarita is introduced by an aspirate consonant. The anudātta may present a more subdued quality, almost indistinguishable from pracaya, and the svarita is recited with greater intensity. No doubt, according to strict practice, this feature is a *doṣa* (*Rkprātisākhya*, III, 18: *svaritam nātinirhanyāt* 'one should not intensify a svarita excessively'), but the conclusion might be that the udātta is the fulcrum between the constriction of mahāṛāṇa and its subsequent release. Allied with this tendency are, probably, the practices mentioned in *Rkprātisākhya*, III, 12: *ke cū tv ekam anekam vā niyacchanty antato 'kṣaram / ā vā śeṣān niyuktaṁ tādāttasvaritodayam* // 'some authorities, however, constrict one or more syllables back from (the udātta), or as far back as a remaining (pracaya); it is proper though (to constrict pracaya thus only) before udātta and svarita'. The *Rkprātisākhya* continues (III, 13): *niyamam karanād eke pracayasvaradharmavat / pracayasvara ācārah śākalyānyata-rejayoh* // 'constriction (over several syllables) would result, according to some authorities, (in the syllable preceding udātta or svarita) possessing the qualities of the pracaya accent; the practice (of constricting pre-udātta and -svarita pracaya) is according to Śākalya and Ānyatareya'.

² Where anudātta occurs in place of svarita (i.e. where the context is the syllable between two udāttas), the range of the preceding alpaṛāṇa is curtailed (since the syllable now following the first udātta does not bear this quality). The result is that the termination of such an udātta acts as if in hiatus (see 7 (c)).

There is evidence here also for the occasional counterbalance which was described in the preceding note. It has, at least, the revered authority of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava, who maintained the svarita in this context (Pāṇini, VIII, iv, 87). There was, it appears, even in those days an important body of scholars who were repelled by the thought of an accented syllable with mahāṛāṇa at both ends. According to this point of view, (ii) (the quality of the initial component of svarita) is stronger than (iv) (the quality of anudātta). That alpaṛāṇa was strong in this position (i.e. over the consonant(s) immediately following the udātta vowel, with a corresponding slurring of the distinction between the preceding anudātta and the udātta) in certain areas is a contention which might be supported by the evidence of the Germanic soundshifts.

³ In these cases, the anudātta is never high-to-low-tone. In the first case (that of the anudātta final), however, the mahāṛāṇa is fully released where the following word has initial *kṣ-*, and, in this context, a high-to-low-tone anudātta may be heard (cf. *Rkprātisākhya*, VI, 15). The exceptions given here to the normal incidence of low-tone on the udātta (i.e. where the svarita is long) rarely operate on the last udātta(s) to occur in a line.

tone. An anudātta on a long vowel before such a combination is high-to-low-tone, while a mid-tone udātta frequently shows a flattening of the tone.¹

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to the tendency for the epithet or name of the deity addressed in a hymn to show some marked feature (e.g. a mid-tone udātta in a context where a low-tone would be expected). That there should be this distinction surrounding the names of deities serves to recall that the recitations which have been briefly described above are the very sacred concern of the R̥gvedic Brahmins.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The following extracts are added by way of illustration. No indications are given of intensity, the incidence of which may be gathered from what has been said under the heading 'Stress' and also in 7 (b) and notes thereto. The following points should be noted in addition, as an attempt has been made to avoid multiplicity of signs. B's recitation of a long svarita before pracaya was, with the exception of the last svarita to occur in a line (and, occasionally, the first), mostly mid-tone only, such rise as was apparent being found mostly where the syllable was closed by a homorganic nasal. Allowance should be made for this in interpreting example 1, while in example 2, such svaritas are indicated by the mid-tone sign. In example 4 the mid-tone sign is also used for svaritas on long vowels before pracaya, but reference should be made to 5 (d) and footnote on A's recitation for correct interpretation. Since both A and B recite the low-tone only a semi-tone below mid-tone, the total range in the case of A, whose high-tone is only a second above mid-tone, is a minor third and therefore akin to the Yajurvedic intervals, while that of B is a fourth.

(In the transliteration of the text, the hyphens are inserted purely for spacing purposes and bear no reference to principles of syllabic division.)

Example 1. Recited by both B and C

R̥gveda, I, 100, i and iii

-	-	-	~	-	-	-	~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sa	yo	vṛ-sā	vṛ-ṣṇyē	bhīḥ	sa-mó-kā	ma-ho	dī-vaḥ	pṛ-thi-vyās	cá	sa-mrāt									
-	~	-	-	~	-	~	-	~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sa-tī	na-sá	tvā	ha-vyo	bha	-ré	-ṣu	ma-ru	tvān	no	bha-va	tv	i	ndrá	ū	tī				
~	-	-	-	~	-	-	~	-	~	-	~	-	~	-	~	-	~	-	~
dī	vo	na	ya-sya	re-tá	so	du-ghā	nāḥ	pa-nthā	so	ya-nti	śa	va-sā	pá	rī	tāḥ				

¹ This feature (and that of nasality, 7 (a)) was brought to the notice of the writer by Professor J. Brough, for whose interest and encouragement in the analysis of these recitations the writer is extremely grateful.

ta-ra-ddvó-śāḥ sā-sa-hiḥ pau-ṁsyé-bhir ma-ru-tvān no bha-va-tv i-ndrá ū-tī

Example 2. Recited by B

Rgveda, I, 80, xiii and xiv

yad vr-traṁ ta-vá cā-śa-niṁ va-jré-ṇa sa-ma-yó-dha-yaḥ
a-hiṁ i-ndrá ji-ghā-ṁsa-to di-vi té ba-dba-dhe śa-vo 'rcann a-nū sva-rā-jyām
a-bhi-ṣṭa-ne té a-dri-vo yat sthā ja-gác ca re-ja-te
tva-ṣṭā cit ta-vá ma-nya-va i-ndrá ve-vi-jya-té bhi-yā-rcann a-nū sva-rā-jyām

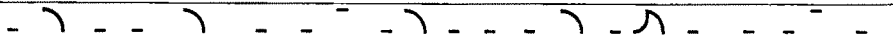
Rgveda, IX, 113, i and ii

śa-rya-ṇā-vá-ti so-mam i-ndráḥ pi-ba-tu vr-tra-hā
ba-laṁ da-dhā-na ā-tma-ni ka-ri-ṣyan vī-ryām ma-had i-ndrá-ye-ndo pa-ri sra-va
ā pá-va-sva di-śām pa-ta ā-rjī-kāt só-ma mī-dhvaḥ
r-ta-vā-ke-ná sa-tye-ná śra-ddha-yā ta-pá-sā su-ta i-ndrá-ye-ndo pa-ri sra-va

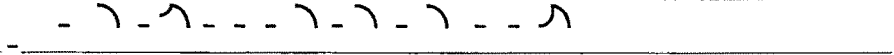
Example 3. Recited by C

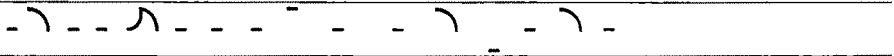
Rgveda, X, 37, x

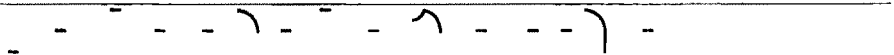
śam nó bha-va ca-kṣá-sā śam no a-hnā śam bhā-nu-nā śam hi-mā śam ghr-ṇe-ná

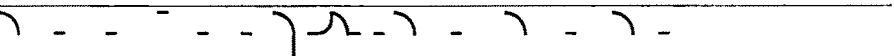

 ya-thā́ śam a-dhvañ cham a-sád du-ro-ne tat sū-rya dra-vi-ṇam dhe-hi ci-tram

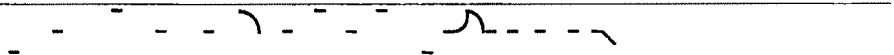
R̥gveda, x, 90, v, viii, and ix

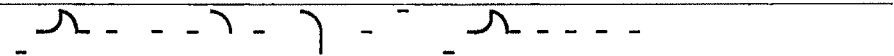

 ta-smād vi-rāḷ á-jā-ya-ta vi-rā-jo a-dhi pū-rú-ṣaḥ


 sa jā-to a-ty á-ri-cya-ta pa-ścād bhū-mim a-thó pu-rah


 ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-taḥ sa-mbhit-tam pr-ṣa-dā-jyam


 pa-sūn tāmś cá-kre vā-ya-vyān ā-ra-nyān grā-myās ca ye


 ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-ta ṛ-caḥ sā-mā-ni ja-jñi-re


 cha-ndā-ṃsi ja-jñi-re ta-smād ya-jus ta-smād a-jā-ya-ta

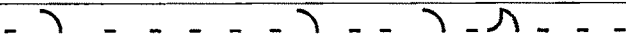
Example 4. Recited by A

R̥gveda, i, 22, xviii and xix


 trī-ṇi pa-dā vi cá-kra-me vi-ṣṇur go-pā a-dā-bhyaḥ


 a-to dha-rmā-ṇi dhā-ra-yān

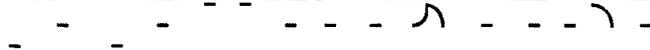
• ¹ The sign  is the 'broken' svarita used by southern R̥gvedis on all long vowels and by Taittirīyans on long vowels in certain contexts. Half the vowel is on one tone and the remaining half on the higher tone.

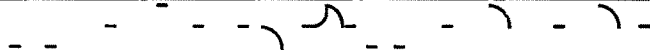

 vi-snoḥ ka-rmā-ṇi pa-śya-ta ya-to vra-tā-ni pa-spa-śe


 i-ndrā-sya yu-jyaḥ sa-khā

Example 5. Recited by a Vājasaneyī (see n. 5, p. 86)

Ṛgveda, x, 90, viii


 ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-taḥ sa-mbhī-tam pr-ṣa-dā-jyam


 pa-śūn tāpś cá-kre vā-ya-vyān ā-ra-nyān grā-myās ca ye

Example 6. Recited by a Madras Ṛgvedī (?) (see n. 5, p. 86)

Ṛgveda, x, 90, ix


 ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-ta r-caḥ sā-mā-ni ja-jñi-re


 cha-ndā-ṃsi ja-jñi-re ta-smād ya-jus ta-smād a-jā-ya-ta

¹ See p. 93, n. 1.

THE VAIBHĀSIKA THEORY OF WORDS AND MEANINGS

By PADMANABH S. JAINTI

AMONG the many controversies between the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika recorded in the *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu,¹ a large number are devoted to discussions of the reality of a Vaibhāṣika category called *citta-viprayukta-saṃskāras* (tr. 'pure forces' by Stecherbatsky).² The Vaibhāṣikas enumerate thirteen such *saṃskāras*³ and declare them to be distinct from the traditional three categories of dharmas, viz. *rūpa* (matter), *citta* (mind), and *caitasikas* (mental concomitants).

Whereas the first ten of these *saṃskāras* have a bearing on the Buddhist theories of causation, unconscious trances, life-duration, and phenomenal existences, and thus are directly or indirectly related to the working of the traditional five *skandhas*, the last three *saṃskāras*, viz. the *nāma-kāya*, *pada-kāya*, and *vyañjana-kāya*, have a bearing only on the nature of words and meanings, as they are 'forces' that impart significance to words, sentences, and letters respectively. An influence of the theory of *sphoṭa* and also of the Mīmāṃsaka theory of eternal words in the formulation of these three Vaibhāṣika *saṃskāras* was long ago noted by Stecherbatsky in his *The central conception of Buddhism*.⁴ A considerable amount of Ābhidharmika literature has been discovered since then, notably the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* of Asaṅga⁵ and the *Abhidharma-dīpa*⁶ (with its commentary the *Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti*⁷) which furnish us with valuable information on these last three *saṃskāras*.

The Pali scriptures make only incidental references to the problem of words and their meanings. The *Kathāvatthu* records no controversy on this theme. No Buddhist work prior to the *Bhāṣya* takes any serious note of this problem. It seems probable that the Buddhists made their entry into this field under the influence of their contemporary Mīmāṃsakas and Vaiyākaraṇas, who had developed their theories of eternal words and of *sphoṭa*.

For the Mīmāṃsakas, the problem of words and meanings was of primary importance, as all their metaphysical and ritual speculations were based on the doctrine of the validity of the Vedas. They, therefore, developed the doctrine of eternal words and their natural (*autpattika*) meanings. In parallel with this,

¹ *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu* (tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin), ch. I, kā. 35-48. Henceforth referred to as *Bhāṣya*.

² *The central conception of Buddhism*, 23.

³ *Prāptih, aprāptih, nikāya-sabhāgatā, asaṃjñi-samāpattih, nirodha-samāpattih, jīvetendriyam, jātih, sthitiḥ, jarā, anityatā, nāma-kāyah, pada-kāyah, vyāñjana-kāyah*.

⁴ p. 24, n. 1.

⁵ Ed. P. Pradhan, Santiniketan, 1950.

⁶ The MS of this work was discovered in Tibet by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in the year 1937. It is a work written against the *Abhidharma-kośa* of (the Sautrāntika) Vasubandhu. It has been edited by the author of this article and will soon be published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, in their Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.

⁷ Henceforth referred to as *Vṛtti*

the Vaibhāṣika theories of words and their meanings can also be traced primarily to their speculations on the nature of the words of the Buddha.

This can be seen from a controversy between the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika on the inclusion of the words of the Buddha in the formula of the five *skandhas*. Both these schools agreed that the words (which consisted of sounds—*śabda*) were made up of sound-atoms (*śabda-paramāṇu*) reposing on the eight *dravya-paramāṇus*. It was, therefore, only logical to treat all sounds (*vāk*) (and therefore all words) as material, and hence include them in the *rūpa-skandha*. Contrary to this Sautrāntika position, the Vaibhāṣikas maintained that the words of the Buddha are not of the nature of *vāk* (verbal sound) but are of the nature of *nāma* (non-material). The *Vṛtti* on the *Dīpa* quotes a scripture on this controversy: 'While the Lord lived, his words are of the nature of speech (*vāk*) as well as of the nature of *nāma* respectively in a secondary and primary sense. After his *parinirvāṇa*, however, his words are only of the nature of *nāma* and not of *vāk*. For, the Lord of the sages had a "heavenly sound" not comparable to any mundane speech'.¹

Commenting on this controversy Yaśomitra says that according to the Sautrāntikas, the Buddha-*vacana* is of the nature of vocal expression (*vāg-vijñapti*) and hence is included in the *rūpa-skandha*. Those who maintain the category of the *viprayukta-saṃskāras*, include the Buddha-*vacana* in the *saṃskāra-skandha*. The Ābhidharmikas, however, accept both these views.²

In elaboration of this last statement, Yaśomitra quotes two passages from the *Jñāna-prasthāna*: 'What is a Buddha-*vacana*? The speech, speaking, talk, voice, utterance, range of speech, sound of speech, action of speech, vocal expression of the Tathāgata is Buddha-*vacana*'.³ According to this view the Buddha-*vacana* is merely a *vāk-vijñapti*, i.e. verbal expression, which is identical with the '*vācā*' of the Theravādins, also defined in similar terms.⁴

This view, Yaśomitra says, is immediately followed by another view (supporting the Vaibhāṣika theory of *nāma-pada-vyañjana-kāyas*): 'What is this dharma called Buddha-*vacana*? The arrangement in regular order, the establishment in regular order, the uniting in regular order of the *nāma-kāya*, *pada-kāya*, and *vyañjana-kāya* (is called Buddha-*vacana*)'.⁵

This latter view is accepted by the Vaibhāṣikas. This passage suggests that

¹ 'Jivato bhagavato vān-nāma-svabhāvaṃ Buddha-vacanam gauṣa-mukhya-nyāyena. Parinirvṛtasya tu nāma-svabhāvaṃ eva, na vāk-svabhāvaṃ, brahma-svaratvān munindrasya, loka-vācām tat sādṛśyānupapattēh.' *Vṛtti* on kā. 12.

² Yeṣāṃ Sautrāntikānāṃ vāg-vijñapti-svabhāvaṃ teṣāṃ tāni rūpa-skandha-saṃgrhītāni. Yeṣāṃ nikāyaṇṭariyānāṃ citta-viprayuktaṃ nāmāsti teṣāṃ saṃskāra-skandha-saṃgrhītāni Ābhidharmikānāṃ vābhaya-svabhāvaṃ iṣṭam. *Sphūṭārthā Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā* (henceforth referred to as *Sktv.*), p. 52.

³ *Katamaḥ Buddha-vacanam?* Tathāgatasya yā vāg vacanam vyāhāro gīr niruktir vāk-patho vāg-ghoṣo vāk-karma vāg-vijñaptiḥ. *ibid.*

⁴ Yā . . . vācā girā byappatho udīranam ghoso ghosa-kammaṃ vācā vacībhedo, ayaṃ vuccati vācā *Dhammasaṅgani*, 637 (Poona edition, 1940).

⁵ *Puṇas tatraivānantaram uktaṃ Buddha-vacanam nāma ka eṣa dharmah? Nāma-kāya-pada-kāya-vyañjana-kāyānāṃ yā anupūrva-racanā anupūrva-sthāpanā anupūrva-samāyoga iti.* *Sktv.*, p. 52.

the Buddha-*vacanas* are not verbal sounds but some other non-material dharmas put into order.

Yaśomitra does not name the Ābhidharmikas who accepted both these views. Apart from the *Bhāṣya* (representing the Neo-Vaibhāṣikas), the *Abhidharmāmṛta* of Ghoṣaka and the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* of Asaṅga (Yogācāra school) also enumerate the *nāma-pada-vyañjana-kāyas* in their *viprayukta* category. But their definitions are different from those of the Vaibhāṣikas. Ghoṣaka defines *nāma-kāya* as meaningful letters, the *pada-kāya* as naming a thing by an aggregate of *padas*, and the *vyañjana-kāya* as a collection of letters.¹ Asaṅga's definitions of the first two *saṃskāras* are altogether different. He says that when the own-natures of dharmas are designated or named there is a notion called *nāma-kāya*. When the peculiarities (or details) of dharmas are designated there is a notion called *pada-kāya*. *Vyañjana-kāya* is a notion for letters which are the support for the *nāma-kāya* and the *pada-kāya*.² The same definitions are given in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*³ and the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* of Hsüan Tsang,⁴ suggesting that the Yogācāra-Vijñānavādins did not interpret these terms in the sense in which they are understood in the Vaibhāṣika school. By Ābhidharmikas, therefore, Yaśomitra seems to refer to certain Vaibhāṣikas like our Dīpakāra who favoured the view that while the Buddha lived, his *vacanas* are of the nature of *nāma* as well as of *vāk* (albeit in a secondary sense) but after his death, they are only of *nāma-svabhāva*.

The Kośakāra deals with these *saṃskāras* rather briefly, concentrating more on their refutation and less on their explanation. We may here summarize the Vaibhāṣika position and the Sautrāntika refutation of this topic as contained in the *Bhāṣya*.⁵

The Vaibhāṣika maintains that verbal sound alone is not capable of conveying any meaning. A verbal sound (*vāk*) operates on the *nāman*, and the latter conveys the meaning. Thus it is the *nāman* which gives significance to a word, which is purely material. This *nāman* is a *viprayukta-saṃskāra*. In support of this theory, the Vaibhāṣika quotes a scripture which says that 'a stanza rests on *nāman*'.⁶

The Sautrāntika maintains that the *nāma-kāyas* do not play any part in conveying a meaning. It is true that all sounds or sounds alone (*ghoṣa-mātra*) do not convey a meaning. But verbal sounds (*vāk*) which are agreed upon by

¹ *Sātrahakāṣarāṇi nāma-kāyaḥ. Pada-samuccayena vastu abhidhānam pada-kāyaḥ. Vipula-samuccayaḥ (= varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ) vyañjana-kāyaḥ. Abhidharmāmṛta*, p. 130. (Text reconstructed from the Chinese by Śānti Bhikṣu, Santiniketan, 1953.)

² *Dharmānāṃ svabhāvādhiprivacane nāma-kāyā iti prajñaptiḥ. Dharmānāṃ viśeṣādhiprivacane pada-kāyā iti prajñaptiḥ. Tad ubhayābhrāyaḥ akṣareṣu vyañjana-kāyā iti prajñaptiḥ. Abhidharma-samuccaya*, p. 11.

³ p. 495 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXII, Baroda, 1932).

⁴ *La Siddhi de Hsüan Tsang*, by L. de la Vallée Poussin, I, pp. 68-70.

⁵ *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu*, ch. II, kā. 47. See *Sakv.*, pp. 181-5.

⁶ 'Nāma-sannīritā gāthā'. *ibid.*

convention to mean a particular thing (*kṛta-saṅketa*) do convey their meanings. Since such a *saṅketa* is essential even in the assumption of the *nāma-kāya*, the latter is redundant and hence useless.

Moreover, the Vaibhāṣika theory that a *nāman* is operated on by verbal sounds (*vāk*) does not stand any scrutiny. For, if *nāman* is an entity, a real dharma, it can neither be produced nor revealed bit by bit by the verbal sounds, which come into existence only in series. Nor can it be said that it is produced or revealed only by the last sound, for in that case it should be sufficient to hear only the last sound in order to understand its *artha*.

If in order to avoid this dilemma the Vaibhāṣika thinks that, after the manner of a *viprayukta* like *jāti*, the *nāman* is also born with its object (*artha-sahaja*), then it would mean that there are no actual *nāma-kayas* conveying past or future objects, or the *asamskṛta* dharmas which are not born.

Moreover to admit an entity in itself, called *nāman* (a word) or *pada* (a sentence) is a wholly superfluous hypothesis. We might as well argue that there exists distinct from ants a thing called 'line of ants'. One can understand the letters (*vyañjana*) being considered as real entities but it is absurd to treat their arrangements in an order like word or sentence as independent realities (*dravya*).

As regards the scripture quoted by the Vaibhāṣikas, the Sautrāntika points out that the '*nāman*' there means words on which men have agreed that they mean a certain thing. It does not refer to any additional *saṃskāra* as is postulated by the Vaibhāṣikas.

It is interesting to note that the scripture quoted by the Vaibhāṣikas also occurs in the Pali *Sagāthā-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. This deals with the composition of *gāthās*. To a question as to what is the origin and foundation of a verse, the Buddha says that letters are their origin and *nāmas* are their foundation.¹ Commenting on this, Buddhaghosa says that letters (*akkharas*) produce a *pada*, *padas* produce a *gāthā*, and the *gāthā* conveys a meaning.² As regards the term *nāma*, he says that it means names, such as 'ocean', 'earth', etc., which are designations of certain concepts.³ From this it is clear that for the Theravādins the *nāma* is not a *saṃskāra*. But Buddhaghosa's explanation of *nāma* agrees with the Vaibhāṣika definition: *nāma-paryāyaḥ saṃjñā-karaṇaṃ yathā ghaṭa iti*.⁴

The Vaibhāṣika takes the term *pada* as a synonym of a sentence (*pada-paryāyo vākyam*).⁵ This rather unusual meaning of the term *pada* can also be traced to Pali. In the suttas this term is often used in the sense of a sentence

¹ *Ohando nidānaṃ gāthānaṃ akkharā tāsāṃ viyañjanaṃ/ nāma-saṃnissitā gāthā kavi gāthānaṃ āsāyo ti// Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 38.

² '*Viyañjanaṃ*' ti jananam. Akkharāṃ hi padaṃ janeṭi, padaṃ gātham janeṭi, gāthā atthaṃ pakāseti. *Samyutta-nikāya-atthakathā*, I, pp. 94-5.

³ '*Nāma-saṃnissitā*' ti samuddāsi-paññatti-nissitā. Gāthā ārabhanto hi samuddaṃ vā paṭhavim, vā yaṃ kiñci nāmaṃ nissayitvā vā ārabhanti. *ibid.*

⁴ *Vṛti* on kā. 142.

⁵ *ibid.*

or a refrain of a verse or a line of a verse.¹ In the scripture quoted above dealing with *gāthā*, the term *pada* is not used. But the commentary says that 'akkharaṃ padam janeti'. Since *nāma* refers to a word, it is probable that by *padam* here is understood a sentence (*pāda*) or a line of a *gāthā*. This seems to be the original meaning of the term *pada* in the expression *pada-kāya*. But a line of a verse may not necessarily be a complete sentence. The *Bhāṣya* defines the term *pada*—perhaps to make it conform to the Grammarian's definition of a sentence—as 'that by which the meaning is complete',² and quotes a line (*anītyā vata saṃskārāḥ*) of a verse as an illustration. The *Vṛtti* also calls *pada* a synonym of *vākya* and quotes further an Ābhidharmika view: 'A *pada* (sentence) is a collection of significant words (*pada*) which fulfil the intended meaning'.³

The Vaibhāṣikas are not unaware of the fact that the term *pada* according to the Grammarians meant a word. In the Ābhidharmika view quoted above, *pada* is used side by side in both these meanings. Yaśomitra also quotes the Grammarian's definition 'sup-tin-antaṃ padam'.⁴ The Theravādins also know this meaning as is evident from such expressions as *padaso* (word by word), *padattho* (meaning of a word), etc. The term *vañjana* is also interpreted by the Theravādins as letters (*akkhara*) apparently including both the vowels and the consonants. Commenting on a sutta where *vaṇṇa* and *byañjana* occur together, Buddhaghosa says that these two terms are identical, and that the latter term could also mean only certain *vaṇṇas* (i.e. consonants).⁵

Thus it is clear that there was a pre-Vaibhāṣika tradition for the use of the terms *nāma*, *pada*, and *vañjana* in the sense of word, sentence, and letter, respectively. Stcherbatsky's observation, therefore, that this is 'a case exhibiting clearly the desire to have a terminology of one's own'⁶ overlooks the tradition noticed above.

Nor is this tradition limited only to a common use of these terms. One can even detect a certain correspondence between this Vaibhāṣika *saṃskāra* called *nāma-kāya* and a Theravādin dharma called *nāma-paññatti*, recognized more or less as an independent category by later Theravādins like Anuruddha.

The term *paññatti* occurs several times in the Suttas, always referring to designations or concepts recognized as unreal in themselves, nevertheless used in common worldly parlance. In the *Phoṭṭhapāda-sutta*, for instance, the Buddha while speaking on various speculations on the nature of self, says that

¹ *Ekena padena sabbo attho vutto. Saṃyutta-nikāya*, II, p. 36. 'Ekena padenā' ti 'phassa-paccayā dukkhaṃ' ti iminā ekena padena. *Saṃyutta-nikāya-atthakathā*, I, p. 57.

² [Vākyam padam] iti . . . [Yāvatārtha-parisaṃāptis tad yathā 'anītyā vata saṃskārā' ity evam ādi.] *Sakv.*, p. 182.

³ 'Yāvadābhīr arthavadābhīh padair vivakṣitārtha-paripūrīr bhavati tāvatāṃ samūhaḥ padam' ity Ābhidharmikāḥ. *Vṛtti* on kā. 142.

⁴ *Padam tu sup-tin-antaṃ padam gṛhyate. ten' āha . . . Sakv.*, p. 182.

⁵ *Tattha aparimāṇā vaṇṇā aparimāṇā byañjanā. Saṃyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 430. 'Aparimāṇā vaṇṇā' ti appamāṇāni akkharāṇi, 'byañjanā' ti tesam yeva vevacanam. *Saṃyutta-nikāya-atthakathā*, III, p. 298.

⁶ *The central conception of Buddhism*, p. 24, n. 1.

a word like *atta-paṭilābha*, or expressions like past, present, future, or milk, curds, butter, ghee, etc. which he used in his discussion, are merely names, expressions, turns of speech, designations in common use in the world. The Tathāgata, although he makes use of these, is not led astray by them (i.e. knows them as unreal).¹

The Suttas do not contain further elaborations on the theme of *paññatti*. But the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathās* offer several important speculations on the nature, scope, origin, and cognition of the *paññatti*, and treat it almost as a separate category like the *nāma* and *rūpa*. The *Puggala-paññatti*, for instance, is, as the name itself suggests, solely devoted to a description of various concepts arising about a central concept (*paññatti*) called a personality (*puggala*).

The *Suttanta-mātikā* contains three pairs (*dukas*)² dealing with dhammas respectively called *adhivacana*, *nirutti*, and *paññatti*, and the dhammas that are made known by them. Defining a dhamma which is *paññatti*, the *Dhammasangani* says: 'that which is an appellation, that which is a designation, an expression, a current term, a name, a denomination, the assigning of a name, an interpretation, a distinctive mark, a phrasing on this or that dhamma is a dhamma called *paññatti*. All dhammas are capable of being expressed'.³ The other two terms, viz. *adhivacana* and *nirutti*, are described in identical terms.

Commenting on these *dukas*, the *Aṭṭhasālinī* dwells at length on one term, viz. the *nāma*-[*paññatti*]. *Nāma* (name) is fourfold: that given on a special occasion, that given in virtue of a personal quality, that given by parents, and that which has spontaneously arisen (*opapātika-nāma*). Of these the last is more significant, as it points to a belief that certain names are eternal.* 'In those cases where a former concept tallies with a later concept, a former current term with a later one, e.g. the moon in a previous cycle is [what we now call] moon, this name is called *opapātika-nāma*.'⁴ It is suggested here that there are things which are not named by others, but name themselves, or are born with their names. The four (*arūpa*) *khandhas* are called *nāma*, because they make their own name as they arise. When they arise their name also arises.⁵ No one names *vedanā*, saying 'Be thou called *vedanā*'. A *vedanā*, whether it is past, present, or future, is always called *vedanā*. This theory of the *opapātika-nāma* reminds us of the Vaibhāṣika theory that the *nāma-kāyas* are *artha-*

¹ *Imā kho Citta, loka-samaññā loka-niruttiyo loka-vohārā loka-paññattiyo, yāhi Tathāgato voharati aparāmasaṃ ti. Dīgha-nikāya, I, p. 202.*

² *Dhammasangani, Mātikā Nos. 128-30.*

³ *Yā tesam tesam dhammānaṃ samkhā samaññā paññatti vohāro nāmaṃ nāma-kammaṃ nāmadheyyaṃ nirutti byañjanaṃ abhilāpo, ime dhammā paññatti. Sabbe'va dhammā paññatti-paṭhā. ibid., 1308.*

⁴ *Yā pana purima-paññatti apara-paññattiyaṃ patati, purima-vohāro pacchima-vohāre patati, seyyathidam purima-kappe cando cando yeva nāma, etarahi cando yeva . . . idam opapātika-nāmaṃ. Aṭṭhasālinī, v, 133. (Ed. P. V. Bapat, Poona, 1942.)*

⁵ *Cattāro tva khandhā nāma-karanattikena nāmaṃ. Vedanādayo hi . . . attano nāmaṃ karontā va uppajjanti. Tesu uppannesu tesam nāmaṃ uppannameva hoti . . . Atīte pi vedanā vedanā yeva, . . . anāgate pi, paccuppanne pi . . . ibid., v, 115.*

sahaja (born with meanings) and also corresponds, as will be seen below, to what the Dīpakāra calls *apauruṣeya nāma-kāyas* conveying such dharmas as the *skandha*, *āyatana*, and *dhātu*.

Finally on the scope of this *nāma-paññatti*, the *Aṭṭhasālinī* says that this is a unique dharma which covers all dharmas, all dharmas come under its scope.¹ The *nāma-paññatti* is applicable to dharmas of all the three spheres. There is no being, nor thing that may not be called by a name.

The *paññatti* discussed above refers only to the *nāma-paññatti* or names. There is another kind of *paññatti*, called *attha-paññatti*, which can be roughly translated as 'ideas' or 'concepts' or 'reflexes' (*niṃmitta*). The Theravādins recognize several kinds of ideas.² There are ideas such as 'land', 'mountain', and the like referring to certain physical changes in nature; or ideas like 'man', 'woman', 'individual', referring to the fivefold set of aggregates; there are ideas of locality, time, and the like, derived from the revolutions of the moon, etc. These ideas are not real dharmas. Nevertheless, they become objects of knowledge. As Anuruddha says, 'they shadow forth the meanings [of things] and become objects of thought genesis [as our ideas]'. This idea is designated as *attha-paññatti*. It is called *paññatti*, because it is made known (*paññāpiyattā paññatti*) by the *nāma-paññatti*.³ The names (*nāmas*) are called *nāma-paññatti*, because they make the ideas known (*paññāpanato paññatti*).⁴ Thus the term *paññatti* includes both names and ideas.

Although its unreality was not lost sight of, the Theravādins on account of their recognition of the *paññatti* as an object of mind, had to show its place in the traditional formula of the five *skandhas*. They had to classify it either as *nāma* or *rūpa*, *saṃskṛta* or *asaṃskṛta*, *traikālika* (belonging to three times) or *kāla-vimukta* (transcending time). A few speculations on this problem are found in the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho* and its commentaries.

Anuruddha classifies all dharmas into three categories, viz. *rūpa*, *nāma*, and *paññatti*. Of these the first includes matter, the second includes *citta*, *cetasikas*, and *nibbāna*. The last includes names and ideas (i.e. *nāma* and *attha-paññatti*).⁵ He describes *paññatti* as a *saṃkhata* dhamma since it is also produced by a cause, viz. by a certain worldly convention that a particular name refers

¹ *Ēka-dhammo sabba-dhammesu nipatati, sabbe dhammā eka-dhammasmiṃ nipatanti. Katham ? Ayaṃ hi nāma-paññatti eko dhammo, so sabbesu catu-bhūmikesu dhammesu nipatati. Satto pi saṃkhāro pi nāmato muttako nāma natthi. ibid., v, 114.*

² See *Puggala-paññatti-aṭṭhakathā*, where in the beginning Buddhaghosa explains six *paññattis* occurring in the scriptures, six *paññattis* occurring only in the *Aṭṭhakathās*, and another twelve kinds of *paññatti* recognized in the tradition (*ācariya-naya*). Also see the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho*, VIII, 31-6, and the *Compendium of philosophy*, S. Z. Aung's introduction, pp. 4-6, 35.

³ *Paramatthato aviṇṇamāṇā pi attha-cchāyākkārena cittupādānam ārammanabhūtā taṃ taṃ . . . kāraṇaṃ nissāya tathā tathā parikappiyamāṇā . . . paññāpiyattī paññatti. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho*, VIII, 33. See *Compendium of philosophy*, 199.

⁴ *Paññāpanato paññatti pana nāma-nāmakammādi-nāmena paridīpita. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho*, VIII, 34.

⁵ *Iti tekalikā dhammā kalamuttā ca sambhavā/*
ajjhataṃ ca bahiddhā ca saṃkhatāsaṃkhatā tathā//
paññatti-nāma-rūpānam vasesa tividhā phitā/ Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho, VIII, 31.

to a particular object (*loka-saṅketa*).¹ Nevertheless, it is unreal, and hence cannot be predicated as past, present, or future. Therefore it is called *kāla-vimutta*.

After dealing with the nature of *paññatti*, Anuruddha explains the thought process involved in its cognition leading to an understanding of the thing meant (*attha*).² Following, i.e. making its object a vocal sound (*vacī-ghosa*) there arises a thought process called *śrotra-vijñāna* (auditory consciousness). In a subsequent thought process the verbal sound heard gives rise in the mind (*mano-dvāra*) to a corresponding *nāma-paññatti*. This is grasped in a subsequent process by a mind-consciousness (*mano-vijñāna-viñhi*) which is already conversant with the *saṅketa*³ between this *nāma-paññatti* and the particular object it is conventionally taken to convey. When this mind-consciousness thinks on this *saṅketa* there follows the cognition of the object, i.e. the thing meant (*attha*).

The *nāma-paññatti* of the Theravādins offers several points of comparison with the *nāma-kāya* of the Vaibhāṣikas. Both these dharmas are different from verbal sounds (*vāk-śabda* or *vacī-ghosa*). Both are dependent on the verbal sounds for their origin. Both follow a verbal sound perceived by a hearer. Both serve the purpose of conveying a meaning (*artha*) by the help of *saṅketa*. The *nāma-paññatti* is enumerated as a separate category distinct from the *nāma* and *rūpa*. The *nāma-kāyas* also belong to the *viprayuktas*, different from the *nāma* and *rūpa*. But whereas the Theravādins recognize the *nāma-paññatti* as unreal and, therefore, a *prajñapti-dharma*, the Vaibhāṣikas treat the *nāma-kāyas* as a real *dravya-dharma*.

Although the Theravādins hold that *vacī-ghosa* gives rise to a *nāma-paññatti*, they do not offer any explanation on the difficulties involved in this operation. Nor do they show any acquaintance with the controversies that took place on this problem between the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika or between the Sphoṭavādins and their opponents. The Sautrāntikas were certainly acquainted with certain aspects of these controversies as can be seen from the Kośakāra's arguments against the revelation of the *nāman* by series of vocal sounds—arguments which are not different from those of the Mīmāṃsakas and others against the theory of the revelation of *sphoṭa* by *dhvani*.⁴ But neither the Kośakāra nor his commentator Yaśomitra makes any reference to the Mīmāṃsakas or the Sphoṭavādins. Both are content only with a brief refutation of the Vaibhāṣika. The Dīpakāra's treatment of this topic is more comprehensive.

¹ *Sāyaṃ paññatti viññeyyā loka-saṅketa-nimmitā*/ ibid., VIII, 36.

² *Vacī-ghosānusāreṇa sota-vijñāna-viñhiyā/
pavattānantaruppanna-mano-dvārassa gocarā/
atthā yassānusāreṇa paññāyanti tato param/
sāyaṃ paññatti viññeyyā loka-saṅketa-nimmitā*// ibid.

³ *Nāma-cintanākāra-pavattassa mano-dvārika-vijñāna-santānassa idamīdāssa nāman ti pubbe yeva gahita-saṅketūpanissayassa . . . Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho-vibhāvinīṭṭhā*, VIII, 36.

⁴ See *Śābara-bhāṣya*, I, 1, 5, and the chapter on *Sphoṭavāda* in the *Mīmāṃsā Śloka-vārttika* of Kumāṛila Bhaṭṭa.

He refutes the Sautrāntika position, makes pointed reference to the theories of (verbal) sounds held by the Mīmāṃsaka and Vaiśeṣika, and briefly examines the *śphoṭa* theory of the Grammarians.

After briefly stating the Sautrāntika argument that the *nāma-kāyas*, etc. are not different from the verbal sounds (*vāk-śabda*) and, therefore, are unreal,¹ the Dīpakāra sets forth the Vaibhāṣika theory of these *saṃskāras*.² A verbal sound (*vāk-śabda*), he says, is synonymous with speech (*vāk*), utterance (*gīh*), and is, therefore, included in the *rūpa-skandha*. The *nāma-kāyas*, etc. are *viprayukta-saṃskāras*, and hence included in the *saṃskāra-skandha*. The *nāma-kāyas*, etc. are dependent for their origin on the verbal sound and manifest the meaning which is dependent on the utterance (or the individual word-shape) and thus are representatives of the thing meant (*artha*) as in the case of (the content of) a knowledge.³ Just as the five sense cognitions are dependent on their corresponding five objects, similarly the *nāma-kāyas*, etc. are dependent for their origin on the verbal sound. It is said, therefore, 'A verbal sound (*vāk*) operates on the *nāman*, the *nāman* expresses the object (*artha*)'.⁴

Here the Sautrāntika raises the following objection: you say that along with the speech sound the letters (like *ka*, *ca*, *ṭa*, *ta*, *pa*, etc.) are produced, by the speech the *nāma-kāyas* are brought into operation. This being the case, the speech, following as it does each letter in turn, is subject to divisibility. Therefore, there can be no such thing as a *nāma-kāya* as a meaning conveyor (*abhidhāna*). (Since for this purpose a unitary entity is required.)

The Dīpakāra rejects this argument saying that when the aggregate of the sound parts are perceived, there is a possibility of its (*nāma-kāya*) having the capacity of being a meaning-bearer. Moreover, its existence is evident from its activity. Its activity is conveying its meaning. It conveys its own meaning, since the relation between *nāman*, and meaning is not created by any person (*apauruṣeyatvāt*).⁵

The Sautrāntika here brings forward the theory of *sanketa*. He says that the *nāman*, etc. are not different from verbal speech. The verbal sound alone acting itself (*kṛtāvadhīh*) as the factor which gives rise to the cognition of the object, conveys the meaning to the listener when its constituent parts are grasped as a unit by memory. Why, therefore, postulate these separate *nāman*, etc. ?⁶

The Dīpakāra points out that the verbal sounds, being atomic, are not

¹ *Nāmakāyādayo vaktavyāḥ. Na khalu vaktavyāḥ. Na hi te śabdād anye vidyante, eva-bhāva-kriyābhāvād iti. Tad upadarśanārtham idam ārabhyate . . . Vṛtti on kā. 142.*

² See Vṛtti on kā. 142-9.

³ *Viprayuktāḥ khalu nāmādayaḥ saṃskāra-skandha-saṃgrhītāḥ. Vāk tu rūpa-skandha-saṃgrhītā vāg gīr niruktir ity arthah. Te ca tad adhīnotpattayo nirukty-adhīnārtha-pravṛttayaś ca jñānavad arihasya pratīśidhi-sthānīyāḥ . . . ibid.*

⁴ 'Vāk nāmani pravartate, nāmārthaṃ dyotayati' iti. ibid.

⁵ *Soārtha-pratyāyanam kriyā. Svam svam arthaṃ pratyāyayaty apauruṣeyatvān nāmārtha-sambandhasya . . . ibid.*

⁶ *Vāk śabda evārtheṣu saṃjñā-kartr-kṛtāvadhīh smṛtyā grhītvayāva-samudāyaḥ śrotar arthaṃ pratyāyayati kim anyair nāmādhīh parikalpikāḥ. ibid.*

capable of revealing the *artha*. A (verbal) sound being a collection of atoms can bring to light only those objects with which it has come into contact, like a lamp. Things which are not born or which are destroyed or are inaccessible (to the senses, like heaven, etc.) are not reached by sound. Naturally, therefore, a sound cannot convey these objects.

Moreover, the sounds cannot convey a meaning either serially or simultaneously. The stems of *balvaja* grass, for instance, which are individually incapable of being used in the action of dragging a piece of wood, become capable when they are put together and remain in the form of a rope. But the words of a sentence which consist of atoms of sound, and which come into existence in series, are merely conceptual unities of the constituent parts (*samudāya-samksepāh*) which are received by the mind. They are, therefore, incapable each part individually (of conveying the meaning), nor do they convey it if taken together, since they cannot stand in unity like the *balvaja* grass. Thus it is proved that the sounds do not convey the meaning either serially or simultaneously.¹

Moreover, as in the case of a lamp, there is no relationship of revealed-revealer between the sounds and meanings (*artha*). Thus people who wish to see a pot take a lamp which has the capacity of revealing a pot and other things as well ; and there are no speech sounds which have the predetermined activity of revealing (or acting) on any meaning taken at random by some particular relationship.

Nor is this particular relationship, viz. of revealed-revealer, appropriate in the case of the thing meant and a sound. For the sounds do not convey that which is not agreed upon by convention to mean a particular thing.²

Even if we accept the theory of *saṅketa* obtaining between a sound and *artha*, such a sound is still subject to the argument of seriality. If it is said that the memory of each sound conveys the meaning, then also it is subject to the same fault. And if it is maintained that the trace (*saṃskāra*) left by the sounds in the mind conveys the meaning,³ then also we deny it as it is not proved.

The Dīpakāra further elaborates the atomic nature of sounds. He says that sound (*ghoṣa*) cannot be a unity as it consists of several *paramāṇus*. It is accepted that the diphthongs *e* and *ai* are produced in the throat and palate. But it is not correct to say that a sound consisting of only one atom operates in two different places. But this is possible in the case of aggregates of atoms.⁴ Even then the atoms cannot convey a meaning individually, for their individual

¹ *Na caivam vākyātmānah śabdāh buddhy-upagrhātāvayava-samudāya-samksepāh kramalabdha-janmānah pratyekam artha-pratyāyana-samarthāh, nāpi saṃbhūya pratyāyayanti, saṃbhūyanavasthānād balvajavat. Vṛtti on kā. 143.*

² *ibid.*

³ *Samkāra it cet . . . ibid.* This appears to be an allusion to the Mīmāṃsaka theory : *Pūrva-varṇa-janita-samkāra-sahito 'antyo varṇah pratyāyaka it. Śābara-bhāṣya*, I, 1, 5.

⁴ *'Edaitau kanti-tālavayau' iti pratijñāyate. Na caikasyāna-(read : 'nu)-vacanasya viśiṣṭa-sihāna-dvaye vṛtti upapadyate. Paramāṇu-saṃghātasya tūpapadyate . . . Vṛtti on kā. 145.*

existence cannot be proved. Nor can they do so in a collection (*saṃghāta*). For a *saṃghāta* does not exist in reality apart from its constituent parts.

After thus showing that verbal sounds alone cannot convey a meaning, the Dīpakāra sums up his position. 'The correct form of exposition', he says, 'is that the letters which are past with reference to the last letter are grasped by a (single) mental effort (*mano-buddhi*) and then cause to arise the mental concept (*buddhi*) as directed towards the relevant meaning and thus (only in this fashion) convey the meaning'.¹

As regards a common belief that a (verbal) sound conveys a meaning, the Dīpakāra says that this belief does not correspond to facts. 'In fact the speech (*vāk*) operates on the *nāman*, i.e. it expresses or speaks the *nāma*, i.e. it gives voice to it. The *nāma* brings to light the *artha*. Thus the speech passing over each letter in order, speaking or giving voice to the *nāma* and at the same time giving rise to (the perception of) its own form, but existing only in the form of series, is said to reveal the *artha* only by a process of metaphorical transfer. The meaning is not expressed or brought to light by the sound.'²

This exposition of the *nāma-kāya* offers several points of comparison with the *sphoṭa* theory of early Grammarians. *Sphoṭa* is defined as 'the abiding word, distinct from the letters and revealed by them, which is the conveyor of the meaning'.³ The *nāma-kāya* is also distinct from letters (i.e. sound), is revealed by them, and is claimed as the conveyor of meanings. The Vaibhāṣika argument that sounds on account of their seriality cannot convey a meaning, is identical with the argument of the Sphoṭavādins against the Naiyāyikas who, like the Sautrāntika, maintained that verbal sounds (with the help of *saṅketa*) convey the *artha*.³ But whereas the *sphoṭa* is called a *śabda* and described as one and eternal, the *nāma-kāyas* are nowhere designated as *śabda* and are declared to be many and non-eternal.

The Dīpakāra does not appear to be unaware of this similarity. As if anticipating an attack from the Sautrāntikas on this account, he raises a question as to whether the *nāma-kāya*, etc. are *nitya* or *anitya*.⁴ Such a question is indeed unnecessary, for the *nāma-kāya* is a *saṃskāra*, and consequently *anitya*. The question raised, therefore, suggests that a similarity between the *sphoṭa* and

¹ *Atīta-varṇa-samudāyas tvantya-varṇāpekṣo mano-buddhyopagrhitā-svarūpak sambandhiny arthe buddhim utpādayan pratyāyayattī yukta-rūpo vyapadeśah.* *ibid.* It is curious to note that there is no reference to the *nāma-kāya* in this statement. Read without the context this line would appear to conform to the Sautrāntika view. Probably the term *buddhi* should here be understood as a concept, i.e. *nimitta*, another name for the *nāman*, which directs the mind towards the *artha*.

² *Svarūpam vedayamś cchabdo vyañjanādīni ca dhruvam/ artha-pratyāyakah prājñair bhakti-kalpanayocyate// Abhidharma-dīpa*, kā. 144.

³ *Varnātirikto varṇābhivyāngyo 'rtha-pratyāyako nityah śabdah sphoṭa iti tad vido vadanti.* Mādhyava, *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (ed. Abhyankar), p. 300.

⁴ It is precisely on this ground that Śāntarakṣita refutes the Vaibhāṣika theory of *nāma-kāya*: 'Yo 'pi Vaibhāṣikah śabda-viṣayam nāmākhyam nimittākhyam cārtha-cikṣa-rūpam vipra-krutaṃ saṃskāram icchati, tad apy etenaiva dūṣitaṃ draṣṭavyam. Tathā hi—tan nāmādi yadi kṣaṇikam tadā anavayāyogah, akṣaṇikāve krami-jñānānupapattih . . .'. *Tattvasaṅgraha-pañjikā*, kā. 908. See S. Mookerji, *The Buddhist philosophy of universal flux*, Calcutta, 1935, 115.

nāma-kāya was present to the mind of the Dīpakāra. He is, therefore, unduly emphatic when he says that the *nāma-kāyas* are *anītya*, as they depend for their function on such causes as *ghoṣa* (sound), etc.¹

Nor does he recognize the theory of *sphoṭa*. He examines a statement of Patañjali that *sphoṭa* (the unchanging substratum) is the word, the sound is merely an attribute of the word (*sphoṭaḥ śabdaḥ dhvaniḥ śabda-guṇaḥ*).² The Dīpakāra does not admit any difference between a substratum and an attribute, and, therefore, says that these two being identical, even the sound (*dhvani*) will become eternal. For him *dhvani*, *śabda*, and *sphoṭa* are all synonyms like *hāsta*, *kara*, and *pāṇi*, etc. The *sphoṭa* being thus identical with verbal sound is subject to the same fault of seriality and therefore incapable of conveying the *artha*.³

He further confirms his rejection of the theory of *sphoṭa* by openly favouring a view, which Patañjali calls naïve, that *śabda* is *dhvani*. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* gives two views on the nature of a word (*śabda*): (i) a word is that by means of which, when uttered (*yenocārītena*), there arises an understanding of the thing meant; (ii) or a word is a sound capable of conveying a meaning (*pratīta-padārthako loke dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ*).⁴ The expression *yenocārītena* is traditionally held to refer to *sphoṭa*.⁵ The Dīpakāra does not refer to this view, but quotes the second view showing his preference for it. But this second view equally goes against his theory of *nāma-kāya*. He, therefore, says that the *nāma*, etc. are different from the *dhvani* (i.e. from the *śabda*), (because) they are *sarvārtha-viśaya*.⁶ The significance of this statement seems to be that whereas a sound refers to a particular thing, the *nāma-kāya* as a *samskāra* is capable of conveying all meanings. Taken as a dharma, this expression corresponds to what the Theravādins called *sabbe dhammā paññatti-paṭhā* or to the statement of the *Aṭṭhasālīnī* that *ayaṃ hi nāma-paññatti eka-dhammo sabbesu catubbhūmika-dhammesu nīpatati*.⁷

The *sphoṭa* theory referred to by the Dīpakāra shows his acquaintance only with the Pātañjala school of grammar. He does not refer to the later developments of this theory as contained in the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. While dealing with the nature of sounds, he says that the Vaiyākaraṇas (together with the Mīmāṃsakas) do not recognize the atomic nature of sounds, and proceeds to show that the sounds are atomic, because they possess resistance. The *Vākyapadīya* refers to a view that some consider words (*śabda*) as consisting of atoms.⁸ It is possible that the Dīpakāra was not aware of this view, or did not consider it an authoritative view of the Grammarians.

¹ *Anītyās te tu vinyayāḥ sāpekṣārtha-vibhāvanāt/ Abhidharma-dīpa*, kā. 143ed.

² *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 1, 70 (Kielhorn's edition, Vol. I, p. 181, lines 19–20).

³ *Sphoṭākhyo nāparo ghoṣaḥ chabdo nītyaḥ prasiddhyati/ krama-vrīter na śabdena kaś cid artho 'bhīdhyate// Abhidharma-dīpa*, kā. 146.

⁴ *Mahābhāṣya*, p. 1 (Kielhorn's edition, Vol. I).

⁵ On the validity of this tradition, see Professor J. Brough's article 'Theories of general linguistics in the Sanskrit Grammarians', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1951, 27–46.

⁶ *Tasmāt pratīta-padārthako loke dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ. Tatas cānye nāmādayaḥ sarvārtha-viśaya itī sthāpanā. Vṛtti* on kā. 147.

⁷ *Aṭṭhasālīnī*, v, 114.

⁸ *Vākyapadīya*, i, 107.

As seen above, the Sphoṭavādins understand the term *śabda* in the sense of *sphoṭa* and not in the ordinary sense of a sound. This *śabda*, therefore, is not perceived by the ears but only by the mind.¹ The Dīpakāra makes play with the ambiguity of this term and ridicules the Grammarians for maintaining a view that *śabda* (sound) is perceived by the mind.

The Dīpakāra further gives some more details about the *nāma-kāyas*, etc. The *nāma-kāyas* are two-fold : those which have a determinate meaning, and those which do not (in themselves) mean any particular thing (*yādṛcchika*). The former is again divided into two kinds : *apauruṣeya* (not created by any person) and *laukika* (mundane). The *nāma-kāyas* which convey the *dhātu*, *āyatana*, and *skandhas* are *apauruṣeya*. They are primarily perceived only by the Buddha. It is therefore said ' the *nāma-pada-vyañjana-kāyas* appear when the Tathāgatas appear (in the world) ' .²

The *laukika* (worldly) *nāma-kāyas* are two-fold ; those which convey a particular thing, and those which are (*yādṛcchika*). Of these, the *apauruṣeya* as well as the *niyata-laukika nāma-kāyas* convey only those meanings for which there exists a *saṅketa*.³

The use of the term *apauruṣeya* for the *nāma-kāyas* which convey the Buddhist categories of dharma is significant. It reminds us of the *opapātika-nāma* of the Theravādins and shows a direct influence of the Mīmāṃsaka. For the latter, the Vedas are *apauruṣeya* and eternal. For the Vaibhāṣika, the Buddha-*vacanas* (i.e. *nāma-kāyas*) are *apauruṣeya*, but not eternal.

It appears from the above discussion that the Vaibhāṣika theory of the *nāma-kāyas* was a continuation and a development of an earlier tradition represented in the form of *nāma-paññatti* in the Pali *Abhidharma* and *Aṭṭhakathās*. As in the case of many other *prajñapti-dharmas*, the *nāma-kāyas*, etc., also came to be recognized by the Vaibhāṣikas as *dravya-dharmas*, and thus found a place in the *viprayukta* category. The lack of speculation on the nature of the Buddha-*vacana* in the Pali tradition and its presence in the Vaibhāṣika school suggests that this was a later development brought about by a certain influence of other schools, particularly the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vaiyākaraṇas, who, although for different reasons, had a primary interest in the problem of words and their meanings. The Vaibhāṣikas seem to have benefited from the arguments of the early Sphoṭavādin Grammarians. But the Mīmāṃsakas seem to have exercised a far greater influence on them as is evident from the use of such expressions as *apauruṣeya* for denoting the Buddha-*vacana*.

¹ *Yad apy ucyate* Vaiyākaraṇaiḥ ' *śabdo buddhi-nirgrāhyah* ' . . . *Vṛtti* on kā. 146. Cf. *Śrotopalabdhir buddhi-nirgrāhyah prayogenabhiñjalita ākāṣa-deśaḥ śabdah* . . . *Vārtikā* 12 on *Śivasūtra* 1. (Kielhorn's edition, Vol. 1, p. 18, l. 19.)

² *Uktam hi Bhagavatā ' Tathāgatanām utpādān nāma-pada-vyañjana-kāyānām utpādo bhavati ' iti*. . . *Ye hy apauruṣeyā dhātuvāyatana-skandhādy avadyotakās te prathamam Buddha-viśayaḥ eva*. *Vṛtti* on kā. 148.

³ *Tatra ya āryayā niruktyā nirucyante dvādaśāyatana-viśayaś te nīyatābhīdheya-sambandhāḥ. Laukikyāś ca kecin nīyatābhīdheyaḥ nirucyante. Ubhaye 'py ete kṛta-sanketasāyārtham pratīyayanti*. *ibid*.

BHŪ-BHARANA, BHŪ-PĀLANA, BHŪ-BHOJANA: AN INDIAN CONUNDRUM

By J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

THE attributes of the Indian king have long been familiar, but taken together they have an inexplicable feature—their apparent incompatibility. An explanation for one, *bhū-bhojana*, is hinted at by J. J. Meyer's *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich and Leipzig, 1937), and the setting in which the subject is to be reviewed has been entirely recast by the lengthy and exhaustive article by J. Gonda, entitled 'Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view' (*Numen*, III-IV, 1956-7). It is much to be hoped that these works will not escape the notice of historians of India, and it is assumed in this paper that Professor Gonda's article is accessible to the reader.

The question posed here is, in itself, narrow. Why was the king supposed to be the Earth's lover or husband, and what is the significance of the metaphor? In the *brāhmaṇas* we know that the Earth is called the wife of Agni and of the *devas*,¹ but why is this relationship posited of the king? The mythological marriage to Pṛthu we take for granted, but he was not her last 'husband'. This is not merely poetical imagery, nor, as we shall see, does the Earth stand, metonymically, for her inhabitants. The constant repetition of such an image implies a meeting of a fundamental concept, or psychological position, with an expression which can release it; repetition deprives it of charm, but not of validity. In the *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa* there appears an obscure text² in which one individual says to another, 'I am sky, thou art Earth'; it is usually assumed that the speaker is the king and the person addressed is the *purohita*, the context being the 'coronation'-ceremony. A. K. Coomaraswamy attempted to show, in *Spiritual authority and temporal power in the Indian theory of government*,³ that the roles were reversed and that the king accepted a feminine role as Earth. For reasons which appear below the argument may not now convince, but it does not seem that, apart from Coomaraswamy's pioneering venture, the problem has been probed critically in modern times. It may be that the true meaning of the *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa* text will emerge from a better acquaintance with the king's normal attributes.

Gonda amply proves the 'sacred' character of the Indian king (though he naturally hesitates to draw political conclusions from this 'sacredness')

¹ Hamsarāja, *Vedic Koṣa*, I, Lahore, 1928, 298 ff., esp. citations from *Gopatha-br.* and *Śatapatha-br.* (cited below as *SB*).

² VIII, 27; discussed K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Kṛtyakalpataru of Bhatta Lakṣmīdhara*. XI. *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, Baroda, 1943, introd., 59.

³ Am. Or. Ser. No. 22, New Haven, 1942; reviewed in *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 438-9. Our problem is not dealt with in objective treatments of royalty, e.g. Narendranatha Law, *Ancient Indian polity*, ch. viii; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Hindu administrative institutions*, ch. ii; P. V. Kane, *History of dharmaśāstra* (cited below).

and finds Indo-European kingship, 'in important respects', a sacred institution; but no other branch of this family of peoples has, so far as we know, seen the king as 'husband of the Earth'. For the ceremony performed by the Doge resembles, if anything, the Hindu's annual worship of the implements of his craft or trade, and Elizabeth I was 'wedded' to her people much as one is 'wedded' to principles, and the like. Indian worshippers, particularly Vaiṣṇavas, believe God to be related to the individual (even where the latter is masculine) as lover and beloved (*nāyaka-nāyikī-bhāva*) and the imagery used to describe the relation approaches, as elsewhere further West, the sexual.¹ But it is very doubtful whether this throws any light on our problem.

As for the Earth herself: she is the great Mother, the supporter of all living creatures.² Poets compare her with the mythical Wishing-cow, or indeed with any cow.³ As a cow she was, says the *Vāyu-purāṇa*,⁴ repeatedly milked by Brahmā and others, and once Indra (to whom we shall return) acted as her calf to assist the operation.⁵ The cow is a well-recognized mother-figure in modern as well as ancient Hindu thought. The Earth pours forth streams,⁶ like a cow milk.

nivartya rājā dayitām dayālus tām saurabheyīm surabhīr yasobhīh |
*payodharī-bhūta-catuḥ-samudrām jugopa go-rūpa-dharām ivorvīm ||*⁷

She bears fire, jewels, minerals, and so on, in her womb.⁸

kinntu vadhvām tavaitasyām adṛṣṭa-sadṛśa-prajam |
*na mām avatī sa-dvīpā ratnasūr api medinī ||*⁹

She is penetrated by snakes, and *bhūjaṅga* appropriately means a snake or a gallant: small wonder that the Nāgas were reputed to be very handsome!

¹ On the Tamil Ālvārs see Surendranath Dasgupta, *History of Indian philosophy*, III, Cambridge, 1940, 70; on the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas see Rūpa-kavirāja (attrib.), *Sārasaṅgraha*, ed. K. Goswami Sastri, Calcutta, 1949, with an introd. by Professor Satkari Mookerjee, which might facilitate the researches of Dr. Morris Carstairs (see p. 116, n. 6, below). The sexual image is used to describe even the relationship between the (masculine) *puruṣa* and the (feminine) *prakṛti* in the Sāṃkhya philosophy. There is mutual dependence there also (cf. the *pāṅgavandha* simile). The *puruṣa* through the aid of *prakṛti* attains *mukti*, and *prakṛti* ceases to function 'just as an unchaste woman who has been found out by her husband-maintainer does not resort to her (or ? a) husband again, or like a dancing girl, who has played her part and departs'. Mādhavācārya, *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta, 1858, 153, where a *śloka* is cited. A comprehensive study of the scope of sexual images in Indian thought would be rewarding.

² *RV*, VII, 101, 3 with Sāyaṇa; *VS*, x, 23; *TS*, III, 3, 2, 2; *ŚB*, v, 4, 3, 20; *TB*, II, 2, 4, 6, 8. M. Bloomfield, *Vedic concordance*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1906, 602 ff.; Hamsarāja, *cit. sup.*; text cited below, p. 119. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataranginī*, III, 86, 108. Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, 207, 213; II, 38, 64 (as Mother); as Fertility-goddess *passim*.

³ *ŚB*, II, 2, 1, 21; XII, 9, 2, 11. See synonyms for 'Earth' in *Amarakośa*, II, 1, 2 ff., also Halāyudha, *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā*, II, 1.

⁴ LXIII, 12-19. J. Gonda, 'Ancient Indian kingship . . .', *Numen*, III-IV, 1956-7 (cited below as Gonda, III or IV), at IV, 151. I owe the reference to this invaluable article to Dr. L. J. Rocher, and a copy to the kindness of Professor Gonda.

⁵ *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 1916, IV, 18.

⁶ *Rājat.*, IV, 300.

⁷ Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, II, 3.

⁸ After all, she is *vasudhā*, etc. *ŚB*, XIV, 9, 4, 21; *Rājat.*, III, 300, *et alibi*.

⁹ *Ragh.*, I, 65.

She is the Queen of the snakes.¹ Moreover she is fertilized by rain. The union of Heaven and Earth, the intercourse between Parjanya (Rain) and Pṛthivī, begets plants and is the sole (intermediate) cause of living creatures.² The importance of rain-water cannot be overestimated; it is even said that all society and decency depend on rain.³ If Heaven is our father, Rain is also our father.⁴

The king performs *bhū-bharaṇa*. *Bharaṇa* from very early times meant (i) carrying, and hence (ii) maintaining. How can the king be said to maintain the Earth? The Earth is visualized as the king's dependant. This is odd, since he manifestly depends upon her. A mother is a maintaineess if she is widowed or her husband has deserted her. The Earth is never compared to so inauspicious a person as a widow, for, even when she is deprived of her lord by his death in battle the furthest the poet will go in this direction is to admit that the *kingdom*, and of course the queens of the deceased, have been made widows. However, the king participated in, or provided for, sacrifices which were intended to secure rainfall,⁵ and one of his chief duties was to protect Brahmans whose daily offerings, ascended into the heavens and received (in a non-technical sense) by the *devas* headed by Indra, the rain-cloud-splitter, gave rise to rainfall in return.

dudoha gām sa yajñāya sasyāya Maghavā divam |
*sampad-vinimayenobharu dadhatur bhuvana-dvayam ||*⁶
havir āvarjitam hotas tvayā vidhivad agniṣu |
*vr̥ṣtir bhavati sasyānām avagraha-viśoṣiṇām ||*⁷

For this there is very ancient authority. *R̥gveda*, I, 121, 2-5 bring together the cow, the 'parents' (who, according to Sāyaṇa, are Heaven and Earth), the oblation they provide, Indra, and rain, in the very plainest conjunction. Thence, no doubt, ultimately we have

agnau prastāhntiḥ samyag ādityam upatiṣṭhate |
*ādityāj jāyate vr̥ṣtir vr̥ṣter annam tataḥ prajāḥ ||*⁸

Prajāḥ, like the word 'creatures' in English, means both *subjects* and 'dependants'. The Indian king's duties included the performance of the *Indra-vratam* to secure regular rain⁹; the liberation of cows (reminiscent of

¹ Meyer, III, 231, n. 3.

² *AV*, XII, 1, 12. On *dyāvāpṛthivī* see below, p. 123, and *AB*, IV, 27, 5; *AA*, III, 1, 2; *SB*, I, 8, 3, 12.

³ *SB*, XI, 1, 6, 24. Kane, op. cit., III, Poona, 1946, 21.

⁴ Yāska, *Nirukta*, x, 10; cf. Gonda, III, 136.

⁵ R. Aiyangar, op. cit., 82; W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien* . . ., Wiesbaden, 1957, 90-2, para. 59. N. Law, op. cit., ch. viii, 112 ff., and ch. ix (on *r̥ajasūya*, *āsvamedha*, etc.) touches the fringes of our problem, but from what Gonda says (III, 41-6; IV, 162) it is plain that *abhīṣeka*, 'coronation', anointing, and the king's duty to make rain are very intimately connected. Note that fertility-symbols and water must be looked at by a king commencing a *yātrā*: evidently a mass of ritual data needs to be examined in a fresh light.

⁶ *Ragh.*, I, 26.

⁷ *ibid.*, I, 62.

⁸ Manu, III, 76.

⁹ *Matsya-purāṇa*, CCXXVI, 10.

Indra's exploit) in the month of Kārtika was believed to give relief from excessive or inadequate rain; and the erecting of the *Indra-dhvaja*, or 'Indra's flagstaff',¹ as a simultaneous assertion of sovereignty and method of assuring rainfall, brings to mind parallels, to which we shall return. The righteous king secures regular rain by good government as well as by his sacrifices.² Indirectly, therefore, the king maintains the Earth; but this was not enough for poets. Both in pure *kāvya* and in poetical inscriptions the king is repeatedly shown actually carrying the Earth. The Earth is taken up on his arm, is cradled there, is hoisted upon his shoulder, and there carried as if by an Atlas.³

santānārthāya vidhaye sva-bhājāḥ avatāritā |
*tēna dhur jagato gurvī sacivēṣu nicikṣipe ||*⁴
purāṇḍara-śrīḥ puram utpatākam praviśya paurair abhinandya mānaḥ |
*bhūje bhūjaṅgendra-samāna-sāre bhūyaḥ sa bhūmer dhuram āsasañja ||*⁵

Only Śeṣa, the primeval snake, shares this role with the king, though, as we have seen, he shares with him another. In Kannaḍa the Sanskrit *bhū-bhuk* 'earth-enjoyer' forms the *tadbhava* equivalent *bhū-bhujam* (mod. Kan. *bhū-bhujanu*), and thus *bhū-bhujā* may be used, by way of a pun,⁶ to refer to the king in both roles at once.

The second role requires little elaboration and no citation. *Bhū-pālana*, 'protection' of the Earth, has been the king's duty since Kautilya's time at the latest.⁷ Protection implies services which distinctly recall the duties of a

¹ R. Aiyangar, op. cit., 78, and refs. there given; Kane, op. cit., II, 825-6 (note the pole may be made of bamboo or *sugar-cane*); Meyer, see below, p. 120, n. 6; Gonda, III, 64; IV, 27. Investigation is required of Indra, his *pārījāta* tree (a tree which showers 'wishes'), and the latter's 'sister' Lakṣmī. See Meyer, II, 85-9, and, on unexpected functions of Lakṣmī-Śrī, Gonda, III, 131; IV, 36.

² Vālmiki, *Rāmāyana*, I, 9, 7-8 (eds. Bombay, 1905; Banaras, 1956; cf. Gorresio, 1843, I, 8, 11-12); VI, 131, 99 (Bombay, 1905) or VI, 128, 102 (Bombay, 1919), 110, 8 (Lahore, 1944), 131, 103 (Banaras, 1956); cf. Gorresio, 1850, VI, 113, 6; *MBh.*, XII, 139, 9; and other refs. in R. Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian polity. Second ed.*, Madras, 1935, 108. Tiruvalluva-nāyanār, *Tirukkuraḥ*, Thirunelveli and Madras, 1949, 559, p. 213: *murai-kōḍi maṇṇavaṇ ceyyi* = *murai-kōḍi* = | *yollādu vāṇam peyal*. Compare the references given in the footnote, same page. Meyer, II, 255 ff.; III, 268. Gonda, IV, 162-3.

³ In *Rājat.* alone instances occur at I, 64, 101, 346; III, 58, 98, 529 (where Śeṣa is referred to); IV, 119, 481-2; *et alibi*. That the idea was very popular is shown by the story given in Merutuṅga, *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, ed. Jinavijaya-muni, 70-1, trans. Tawney, 106, where a buffoon leans on the king's shoulder and then expresses surprise at his remonstrance. In Kannaḍa inscriptions the idea is a commonplace: see, e.g., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Hassan 53: *Hima-Seivindolaḡaḡāda bhūmīyaṁ bhūja-baḡavaṣṭambhaḡim tāḡḡi . . .*, whereas in *ibid.*, 65 we find *ivan ī tāḡ-gambadoḡ puttaliḡevol avani-dēvi tān vipḡaḡ endum . . .*. Note the significant picture in the Daulatabad Plates of Jayasimha II (A.D. 1017), *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, II, p. 7, where the Earth is lifted on high as if a bracelet, i.e. the *danda* or *lingam* of the arm (see below, p. 122, n. 4) penetrates the *yoni* of the Earth.

⁴ *Ragh.*, I, 34.

⁵ *ibid.*, II, 74.

⁶ By analogy with *śankha-pāni* or *śastra-hasta*. An instance of the idea is seen at *Ep. Can.*, V, Aśukere 79 (lines 30-1), where *śākhe* = 'arm'; and there are less obvious examples at lines 23-5 and 33 of *ibid.*, Belur 58. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri seems to have missed this in a remark at *JIH*, xxxv, 2, 1957, 282-3.

⁷ *Arthakāstra*, I, i.

cowherd, and it is for this reason that King Dilīpa's task in reference to the cow Nandinī was so appropriately invented.

Finally the king enjoys the Earth, much as Indra enjoys Heaven.¹ The significance of the root *bhuj* is wide (cf. Agni's titles *havir-bhuk*, etc.), but in this context the word is precise. *Bhū-bhuk*, *mañi-bhuk*, *jagatī-bhuk*, and the other commonplace titles refer to physical enjoyments, with a distinct implication of that particular type which is thought of in India as the highest type of 'enjoyment'. *Bhogin* 'enjoyer' is glossed by Śāśvata as *rāja*.² Indian speakers of English refer to the 'enjoyment' of women in a precise sense. The king is called *bhū-vallabha*, the Earth's beloved, and when he is called *-deśa-varādhīpa* we can be sure that the country is visualized as choosing him as if in *svayamvara*. Stories relate the Earth declaring herself the wife of a particular king.³ The king's relationship to her is thought of as sexual. Of this there are many illustrations,⁴ some delicate and some gross :

*priyam anucitām kṣmā-panya-strī-kṣana-prabhur īśvaro
ramayati yato dhik tām bhṛtyān sva-vṛtti-sukhārthinaḥ ||*⁵

The same author refers to Kālidāsa's picture of the king, possessed of produce in the way of jewels from the Earth but devoid of male issue, in an apt verse :

*sa mahīm rāja-kanyām ca prāptavān ekataḥ kulāt |
ratnānām ca sūtānām ca rājābhūd bhājanam śanaiḥ ||*⁶

When the king conquers a region he may be said to have snatched at its breasts, the mountains.⁷ When he takes a city it is described, honorifically, as a rape.⁸ There is a point at which two roles coalesce. *Bhāryā* 'wife', is the maintaineess, the dependant *par excellence*.⁹ *Pati* and *bhartṛ*, 'husband', imply 'protector' and 'maintainer'. The Earth, sitting comfortably on the king's knee,¹⁰ is both his maintaineess and his 'enjoyed one'. She is not the only one in that position.

¹ See below, p. 118, n. 9, and RV, I, 33, 9, where the root *bhuj* appears.

² *Anekārtha-samuccaya*, Poona, 1929, 105, p. 10.

³ *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, trans. Tawney, *Ocean of story*, IV, 175-6; VI, 194.

⁴ *Ragh.*, VIII, 3, 7 (which is the plainest of all); XIX, 3; *Rājat.*, I, 72, 273, 287, 309; II, 8, 9, 63 III, 96, 470; IV, 2, 44, 282; *et alibi*, notably IV, 398, which runs: *saptābdān vasudhām bhukto so 'ti-sambhogā-janmanām | jagāma saṃkṣayam kṣmābhṛt kṣaya-rogeṇa kilbiṣi ||* In a beautiful and apt passage in *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Nanj. 289, pp. 225-6 (A.D. 904) we are told that (while acting as his elder brother's viceroy) Vijayāditya treated the Earth with the chaste respect due to a sister-in-law.

⁵ *Rājat.*, IV, 32.

⁶ *ibid.*, IV, 2.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Kadur 21, dated Cāl. Vik. 13 = A.D. 1089.

⁸ The well-known *janapada* Kuntala (in Skt. = 'tressee') offered poets an obvious pun : e.g. in *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 115 (A.D. 1167) we are told that by force of arms Bijjaṇa seized the hair of the lady, the land of Kuntala (so. as a prelude to rape). He was in fact a usurper. *South Indian inscr.*, III, no. 206, p. 395, v. 5 : the Cōla king seized the city of Tanjore, capital of a great kingdom, as if she had been his own wife.

⁹ *Rau*, op. cit., 35-7, para. 26.

¹⁰ See Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, *Harṣacarita*, VI, 13 : *utsange bhuvā . . .*

He is *śrī-prthivī-vallabha*,¹ and he must be wedded to both Earth and Fortune if he is to remain king. Lakṣmī appears in various guises, such as *rājya-śrī*, *vīrya-śrī*, and *jaya-śrī*, and is notoriously fickle.² The name Śrī-vallabha is an apt one for a prince.³ She is the king's darling (for the time being), and he has all the women-folk he needs if both Pṛthivī and Lakṣmī are faithful to him.

kalatravantam ātmānam avarodhe mahaty api |
*tayā mene manasvinyā Lakṣmyā ca vasudhādhipaḥ ||*⁴
urasy aparyāpta-niveśa-bhāgā praudhī-bhaviṣyantam utkṣamānā |
*sañjāta-lajjeva tam ātapatra-cchāyā-cchalenopajugūha Lakṣmīḥ ||*⁵

But just as Lakṣmī may be unfaithful, Pṛthivī is not less capable of being divorced and remarried, and the Earth is enjoyed by many kings,⁶ as the adage goes, from Sagara in succession. So he 'enjoys' the mother of all creatures: yet we shall not proceed far if we assume that he suffered, professionally, from an Oedipus complex.

The mystery surrounding the epithet, 'enjoyer', is heightened by its total absence from *dharmaśāstra* literature. By way of *śruti* those texts tell us that the king is made up of the 'heavy' particles of many deities and deserves obedience, etc.,⁷ and by way of *ādeśa* the king is warned of the effects of anarchy, the extent of his responsibilities, and the need to control his natural proclivities.⁸ In the *Arthaśāstra* the notion that a kingdom is to be enjoyed is asserted at an early stage,⁹ but the image of the king's conjugal relationship with the Earth is not found. The Earth is *artha*; the king is *arthapati*; but the king's exploitation of the Earth is regarded as a duty requiring no such justification as this.

¹ R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Kalikinkar Datta, *Advanced history of India*, London, 1946, 191-2, comment that this makes him equal to Viṣṇu. Compare *nāvisnuḥ prthivī-patiḥ*. Vīra-Rājendra Cōla is called *Śrī-medini-vallabha* in *Epigraphia Indica*, xxv, p. 265. A title of the Rāstrakūṭas, *inter alios*, and after them of the Western Cālukyas and later the Hoysaḷas: e.g. *Ep. Carn.*, v, Hassan 114 of A.D. 1139. *Vallabha* came with time to mean 'emperor' in the Deccan.

² *Ragh.*, xvii, 46. But she observed a vow of chastity in the house of King Rāparanga-Bhīma: *Ep. Ind.*, xi, p. 218, ll. 40-2. As a wife she appears in the Junagadh inscription of Skanda Gupta, *Corpus ins. Ind.*, iii, p. 59, v. 5 of c. A.D. 455.

³ *South Indian inscr.*, iii, p. 451, provides one of many examples.

⁴ *Ragh.*, i, 32. *South Indian inscr.*, iii, no. 69, p. 147, lines 4-5: Kulōttunga I put an end to the commonness of the Lakṣmī of the South and the loneliness of the goddess of the Kāvēri country. Here *podumai* = commonness (not 'ownerlessness'), cf. *podu-śiri*, 'prostitute'.

⁵ *ibid.*, xviii, 47. Note also *Rājat.*, iii, 126; iv, 373, 467, 589-90. For the text *Śrīś ca te Lakṣmīś ca patnyau* see Mitra-miśra, *cit. inf.*, 18-19. Also *Ep. Carn.*, v, Hassan 65: *kula-vadhu vijaya-śrī*; and in both *ibid.*, Belur 58 and 71 (of the year A.D. 1117) we find: *pingade tēḷ korvi malangire jaya-lakṣmī lakṣmī varddhise suttam*.

⁶ Bāna, *op. cit.*, iv, 27.

⁷ Lakṣmīdhara, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, 1-8; Mitra-miśra, *Vīramitrodaya*, *Rājāniti-prakāśa*, Banaras, 1916, 15-31. It is noted that in several texts it is Indra that is first mentioned as supplying parts of the king, and see Nārada, xvii, 27. Gonda, iii, 65.

⁸ Lakṣmīdhara, *ubi cit.*, 18-21, 142-8; Mitra-miśra, *ubi cit.*, 116-21. Manu, i, 89, is faintly comical in view of the traditional *rāja-vyasanās*: the king's divinely appointed duties are (i) protection of the people, and (ii) non-surrender to appetites.

⁹ i, 18 (Trivandrum ed., 92).

It might be suggested that the *smṛtis*, despite their occasional poetical turn, are practical works, not in need of poetical images; while, on the other hand, moral responsibilities are incompatible with the freedom of behaviour suggested to an Indian by this notion.¹ But this is not true. The special relationship, so far from being foreign to the *sāstra*, is required to explain legal facts; and figures of this kind are intimately connected with very practical concepts. So long as the king treats his 'wife' in a husbandly fashion he is acting distinctly in accordance with *dharma*. The king's legal rights were *bhogas* ('enjoyments'), and when these were passed on to tenants by grant the latter estimated the value of their tenure in terms of the number of *bhogas* it involved.² In Indian law *bhogas* were easily severed, and, for example, land could be sold without the right to use a well in it, and trees could be sold, leased, or mortgaged, without affecting the ownership of the soil. With two exceptions the king was 'lord of all'.³ MM Dr. P. V. Kane has discovered in an unpublished work a *śloka* of unknown authorship but unquestionable accuracy. The point it makes is elaborately worked out in *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* texts.

dhanānām īśvaro rājā Brahmanā parikalpitah |
*bhū-gatānām viśeṣeṇa, bhartā 'sau vibudhādhipah ||*⁴

He translates up to the comma as follows: 'Brahmā arranged that the king was (to be) the owner of all wealth and specially (wealth) that is inside the earth'. He does not proceed, but one may point out that quite literally, the remaining quarter-*śloka* says, 'the *bhartā* ('husband', 'maintainer', 'master', 'lord') is he, <*videlicet*> the "overlord of the gods" (i.e. Indra)'. Thus the labour of the *prajāḥ* was his to tax, whether by forced labour or otherwise. A full list of his actual exactions from them would be lengthy and unnecessary.⁵ Sufficient attention, however, has not been given to the right to fruit, vegetables,

¹ Kane, *op. cit.*, III, 27, notes the relative scarcity of matter in the *śāstra* dealing with privileges as opposed to responsibilities.

² Grants reserving certain rights, particularly in cases of disobedience, laid down in the grants themselves, are well authenticated. The nearest to an 'out-and-out' grant was that of *aṣṭa-bhoga-tejas-svāmīya*, in other words *nīdhī*, *nikṣepa*, *pāṣāṇa*, *siddha*, *sādhya*, *jala*, *akṣipī*, and *agāmi*, on which see the verse cited by F. W. Ellis in his letter to the Madras Govt. dated 2 August 1814 (?), pub. C. P. Brown, *Three treatises on Mirasi right* . . ., Madras, 1852, at p. 17, n. 49; also A. K. Majumdar, *The Chaulukyas*, Bombay, 1956, 248; and cf. A. Master, 'Some Marathi inscriptions, A.D. 1060-1300', *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 428-9. Majumdar, *cit. sup.*, is most useful on the king's rights, and one may usefully consult S. K. Maity, *Economic life of northern India* . . ., Calcutta, 1957. In revenue terminology *bhoga* means, apparently, the right to maintenance from the inhabitants when in their vicinity, as contrasted with *bhāga*, the regular share in the crops by way of land-revenue.

³ See below, p. 116.

⁴ *Parasurāmaparīkṣā* (on which see Kane, *op. cit.*, I, 578) cited from 'f. 27a' (prob. Deccan Coll. MS), *ibid.*, III, 196, n. 252a.

⁵ Details of these rights are to be found in T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian polity*, Madras, 1955; Maity, *cit. sup.*; and Derrett, *The Hoysalas*, O.U.P., 1957. See also Book II of the *Arthaśāstra* and *ibid.*, Bk. v, ch. ii. It is well known that the king was entitled to order householders to contribute to the maintenance of dancing-girls; for his right to compel rich persons to be generous see Medhātithi on Manu, ix, 333.

grain, fodder, lodging, conveyance, and the like, which he and his court enjoyed when on campaign or progress. The political and social effects of this right, and of the illegal exactions of the royal purveyors by virtue of their ill-defined authority, were enormous: it typified the king's position admirably and, incidentally, was inherited by the East India Company.¹ No less significant is the fact that jurists saw the king exercising his rights over the soil and its produce when he confiscated a delinquent's property (a common punishment), and when he seized it or auctioned it in execution of a decretal debt or for default in payment of revenue.²

Perhaps it is in this way that we may explain a curious, if notorious, fact of Indian history. A king's sovereignty extended to his boundaries; dissatisfied subjects merely decamped to his neighbour, who at once became their ruler. This right to change one's allegiance was never questioned or hampered; the simplest way to rid oneself of loyalty to a ruler was to change the soil under one's feet: a position which no modern and few western medieval States could tolerate.

The king's ultimate lordship of the soil would not still be open to debate, if some Indian historians, misled by publicists early in this century, had not assumed that ownership in India was like ownership in England, and that there was something unsatisfactory about concurrent, though distinct, rights of ownership in land between the ruler and the ruled.³ In medieval times the monarch seemed incredibly forbearing if he paid for a plot of land he required for his own purposes.⁴ In order to 'satisfy' the subjects a king observed certain conventions—yet the former were always complaining that in practice the king's agents interpreted them too far in their master's favour. But his inherent superiority in the allocation of 'enjoyments' was a source of pride, and not resentment. It was only when foreigners were found utilizing the very large benefits of this situation to their own advantage, that Indians awoke to the undoubted peculiarity of their *rāja's* position, and, if they were educated in Western ideas, rejected it.

¹ Many land-grants provide that the demesne shall not be entered by *cāṭas* or *bhāṭas* (who would levy contributions on the pretext that the court required them). On the abuse called *begārī*, see Bengal Regs. XI of 1806 and III of 1820; T. K. Banerjee, *Administration of criminal justice* . . . [thesis], London, 1955, 135 ff.

² Jagannātha-tarkapañcāna, *Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava*, I.O. MS Skt. 1770 = Egg. 1534, f. 5 = Colebrooke's *Digest*, Madras, 1864, I, 306-7. *Kātyāyana* (Kane's text), v. 16, and editor's comments thereon, p. 121, n., also Kane, III, 189, n. 243. The king's right to taxes was sometimes attributed to the tax-payer's own motives (e.g. Aparārka on Yājñ, I, 366, cited Kane, III, 38-9), but this does not diminish the king's rights in respect of the soil.

³ A. L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, London, 1954, 109 ff.; Derrett, 233 ff.; Maity, 15-23; Gonda, IV, 128, n. 656. The less satisfactory view continues to be stated by epigraphists, such as MM. V. V. Mirashi, and historians, e.g. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, *ubi cit. sup.* Śābara on Jaimini, VI, 7, 3, is widely misunderstood. The king who serves the Earth by 'upholding' and being valorous has no exclusive ownership over the Earth that can be given to priests, but only the rights not already assigned to the subjects. These could be, and often were, alienated in religious donations—and sometimes bought back again!

⁴ *Rājat.*, IV, 55 ff.

Most remarkable among the exceptions were the immunities of Brahmins, personally and in respect of their property—immunities which were on the whole carefully observed.¹ Soma, they protested at the coronation (or rather the 'sprinkling ceremony'), was their king.² The *śāstra* makes no effort to conceal the king's debt to the Brahmin community³ and his duty to facilitate their work. It is easy to understand that property nominally belonging to the *devas* was immune from the king's lordship, so long, that is to say, as necessity or temptation was not too strong for his piety.

It may be urged that the *śāstra* at length saw the king's *bhogas* as a repayment for his services in *prajā-pālana*. It is boldly asserted (e.g. in Nārada, xvii, 47) that revenue is the king's wages.⁴ But this argument is unrealistic. No one imagines that he 'enjoys' his human dependants in right of wage, as it were, for maintaining them: it is quite the other way about. We need not investigate here the quite relevant Indian notion that while the *bhṛtya* must be supported by his master, the *bhartṛ*, at the same time the *bhṛtya* himself supports the *bhartṛ*⁵: this reciprocity at first seems a paradox, but, like many such, expresses a nexus of psychological attitudes implicit in a stable relationship. We must accept that, just as *bhṛti* means *wages*, so, notwithstanding this important notion, the *bhartṛ* maintains wholly or in part in lieu of wages, as every widower who marries his housekeeper will readily affirm. Moreover the notion that the ruler is the servant of the people, agreeable in times of revolution and the like, does not accord with Hindu traditional sentiment. He shows his qualities by lending a ready ear to their grievances, and so on, but he is emphatically if not always their leader, at any rate the *prajā-svāmī*, their lord. Even to those not actually employed in the royal household he is *anna-dātṛ*, the 'giver of food'.⁶ Without him the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit: no exaggeration, as everyone knows. Perhaps the reference to the king's relationship to the Earth cannot be found in the *śāstra* because the jurists wanted to minimize a feature with which the public were all too familiar, and which tended to impede their inculcation of the *śāstra's* chief lesson, namely that, 'divinity' or not, the king must *not* consider himself a superhuman being and must concentrate on his duty and not upon the delights which his position may afford. Gonda rightly points out the distinction between

¹ R. Aiyangar, introd. to *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, 54 ff. Kane, III, 190, 228, 384, 762, 942. A fundamental text commences *na viṣam viṣam*, *ibid.*, p. 1273, No. 11. On Bhats and Charans in western India in the eighteenth century see J. Tod, *Annals and antiquities . . .*, II, 500; J. Forbes, *Oriental memoirs*, 1834, I, 377–80. Chintaman Rao, negotiating with Elphinstone in 1819, demanded that Brahmins should be exempt from *begārī*: K. Ballhatchet, *Social policy and social change . . .*, London, 1957, 68.

² Rau, 65, para. 43; Gonda, III, 135. *MBh.*, XII, 47, 24; *Vas.*, I, 42–3.

³ Kane, II, 36 ff.; Dikshitar, *Hindu administrative institutions*, 114 ff.

⁴ Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, 166 ff.; Kane, III, 187; R. Aiyangar, *Rājadharmā*, Adyar, 1941, 35, 107; *MBh.*, XII, 57, 11.

⁵ e.g. Rāmānuja, *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, ed. van Beutenen, Poona, 1957, trans., 275.

⁶ Nār., xvii, 25; E. M. Carstairs, *The twice-born*, London, 1957, 21.

the divine kingship and the all-too-human individual who represents it, and the anomalies to which this distinction gave rise.

Another suggestion is made, that in the phrases cited the word *bhū* really stands for *prajāh*.¹ He maintains the public, fostering the good and rooting out the 'thorns'; he protects not more by warding off attacks than by increasing his material resources; and where there were no inhabitants there was, it is alleged with doubtful authority, no kingdom. But this will not serve. For *prajā-bhojana* is a revolting concept. The king, given normal conditions, is no parasite; rather it is upon him that all the *prajāh* depend. If they contribute to his maintenance by their labour, his own contributions serve, in precisely the same way, to support the Brahman community. Even in emergencies, when he may take the goods of wealthy merchants,² he is not acting parasitically, for his authority to do this is not challenged. It is only if they stop 'feeding' him, or fail in their duty, or he is overcome with greed, that the relationship breaks down, and he 'preys upon' them.³ This is distinctly a morbid, and not a normal characteristic. Nor is this a case where reciprocity applies, for one does not hear of *bhṛtya-bhojana*, where, if anywhere, such an expression might have been expected. All the difficulty lies in the word *bhojana*, which calls to mind the harem, who certainly do not support their master, except in very peculiar circumstances. It is true that the *rāja*, the *rāja's* friend, and the dacoit, are the conventional hazards that beset peaceful citizens,⁴ but this is not evidence of *prajā-bhojana*—for who has heard a thief described as 'enjoyer of the robbed'?

Perhaps it is Indra who provides the explanation. He and his ancient colleague or substitute, Parjanya, give or withhold rain, and similarly, and perhaps accordingly, all wealth.⁵ Like a real king Indra divides the spoil between his dependants, and in return for offerings is believed to be morally bound to provide cattle.⁶ In the *Rigveda* he is plainly the embodiment of brilliant power, loosing the bound, opening up the riches of enemies to his followers,

¹ *Śrīmāla*, on *Arthasāstra*, I, 1; Manu, IX, 311 and commentaries.

² *Arthasāstra*, IV, 3; V, 2: Kane, III, 188, n. 240.

³ In *AB*, VIII, 12, 5 (cf. 17, 5) he is called *vikām attā* 'eater of the folk'; Gonda, IV, 35. From the context this may mean 'devourer' in the sense of 'destroyer'; cf. *MBh.*, XII, 47, 37-8. For 'preying upon' see *Arthas.*, II, 1; Kane, III, 184 ff. In another sense the food-producing classes are 'eaten' by those who protect them by arms or *mantras*, and the latter even 'eat' the king: *TS.* VII, 1, 1, 4-6; *PB.* VI, 1, 6-11 (U. N. Ghoshal, *History of Hindu public life*, I, Calcutta, 1945, 51-2); also *SB.* V, 4, 2, 3. A thorough study of the problem will take into account texts such as *Nārada*, XVII, 22, where the subject is compared with the king's wife; and *Ragh.*, VIII, 8, where the good king acts impartially to each subject, just as the ocean behaves to hundreds of rivers. The ocean is, of course, the *husband* of the rivers: *sarī-patī*—cf. *Kālidāsa, Mālavikā.*, V, 19.

⁴ A commonplace in *dharmaśāstra*. In Meyer, II, 128-9, a hint is not followed up.

⁵ *Sāyaṇa* on *RV*, I, 52, 14. Indra resorted to for fertility ('offspring'), victory, and wealth: *ibid.*, I, 8, 6 and *passim* particularly in the first *maṇḍala*.

⁶ Another commonplace. See e.g. *RV*, I, 33; IV, 34 and 35; cf. *AV*, III, 4, 2. The sexual aspects of Indra: Meyer, III. A critical, but non-sexual study: E. Benveniste and L. Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛthagna: étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*, Paris, 1934.

and stimulating the warrior and raider. The notions of violent robbery and impregnation seem to be linked.¹ Was he called the king of the *devas* because he shared these attributes with the earthly chief, to whom he is constantly and tediously likened? ² A prayer in the *Atharva-veda* seeks to make the 'sprinkled' king like Indra, in order that the people may have rain³; the warrior king in history sought 'Indra-hood' in this very life.⁴ The very word *kṣatriya*, says Śabara-svāmi, calls to mind Indra.⁵ If Indra is not precisely wedded to Pṛthivī, Parjanya certainly is,⁶ and there is a complete parallel.⁷ Earth is the mother, Parjanya (we have seen) is the father, and Parjanya is therefore (like Indra) our ruler.⁸ Sudakṣiṇā, hoping that her expected son will enjoy the Earth as Indra enjoys Heaven, takes to eating soil . . .

divam Marutvān iva bhoksyate bhuvaṃ dig-anta-viśrānta-ratho hi tat-sutah |
*ato 'bhlāṣe prathamam tathāvidhe mano babandhānya-rasān vilāṅghya sā ||*⁹

Since they are of a kind, the king and Indra are on visiting terms.¹⁰ Like Indra, the king is a 'rainer'.¹¹ Gonda, who notes the parallelism, points to the mystical possession of *ojas* ('creative vital energy') as a kingly quality.¹² Similar expressions deserve scrutiny. *Retas* 'rain-water' also means 'semen',¹³ and it is with *retas* that Parjanya *satisfies* the Earth.¹⁴ Modern Indian speech employs 'water' as a euphemism for several fluids, and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in an odd story about Indra sees a large range of fluids with distinct fertility-connotations as

¹ Ruler: *RV*, viii, 37, 3. Bull, lord, 'rainer', protector, 'showerer': *RV*, i, 7, 8; 9, 4; 10, 10; 32. Even in countries where rainfall can be a nuisance 'showering blessings' is an accepted metaphor—and, since we have mentioned a Western usage, are not the uses to which the English word *husband* is put significant in our context?

² He is *bhū-śakra* ('the Earth's Indra'?): Śrī-Harṣa cited *Sūkti-muktāvalī*, Baroda, 1938, 338, No. 25. *MBh.*, xii, 67, 4; *Arthaś.*, i, 13. The king's mother is Indra's mother: *AV*, vi, 38; his bow Indra's weapon: Gonda, iii, 131. *Rājat.*, i, 99, 100, 174; ii, 63; iii, 329, 476; iv, 108, 164, 194, 217, 372; and so forth. Indra survived in *abhiṣeka* ceremonies and the rituals for increasing sovereignty; and also in the South Indian *pongal* festival, upon which see Meyer, iii, 118 ff. Gonda takes the identification as established: iii, 63-4, 134, 138; iv, 51. What is the relationship of Indra to Gautama Buddha? The concept of Indra held by Buddhist writers is sketched *ibid.*, iii, 144.

³ vi, 54, cited V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *War in ancient India. Second ed.*, Madras, etc., 1948, at p. 36.

⁴ *Aindrapadam. MBh.*, xii, 78, 34, promises him *Indra-salokātā* after his death, but that is not enough. The 'state of Indra' is the conventional boon with which *sannyāsis* are tempted. The whole point, so far as it relates to kings, is well elaborated by Dikshitar, *War*, 31 and ff.

⁵ On Jaimini, i, 4, 13.

⁶ *AV*, xii, 1, 42.

⁷ See p. 110, n. 2, above and p. 119, n. 4, below, also *MBh.*, xii, 92, 1.

⁸ *RV.*, vii, 101, 2.

⁹ *Ragh.*, iii, 4.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, i, 75; *Rājat.*, iv, 222-40. Indra also gives lessons in statecraft: *MBh.*, xii, 140, 17.

¹¹ R. Aiyangar, introd. to *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, 17. The most explicit text is *Manu*, ix, 304.

¹² iii, 64, 134.

¹³ See Meyer, *op. cit.*, iii, 150.

¹⁴ *RV.*, v, 83, 4-6, with Sāyana thereon, is extraordinarily suggestive, since the word *avati* aptly implies sexual satisfaction (cf. *Ragh.*, i, 65, *cit. sup.*). On *retas* and Parjanya as an impregnator see also *RV.*, v, 83, 1; vii, 101, 6; and 103, 2.

mystical representatives of rain-water.¹ The root *vr̥ṣ* 'to rain' has a most ancient duality of meaning: it suggests the pouring or scattering of generative fluid. *Vṛṣa* implies any male animal, and the mightiest of its kind. The *Atharva-veda* prays for sovereignty even over Indra, over Heaven, and over the Earth, for the chief, in these suggestive words²:

vr̥ṣendrasya vr̥ṣā dīvo vr̥ṣā pṛthivyā ayam |

vr̥ṣā viśvasya bhūtasya tvam ekavṛṣo bhava ||

Vṛṣabha, with which the *R̥gveda* compares Parjanya and Indra,³ came to be a bull, but how did *mahiṣī* come to mean 'chief queen' when its principal meaning is 'she-buffalo'? Wilhelm Rau recently pointed out the curious connexion here between the Queen, a cow, the Mother, and the Earth.⁴ The king is a bull amongst men; the idea of a king growing past potency in office is distasteful to traditional Hindu notions, and the large (but curiously often unfruitful) harem was always an ostensible sign of the king's possession of the necessary qualification. Two classes of humans should not die a natural death: they should be buried alive or drowned, starve themselves to death, or, in the case of the first only, die in battle or of wounds received in battle. These are the king, and the *sannyāsi*.⁵ It has been observed that they are the only persons to possess *tejas*,⁶ that characteristic Indian attribute of males, and they are the only persons marked out for their possession—though in different contexts and for different purposes—of abundant semen.

pṛthivī sarva-bhūtānām janitrī tad-vidhāḥ striyaḥ |

*pumān prajā-patis tatra sukram tejo-mayaṁ viduḥ ||*⁷

And what is the *yaśas* of the king, the clear white fluid fit to be drunk, particularly by dependants or those humiliated? Drinking fame is a notable Indian metaphor.

¹ VI, 7, 2-40; 8, 42; 9, 4-11.

² Cited in Dikshitar, *War*, 37, n. 63a; Gonda, IV, 28.

³ See p. 118, n. 1, above, and compare the warrior's hymn to the virile *vr̥ṣan* Indra in *AV*, XIX, 13.

⁴ op. cit., 106, para. 71, ref. *SB*, V, 3, 1, 4. The learned author assembles further references suggesting that the *uttaravedī*, the lioness, and the female buffalo are supernaturally related. Indra's and Parjanya's relationship with *Pṛthivī*, and Indra's other sexual exploits, were taken for granted in medieval times; Sāyana tells us that 'for fun' Indra had intercourse with a mare and begot a cow: comm. on *RV*, I, 121, 2.

⁵ King: refs. in Dikshitar, *War*, 19, 387-91; R. Aiyangar, op. cit., introd., 75, n. 1; Kane, op. cit., III, 57-8; IV, 605; *sannyāsi*: Kane, II, ch. xxviii. See Medhātithi on Manu, VII, 89. History abounds with examples of *sannyāsis* or would-be *sannyāsis* who have committed suicide by fire or water, and burial alive, as a literal interpretation of the requirement of death by *samādhi* (with which compare the Jainas' *sallekhanā*), takes place even to-day. Note that only babies and *sannyāsis* are entitled to burial as distinct from cremation. Moreover there is a reciprocity between *rājas* and *sannyāsis* of a most unexpected kind. They appear to be at opposite poles of existence: but the royal *ṛṣi* (Gonda, III, 46) and the *rāja* whose *rājyam* is his *āśrama* or *tapas*, are commonplaces, whence *Ragh.*, I, 58, is beautifully apt. See also *Śākunt.*, II, 14. Both *rāja* and *sannyāsi* in the form of *ṛṣi* are, of course, perfect father-figures.

⁶ Gonda, III, 71; IV, 133. The last reference links *tejas* and *vīrya*, mystical efficiency and sexual potency. Professor Gonda sees in the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice (IV, 134-5) a ritual primarily intended to increase the king's potency (and thence his qualification to rule widely).

⁷ *MBh.*, XII, 183, 15: for the printed *sukram* many manuscripts read *suklam*.

sa nandinī-stanyam aninditātmā sad-vatsalo vatsa-hutāvaśeṣam |
papau Vasiṣṭhena kṛtābhyanuññāḥ śubhram yaśo mūrtam ivātrṣṇaḥ || ¹
bhūpeṣu kūpeṣu iva rikta-bhāvaṃ kṛtvā prapāpālikayaiva yasya |
vīra-śrīyā kīrti-sudhā-rasasya diśāṃ mukhāni prañayī-kṛtāni || ²

A prolongation of Morris Carstairs' brilliant discoveries in the psychological connotations of white fluids, white foods, and related matters, may throw light on this question.³

Apparently, quite apart from considerations of 'sacredness', the Indian king was first and foremost a *male*. Royal titles, like Dhārāvārṣa, Akālāvārṣa, Amoghāvārṣa, and so on, combine the 'raining' and masculine attributes. At the 'coronation' fluids, viscous and clear, play varied and essential parts.⁴ Just as *abhiṣecana* with water over the head is essential for the king's authority, so the *dharmaśāstra* recommends that he be *abhiṣikta* annually and on special occasions. We wonder what is behind the symbolism of the *vasordhārā*, which as Rangaswami Aiyangar pointed out⁵ may be performed to destroy enemies, at anniversaries of *abhiṣekas*, or the births of princes, etc., and mimetically promises the 'shower' of wealth and other blessings which the *devas* give in return—a 'shower' which pours over the head of the sacrificer, i.e. the king himself. For the rite consists in a very slow trickling of ghee into a consecrated fire kindled at the bottom of a pit in the middle of a dwelling. The learned commentator, quoting Kālidāsa, points out that here showering, sprinkling, blessings, martial potency, and reciprocity between Heaven and Earth are all inextricably associated: and doubtless we might go further. Why does the king have to erect the 'flagstaff of Indra', on which there seems to be a large literature, and which is, as Meyer has abundantly proved,⁶ as much a phallic symbol as any of the poles, *lingams*, obelisks, *vīragals*, or other tall stones, whether actually worshipped or not? For the sake of rain and 'to become lord of the world' he erects what Gonda identifies as a maypole. For fertility

¹ *Ragh.*, II, 69. *Sūktim.*, 339—a verse calling *yaśas* by the suggestive word *śukla*. *Vājapeya* = 'drink of vigour', on which see refs. in Gonda, IV, 37; *ibid.*, 38, 134–5, for the meanings of *vāja*. It is not precisely *retas*, but it is evidently the condition of having ample *retas* pent up. Carstairs enlarges on secret rites involving incest, etc., and no doubt holiness and horror are often related. The relation between sexuality and holiness seems to maintain similar features throughout the Indo-European world, but as Professor Gonda emphasizes, India provides quite special developments of the common heritage.

² Bilhana, *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, Banaras, 1945, I, 89. The pure *yaśas* of one king was so abundant that it had to be stored in a reservoir (like the seed of Prajāpati that formed the lake Mānasa): *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 43; cf. Heesterman, *cit. inf.*, 190. Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* bears an intriguing and doubtless apt title. *South Indian inscr.*, III, p. 398, v. 92: the son of Rājārāja seized the pure pearls which had become *seeds*, as it were, of the pure fame (in the plural) of the Pāṇḍya king.

³ *op. cit.*, 83 ff., 166. Meyer, index, 'Honig', 'Milch'. The king's couch at the 'coronation' may be made of wood yielding a milk-white sap.

⁴ N. Law, *ubi cit.*; Kane, III, 72 ff.; Gonda, III, 43; IV, 33 ff., 46 ff.

⁵ *Introd. to Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, 80–1. Meyer seems to have omitted to mention this.

⁶ III, 7 ff.; 192. It is Indra himself, III, 13, 24, 40, 41, 98. On stones see *ibid.*, I, 57.

southern Indians to this day pour ghee on the tall stones erected to commemorate the deaths of heroes in battle, and such stones are erected elsewhere to assert prestige, and to secure good crops. Planting columns was a sign of virility and a sop to vanity as much in India as in the West¹: one planted a Kadamba tree in one's own soil² and a 'column of victory' in one's neighbour's.

Perhaps the king was the lover of the Earth because of the physical prowess constantly attributed to him *ex officio*. It enabled him to capture her as the *ksatriyas* were supposed to capture their brides. Perhaps he felt towards her that peculiar complex of animal power, jealous subjection, dutiful protection, and fearful worship which has been observed between husband and wife in orthodox Hindu societies, where marriage still takes place in childhood and precedes love. Is the phrase *bhū-bhojana* an admission that the king's possession of the Earth was not different in kind from an ordinary citizen's possession of his wife? If so we are a long way towards understanding the attitude of the subject towards his king as a second father, an attitude which alone made possible the deviations on the part of kings from what was admitted on every side to be their duty.³ Perhaps the whole notion grew from the primitive observation that extraverted zeal and physical prowess, the absolute requirements of a successful brigand or champion, were in some way associated with *vīrya*, a characteristic inseparable from possession of abundant semen.⁴ Similarly, though perhaps by coincidence, the power that enabled a chief to possess the Earth, whether personally or through his dependants and associates, was thought of as a fertilizing power, for the acts of cultivation (at least in one part of India, these were acts that could not prosper without the *ksatriya*'s inauguration)⁵ must have been seen as distinctly masculine, ever since the story of Sitā started on its long journey, if not before—and hence perhaps the connexion between the king and Indra. That the king himself undertook to produce rain by keeping up brahmanical offerings and attending to the requirements of *dharma* may have been a secondary development.

If *bhū-pālana* and *bhū-bhojana* have happily coalesced, what remains to be said of *bhū-bharaṇa*? If the enjoyed one is kept happy one aspect of *bharaṇa* is accounted for, but what of the other? Is the physical carrying another secondary development, made at the time when the king discovered that rule

¹ Alexander probably did *not* bring the custom to India. The custom of erecting monoliths is still alive in England. A gigantic partly-hewn pillar is to be seen on the village green in Westwell, Oxon., erected after the first World War to commemorate two soldiers. It is a splendid *viragal*.

² Evidence from South India. On trees as fertility symbols, lordly and phallic: Meyer, I, 214 ff.; III, 190-5.

³ On attitudes to fathers: Carstairs, 67-9, 159-67. Texts emphasizing the father-like status of the king: Kane, III, 62-3.

⁴ On *vīrya*; Gonda, IV, 133, 158. After this paper was written the writer discovered with pleasure that Professor Gonda had found, in *TB*, III, 9, 7, 4, and *SB*, XIII, 2, 9, 6, identifications of the *raṣṭra* (which he translates 'royal sway') with the *membrum virile*.

⁵ *Vāpya-maṅgala* ceremony, cited by Dev Raj, *L'esclavage dans l'Inde ancienne*, Pondichéry, 1957, 53. Hoesterman's guess, *op. cit.* inf. 168, seems appropriate.

was a burden? A wife is *bhāryā* because she was originally carried along, and thence her master's responsibility. The Earth could hardly have become a burden because she was a wife, but rather because protecting her became burdensome. *Prajāh* are not in any case a burden, any more than they are enjoyed; dependency alone must have ceased to imply a burden long before the king's responsibility appeared as such. But if we assert that the image of the king with the Earth upon his shoulder is a derivative notion we are not rising above conjecture, since the Rgvedic *sūkta* we have already consulted (I, 121, 2-3) explicitly tells us that Indra *holds up* the Heavens for the good of creatures, while in the *Atharvaveda* we find the prayer,¹ 'may you stand firm in the world like Indra and may you uphold the kingdom!'. There are evidently depths to this problem which can hardly be plumbed with assurance, though we may attempt to apprehend them. There remains a fact, however, which it may be presumptuous to claim as a clue, but seems worth citing. The word used in the *sūkta* for 'holding up' is derived from the root *stambh* 'to prop up'. Now *stambha* is a pillar. We are told repeatedly that a king supports the world on his arm, which is 'like a pillar',² very much as Krishna holds up the mountain. The arm-pillar is of course a phallic symbol. Hindus believe the three worlds to be supported upon a pillar. The pillar on the round flat ground (the flatness has its significance, and the roundness no less)³ at once calls to mind Mahādeva, the predominant fertility deity.⁴ But we have also the reverse, the pillar, apart from other characteristics which do not seem relevant here, holding up the three worlds in the form of a (? flat) inhabited place. A commonplace stanza says this is Śiva, the Phallus.

namas tūṅga-śiraś-cumbi-candra-cāmara-cāraṇe |
*traiḷokyā-nagarārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavaḥ ||*⁵

If Indra propped up the Heavens, perhaps because by splitting the clouds he

¹ VI, 87, 1-2.

² Kannaḍa examples cited p. 111, n. 3, above.

³ Gonda, IV, 53 ff., on the Earth's *broadness*, and Heaven's. On the circularity of the king's Earth, *ibid.*, 144 ff. The king should be in the centre of his *maṇḍala* or *akra* (*ibid.*, 148), just, we note, as the *lingam* of Mahādeva shows the upright portion in the centre of the *yonī* portion.

⁴ In Śiva-Mahādeva the *yonī* is underneath, the *lingam* above. But the image we have here is reversed, as well it may be since the arm, which is the phallic symbol (see the instance cited above, p. 111, n. 3), must of necessity be visualized *surmounted* by that which it is supporting and penetrating. The arm with the clenched fist is often used suggestively in India. The king's arm appears as phallic, doubtless as a symbol of Indra, and as a deity, it seems, in the otherwise inexplicable passage in the Kaluchumbarru grant of Vijayāditya Amma I, the Eastern Cālukya of the tenth century (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 186). He is described as *sūktā Vallabha-nṛpa-samabhyarcita-bhujah* 'whose arm was personally (or 'publicly') worshipped by king Vallabha (i.e. the Rāstrakūṭa emperor, so termed disrespectfully)'. *samabhyarcita* is a very strong word, suggesting worship of the *lingam* of Śiva, and *bhujah* means nothing but 'arm'.

⁵ See p. 123, n. 3. This verse commences about seven out of every ten inscriptions (mostly engraved on tall monoliths) now standing in the villages or fields of Kāṇṇāṭaka. The white *cāmara*, white umbrellas, and the *victorious* white pennant, all related to the king and to poles, deserve study along the lines suggested here.

reinstated daylight (he is elsewhere said to have placed the sun in the sky),¹ we are told also that he kept Heaven separate from Earth. But in the same *sūkta* (I, 62, 7), Indra not merely keeps them apart, but also upholds them. The *dyāvāprthivī*, who appear with Indra in several contexts, sometimes supporting him and sometimes supported by him,² are actually held by him, and the commentator Sāyaṇa goes out of his way to point out that this may well place Indra in a (characteristic) masculine role, and Heaven and Earth in feminine roles, while the holding may be a maintaining or nourishing.

dviṭā vi vavre sanajā sanīle ayāsyah stavamānebhīr arkaḥ |
bhago na mene parame vyomān adhārayad rodasī sudamśāḥ ||

(Sāyaṇa :) . . . *rodasī dyāvāprthivyau adhārayat apoṣayat. yadvā. menā* iti *strī-nāma. tathā ca Yaskaḥ : menā gnā iti strīṇām menā mānayanī enāḥ* (Nir. III, 21) iti. *strī-rūpam āpanne rodasī Indro 'puṣyad ity arthaḥ.*

Thus Indra, the personification of the masculine, the prototype of the column of victory, bears up, supports, maintains and protects—or was thought to do so by the very people who attributed the same characteristics to their kings. Masculinity, it seems, may be the key to all this. The *yonī* that is the Earth requires, it seems, the *liṅgam* that is the King.³ Should this ultimately be proved, its effects upon our understanding of Indian social and political history cannot be small, and one of the origins, if not the chief origin, of the 'divinity' of Indo-European kingship may have been discovered.

¹ Gonda, IV, 141, 143-4, emphasizes how Indra's expansion is so great that he fills Earth and Heaven and the space between, or rather that in extent he surpasses them. Extension, swelling so as fully to occupy : this attribute of both Indra and the king is carefully expounded by Professor Gonda. J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, The Hague, 1957, 191, n. 58, points out that the *indriya* force rises upwards through the three worlds and that it is only by rising to the third world that Indra can master it. His work refers to what he calls *indriya-vīrya*—frequently, pointing out its importance in the *rājastīya*.

² In particular note RV., III, 30, 5 : *ime cid Indra rodasī apāre yat saṃgrbhñā Maghavan kṛśīr ite*, which Śabara (on Jaimini, IX, 1, 6 and 9) hastens to explain away, because though Indra grips them in a 'fistful' (*kṛśīh* = *mūṣṭīh*, which, N.B., is suspected to mean *penis* in one citation in Monier-Williams), the jurist is reluctant to ascribe either possession or ownership to a *devatā*.

³ Nothing depicts the king's nature as phallus-pillar-Indra more clearly than the *axis mundi* pose of the king, about to be 'sprinkled', standing erect on his throne (the navel of the Earth), with both arms reaching to the sky : MS, 4, 4, 3 : 53.16 referred to and expounded brilliantly by Heesterman, op. cit., 101 and n. 51.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT OF IBN TAYMIYYA'S ANTI-CHRISTIAN POLEMICS

According to Brockelmann (*Supplement*, II, 123, nos. 72, 73), Ibn Taymiyya wrote, apart from some shorter treatises, two major anti-Christian polemical works: *Takhjīl ahl al-injīl wa'l-nahj al-ṣaḥīḥ fi'l-radd 'alā man baddal dīn 'Isā b. Maryam al-Masīḥ* (no. 72), a copy of which is said to be preserved in Oxford (II, 45); and *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddal dīn al-Masīḥ* (no. 73), a copy of which is reported as being contained in the same Oxford MS, as well as in a number of other MSS and in two Cairo editions. (I have at my disposal the edition Cairo, 1323/1905.)

An examination of the Oxford MS (Marsh 299) shows that this account of its contents is not correct. The manuscript does not in fact contain two works, and the error seems to be entirely Brockelmann's, for A. Nicoll, in his description of the MS (Catalogue, vol. II, no. 45,¹ pp. 74-5 and additions, p. 510) says that the MS contains *Takhjīl ahl al-injīl* . . . and says nothing about a second work.¹ On the other hand, a comparison shows that the contents of the MS are in fact identical with the last quarter of *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, corresponding to the portion from vol. III, p. 258, to the end of the book (vol. IV, p. 324) in the printed edition. It has, however, a title-page and a short introduction, in which the MS is given as a different work by Ibn Taymiyya.

Fol. 1 is not an authentic part of the MS: the paper and handwriting are both quite different from those of the subsequent folios. The recto bears the following title:

كتاب تخجيل اهل الانجيل
والنهج الصحيح في الرد على
من بدل دين عيسى ابن مريم المسيح
تأليف شيخ الاسلام ابي العباس
تقي الدين بن احمد²
ابن تيمية الحراني
رضي الله عنه
آمن

¹ Nicoll knew the title (*Bayān*) *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* etc. only from Ḥājji Khalifa; he noticed its similarity to the title as given in the Oxford MS and suggested that the two titles may refer to the same work. The note in the Leiden Catalogue by de Jong and de Goeje (IV, p. 251): 'The Bodleian MS Nic. 45 contains another, but this time complete, copy of the same work [*al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*]' is erroneous and is possibly based on the remark of Nicoll just referred to.

² Ibn Taymiyya's name is Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm . . . b. Muhammad; the form given in the title is erroneous.

The verso begins as follows : *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذى شرع لنا الدين ، والصلوة والسلام على افضل من اعتصم بحبله المتين ، سيدنا ومولانا محمد عبده ونبيه ورسوله الامين ، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه الرءاء فيما بينهم الاشداء على الكافرين ، صلوة دائمة متعاقبة فى كل وقت وحين ، وسلم تسليم كثيرا الى يوم الدين . اما بعد فيقول العبد المتمسك بذيل اللطاف الخفية ، ابو العباس احمد بن تيميه ، الحنبلى ، عامله المولى بغفران ذنبه الخفى والجلّى ، هذا كتاب سمّيته تحجيل ، اهل الانجيل ، والنهج الصحيح ، فى الرد على من بدل دين عيسى بن مريم المسيح ، اذكر فيه اعلام النبوات بنص الحديث والكتاب الفصيح ، فاقول والله الهادى ، وعليه توكلتى واعتمادى ، واليه ملجأى واستنادى : اعلم وفقك الله وايانا ان النصارى لهم قول مشهور بينهم وهو ان منهم من يقول ان محمدا صلح لم يشر به النبوات الخ .*

From here the text of the manuscript goes on as in the printed edition of the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* (III, 258, l. 3 from below and what follows).

The MS ends, like the printed edition (IV, 324) with the words : وهذا مبسوط :

There follows the colophon in the hand of the scribe ; the words in square brackets are, however, not authentic, but were written by a forger over an erasure : تمت النبوات تصنيف الشيخ | الامام العالم العلامة اوجد العصر | فريد الدهر شيخ الاسلام [ابى عبد | الله احمد بن محمد بن حنبل | الشيبانى] رضى الله عنه وارضاه امين | اعاد الله تعالى | من بركاته .

Originally the colophon no doubt contained the name of the true author, Ibn Taymiyya ; the forger, however, wanted to ascribe the book to the founder of the Ḥanbalī school, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal himself ! His effort was not successful, for someone pasted over the forged name and wrote instead ابى الشيخ

ابن الشيخ ابي (Nicoll reproduced this state of the colophon.)

On the left side there is a note with the signature of the scribe : Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanbalī al-Maqdisī ; the date is unfortunately illegible. On the right side there is a note in a different hand :

هذا اخر الكتاب وهو الرد على النصارى تاليف سيدنا | شيخ الاسلام ابى العباس تقي الدين احمد بن تيمية نغمده الله | بالرحمة والرضوان واسلمه فيح الجنان بمنه وكرمه .

One is tempted simply to conclude, in view of the fact that the title-page and the beginning of the text are obviously later substitutes, that a fragmentary copy of *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* received a forged title-page and a forged introduction by an owner who wanted to give his property the semblance of a complete work. The problem is, however, more complicated than that. It can be shown that

¹ I do not know why this curious form of the name (referring to Ibn Taymiyya's ancestor Muhammad ?) was chosen.

the volume is not a fragment which owes its present extent to chance. Vol. III, p. 258 is an important turning point in the structure of Ibn Taymiyya's book. As can be seen from the analysis in E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, pp. 31-2, up to that point Ibn Taymiyya is refuting paragraph by paragraph the Christian Apology from Cyprus which gave the occasion for the writing of his own work. 'After having dealt with the Apology of Cyprus there follows a discussion of the prophecies in the Old and New Testaments referred to Muḥammad (III, 258 to IV, 38), of the conversions of Christians and Jews in the time of Muḥammad (IV, 39-62), and more especially of the miracles of Muḥammad which prove his prophecy (IV, 62-287)' (Fritsch). One has therefore the impression that the portion contained in the Oxford MS may have led an independent existence, either as a special part detached from the whole of the book, or more probably as an independent treatise—or even as a preliminary draft, which was subsequently incorporated into the great work of polemics. In this connexion we may recall that the colophon says 'The prophecies are finished' (*tammāt al-nubuwwāt*); now this is in itself a very unusual phrase for a colophon, and can hardly be meant as a title, but seems to be somehow connected with the subject of the volume and describes fairly well its contents.¹ Are the title-page and the introduction, though not an original part of the MS in a material sense, then authentic in their contents? The fact that the colophon does not give the same title as they do, and also the fact that the title *Takhjīl ahl al-injīl* . . . does not seem to figure in the lists of Ibn Taymiyya's works, speak against this. A final decision on the nature of the volume and its relation to the final form of the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* cannot be reached without the examination of the MSS of that work.

The matter is rendered even more complicated by the fact that Ibn Taymiyya is reported by Ḥājjī Khalīfa (Istanbul ed. of 1941, I, 379-80) to have composed a polemical book called *al-Takhjīl li-man baddala'l-Tawrāt wa'l-Injīl*. This title is similar to that given by the Oxford MS, but is not identical; moreover the incipit given by Ḥājjī Khalīfa: الحمد لله الذى فطرنا على دين الاسلام الخ does not coincide with that of the Oxford MS. If we assume that the title of the Oxford MS is due to a falsification, one could also suggest that the forger concocted his title from a combination of the title of the book seen by Ḥājjī Khalīfa and that of the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*; but judgment must be reserved.

There is, however, another error to be cleared up in this connexion. Brockelmann states (loc. cit., under no. 72) that Ibn Taymiyya's *Takhjīl ahl al-injīl* has been epitomized by Abu'l-Faḍl al-Su'ūdī under the title of *Mukhtaṣar Takhjīl man ḥarrafa'l-injīl*, and this might be held to authenticate

¹ A book by Ibn Taymiyya bearing the title of *Kutāb al-nubuwwāt* has been published in Cairo in 1346, and registered by Brockelmann, *Supplement*, II, 120, no. 3. (I am much obliged to Professor H. Laoust for lending me his copy.) This book, however, deals with the miracles of the Prophet from an inner Islamic dogmatic point of view, and polemizes against Muslims who hold opinions different from those of the author rather than against the *Ahl al-Kutāb*; and there is no connexion between it and the present MS.

the title in the Oxford MS, were it not that al-Su'ūdī's epitome has in fact nothing to do with Ibn Taymiyya: it is an epitome of a book with a similar title written by Abu'l-Baqā' al-Ja'farī, *Takhjīl man ḥarraf dīn al-injīl*, of which the author himself has written a shorter version under the title of *al-Bayān al-waḍūh al-mashhūd min fadā'iḥ al-Naṣārā wa'l-Yahūd*.¹ The epitome of the *Takhjīl*, by Abu'l-Faḍl al-Su'ūdī, has been printed by F. J. van den Ham.²

Finally, whatever we think of the literary character of the Oxford MS, by establishing the fact that it is materially identical with the last part of the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, we can unravel another bibliographical problem. Ludovico Marracci in his *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* often quotes substantial passages from a work by Ibn Taymiyya (whom he calls 'Ahmedus filius Abdolhalimi', with variations). He does not give its title, but calls it 'Apology against the Christian religion in favour of the Mohammedan sect', or usually simply 'Apology'. Nicoll noted in his Catalogue that some of the quotations are to be found in the Oxford MS. What he did not notice, however, is that many quotations do not recur in the Oxford MS, whereas all the quotations are to be found in the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Marracci obviously had at his disposal a copy of the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* and the occurrence of some of the quotations in the Oxford MS is of course due to the fact that this is identical with the last part of the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*. C. A. Nallino, in his study of Marracci's sources ('Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludovico Marracci sul Corano', *Rendiconti R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1931, 303-49 = *Raccolta di scritti*, II, 90-134) writes as follows (p. 332 = *Raccolta*, p. 118): 'As regards the work so keenly opposed by Marracci, Alexander Nicoll, on p. 510 of the 2nd part (Oxford, 1821) of vol. I of the *Bibl. Bodleianae cod. mss. orient. Catalogus*, bears witness that it is the still unpublished *Takhjīl ahl al-injīl*, "The shaming of the followers of the Gospel" (who are accused of having changed Christ's true religion), a great part of which has passed into the *Prodromus* of Marracci, the first European scholar to turn his attention to the work of Ibn Taymiyya'. With his usual perspicacity, Nallino felt that something was not in order and added in a footnote: 'Nicoll also had at his disposal in Oxford a MS of another analogous book by Ibn Taymiyya bearing the title *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddal dīn al-Masīḥ* (subsequently published in Cairo 1323 Hij., A.D. 1905) and of which there is a good résumé by Mons. Ignazio Di Matteo, *Ibn Taymiyyah*

¹ See Ḥajjī Khalifa, I, 379, immediately preceding the article about Ibn Taymiyya's *Takhjīl* (see above); Brockelmann, I, 563, *Suppl.*, I, 766 (where Abu'l-Faḍl [read so for Abu'l-Fidā'] al-Su'ūdī's epitome is again registered, this time in the correct context [though it is not made clear that it is an epitome of the *Takhjīl*, not of the *al-Bayān al-waḍūh*]); E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, 17. According to M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, 36, the MS Atif Efendi 5 contains the *Takhjīl*, according to Brockelmann the *al-Bayān al-waḍūh*. Al-Ṣafī b. al-'Assal's [d. before 1280] *Nakj al-sabil* is (of course) not a refutation of 'Ibn Taymiyya's [born 1263] *Takhjīl ahl al-injīl*' (L. Cheikho, *al-Makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya li-katabat al-naṣrāniyya*, Beirut, 1924, p. 12, quoted by Fritsch, p. 25), but of Abu'l-Baqā's *Takhjīl*, as it is correctly stated in G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, II, 389.

² *Disputatio pro religione Muhammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leiden, 1877-90.

o riassunto della su opera . . . , Palermo, 1912, in 16°. I stress this, because without the testimony of Nicoll one could think of the *al-Jawāb*, in which many of the passages quoted by Marracci also recur textually'. As a matter of fact, Nicoll had at his disposal only Marsh 299—the idea that he had access also to the *al-Jawāb*, and that his assertion that Marracci's quotations recur in Marsh 299 implies that Marsh 299 agrees better with Marracci's text than the *al-Jawāb*, is based on the wrong assumption (probably derived from Brockelmann) that Marsh 299 also contains the *al-Jawāb*.¹ As we have already seen that this is not so, there is therefore no longer anything to prevent us from concluding that Marracci's quotations are from the *al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*.

S. M. STERN

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY REFERENCE TO SHAHRI DIALECT AT ZUFĀR

The extract forming the subject of this note is taken from vol. III of the unabridged *Fatāwā* of 'Abdullāh b. 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Makḥramah al-Saibānī al-Djūhī² which was inspected in 1954 by courtesy of its owner the Kāḍī of Dathīnah. The Kāḍī possesses only this volume, and the existence of a complete set has not yet been reported. This is the more to be regretted in that vol. III is a work of interest and importance. The usual epitome of the *Fatāwā Bā Makḥramah* commonly found in Ḥaḍramawt is now available at the Library of the School in photographic form, the original being in the Sultān's Library in al-Mukallā. It is probable that copies of this latter recension are common throughout all the Shāfi'i centres of Southern Arabia. A search throughout its pages has not, however, revealed any allusion to the *fatwā* in which the passage *infra* figures, though cases of contracts by foreigners in Arabic are discussed at length from many Shāfi'i sources (fols. 232a–233a).

According to biographical details supplied by the compiler of the epitome, the author was born at al-Shiḥr in 907 H. (A.D. 1501–2) where he twice held the office of Kāḍī, in 943 H. (A.D. 1536–7), and in 945 H. (A.D. 1538–9). He later went to Aden where he died in 972 H. (A.D. 1564–5). It is reasonable to suppose that the case in question was referred to him from Zufār while he was Kāḍī at al-Shiḥr. Both of these ports were controlled by the Kathīrī Sultāns, brothers, though they were not usually on good terms with each other. Connexions between Zufār and al-Shiḥr have always been close.

The legal point at issue relates to the formula of divorce, and it might be compared with a question sent from Malabar to Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Haitamī³

¹ See above, p. 124, and n. 1.

² The size of the full collection may be imagined when it is realized that vol. III contains no less than 1,029 pages. There were two collections of Bā Makḥramah's *Fatāwā* both of which were utilized in the epitome; I do not know to which this volume belongs.

³ *Al-Fatāwā al-kubrā al-fikḥiyyah*, Cairo, 1938, IV, 129.

for his opinion ; there, an Arabic formula of divorce was apparently incorrectly used to establish a separation, and the question arose as to whether the pronunciation of such a formula with a different intention was held to form a valid divorce. It is a pity I did not record Bā Makhramah's answer, but with a wealth of material to scrutinize in so short a time, one sometimes omits material which later proves interesting.

The passage runs as follows :

مسألة من الجعفرى قاضى ظفار . . . بادية يقال لهم السحرا لهم لغة كالعجم
وليس هم عجم ومع ذلك يقدرون اكثرهم على العربية ولكنهم اذا ارادوا الطلاق لا
يطلقون الا بلغتهم فاذا اراد احدهم ان يطلق مجانا قال ثنى مشخولت طيت وان اراد
الثلاث قال ثنى مشخولت ثنيت وان اراد طلقتين قال ثريت واذا اراد خطابها وهى
حاضره بمعنى انت قال هيت واذا علق على اعطا شئ وهى غايه بمعنى هى قال
سه فقوله ثنى اى امرأتى، ومشخولت اى طالق، وطيت اى واحده وثنيت اى الثلاث
وثرئت اى ثنتين وهيت اى انت وسه اى هى.

' A question from al-Dja'fari, Kādī of Zūfār . . . " Bedouin called al-Shahrā who have a language like the Africans,¹ but they are not Africans, and, notwithstanding, most of them can cope with Arabic. However, when they wish to (pronounce a) divorce, they only (pronounce a) divorce in their own language. When one of them wishes to divorce without compensation² he says, ' *Titi meṣḥalót titi* '. If he wishes the triple (divorce) he says, ' *Titi meṣḥalót tatét* '. If he wishes (to pronounce) a double divorce he says, ' *Tirit* '. When he wishes to address her, she being present, with the sense of ' you (f.) ', he says, ' *hit* '. When he adds by way of giving something,³ she being absent, with the sense of ' she ', he says, ' *se* '. His saying ' *titi* ', means ' my wife ', and ' *meṣḥalót* ' means ' divorced ', and ' *titi* ' means ' once ', and ' *tatét* ' means ' with the triple (divorce) ', and ' *tirit* ' means ' double (divorce) '; ' *hit* ' means ' you (f.) ', and ' *se* ' means ' she ' ' '.

At the present day the formula for divorce as used by ordinary people in Aden is : فلانه بنت فلان مُطَلَّقه بالثلاث بطلاق خلوع ما فيه بُه رُجوع

In Ḥaḍramī colloquial Arabic the variant form of the latter part of the above phrase is : طلاق خلعى ما له رُجعى

In historical and other MSS the *Shahrā* tribe is mentioned from time to time. For example, in the Chronicle of *Shanbal*, under the events of the year

¹ The term Barr al-'Adjam is applied to the African littoral of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden by the South Arabians, probably applying more particularly to Somaliland. In view of the connexion between the Semitic languages of parts of that area and the Mahrah group of dialects, the author's observation is most pertinent.

² The use of ' *maḍḍjān-an* ' is a little strange here, unless it be a technical term of which we are ignorant.

³ Adenese Arabs when asked their opinion on the sense of this phrase, suggested that it referred to the dowry, no doubt that part of it known as *mu'akḥḥar*.

834 H. (A.D. 1430–1), there is an allusion to al-Karā and al-Shahrā near Zufār, and they may even be mentioned before this date. Al-Sahrā is written in the MS but no great significance need be attached to this as South Arabian MSS are prone to omit diacritics where names are considered well known. It is believed that this tribe gave its name to al-Shihr (which has in fact another name also), and a medieval geography¹ states that 'its inhabitants were a generation of the Mahrah called al-Shahrāt'. A Mahri to-day described both the Karā and Shahrā tribes as being of Bin Taimūr, and stated that al-Shahrī was *da'if* which would imply that it was inferior in some respects.²

A plural of al-Shihr is sometimes used as a variant, al-Ashhār. If it be true that the Shahrā did live in al-Shihr, then this must have been before Islām, but there are actually numbers of Mahrah living in al-Shihr to this day.

R. B. SERJEANT

Die älteste Aufzeichnung über die Šahrī-Sprache³ war bisher die 'Note sur la langue hhyimiarite' des französischen Konsuls Fulgence Fresnel,⁴ die er am 12. Dezember 1837 aus Ġidda an J. Mohl schickte. Er bringt einige Paradigmata zum Verb der von ihm Ehkili⁵ genannten Sprache, einige Wörter und eine Übersetzung von Genesis xxxvii, 2. Dieses geringe Material ist insofern besonders interessant, als es ähnlich dem Soqotri am Verb einen voll ausgebildeten Dual aufweist, der 60 Jahre später, als David Heinrich Müller seine Texte aufnahm, bis auf wenige Reste verschwunden war.⁶ Schon für diesen kurzen Zeitraum können wir also einen Wandel in der Sprache feststellen.

Die oben mitgeteilte Stelle führt uns nun gleich drei Jahrhunderte weiter zurück und darf trotz der Dürftigkeit ihres Materials als die weitaus älteste Quelle für das Šahrī und die neusüdarabischen Sprachen überhaupt unser Interesse beanspruchen.

Im einzelnen ist zur Erklärung der Wörter folgendes zu bemerken :

(1) *tūtī* enthält *tūt* 'Frau', heute *tūt*. Bittner,⁷ I, § 24 erklärt das Wort als Metathese von **tūt* < **tūt* < **(e)nūt* mit Assimilation des *n* an das *t*. Das

¹ K. al-Nisbah ila 'l-mawāḍi' wa-'l-buldān. See R. B. Serjeant, 'Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works', *BSOAS*, xxi, 2, 1958, 269.

² Dr. Wagner points out that D. H. Müller, *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*, III, Wien, 1907, 120) states, 'Es gibt zwei Arten von Bergbewohnern: die Šhari (die Schwachen), welche Klienten der Stämme zu sein scheinen, und Qablii, welche also dem Stamm selbst angehören. Hier habe ich folgende Glosse: Be-erḍen Qūlii be-Šhari (so mit h nicht mit ḥ) = qeraūvi (arab.)'.

³ Zu dieser gegenüber dem bisher üblichen Šhauri richtigeren Bezeichnung der Sprache vgl. Charles D. Matthews, *Non-Arabic place names in central South Arabia*. Maschinenschriftlich vervielfältigter Auszug seines auf dem 24. Internationalen Orientalistenkongress in München 1957 gehaltenen Vortrages.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. 3, Tom. vi, 1838, 79–84.

⁵ Vgl. die heute übliche arabische Form al-Ḥakli.

⁶ Vgl. Ewald Wagner, 'Die erste Person Dualis im Semitischen', *ZDMG*, cii, 1952, 229–33.

⁷ Mit Bittner ist im folgenden auf Maximilian Bittner, *Studien zur Šhauri-Sprache in den Bergen von Doḡār und am Persischen Meerbusen*, I–IV (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philos.-hist. Kl., Bd. CLXXIX, Abh. 2, 4, 5; Bd. CLXXXIII, Abh. 5), Wien, 1915–17, verwiesen.

Wort gehört also zu sem. *'nt*. Die vorliegende alte Form zeigt, dass die Laute nicht plötzlich umgesprungen sind, sondern zuerst eine progressive Assimilation stattfand und dann eine Dissimilation. *-i* ist das Possessivsuffix der 1. Person sing. Eine Tonverschiebung hat sein Antritt nicht zur Folge, vgl. Bittner, II, § 20-1.

(2) *mešhalót* ist fem. sing. des Partizips des Kausativ-Reflexivstammes (= arab. X) von *hly*. Im Šahrī ist von diesen Radikalen bisher nur der Steigerungs-Einwirkungsstamm (= arab. II) *hūli* in der transitiven Bedeutung '(eine Frau) entlassen' belegt, vgl. Bittner, II, § 17. Im Mehri bedeutet der Steigerungsstamm *hōli* ebenfalls '(eine Frau) entlassen', vgl. Bittner, *Mehri-Studien*,¹ II, § 103. Doch findet sich hier auch der Kausativ-Reflexivstamm *šhaliyōt* in der Bedeutung 'sie ging vom Manne weg' mit dem Futurpartizip *mešhaliyēte*, vgl. Bittner, *Mehri-Studien*, II, § 106b. In unserem Falle muss die Bedeutung 'entlassen sein' sein. Das Šahrī das das Futurpartizip des Mehri nicht kennt, verwendet heute auch die anderen Partizipien nur noch sehr selten, meist in substantivierter Bedeutung. Vielleicht war zur Zeit unseres Textes das Partizipium noch lebendiger. Ausserdem handelt es sich um eine stehende Formel, die durchaus noch bedeutend älter sein kann. Da Partizipien heute sehr selten sind, nimmt es nicht Wunder, dass Bittner, II, § 6 für den Reflexiv-Kausativstamm keinen Beleg angibt. Doch finden wir ein erstarrtes Partizip dieses Stammes in *eñšārōt*, fem. *eñšārōt* 'ein anderer', vgl. Bittner, II, § 31 (Radikale *gyr*). Wenn in unserem Falle auch kein Verb II *y* sondern III *y* vorliegt, so wird man doch nach dem Vorbild von *eñšārōt* und dem oben genannten Futurpartizip *mešhaliyēte* des Mehri *mešhalót* vokalisieren dürfen, obwohl nach dem Vorbild des Imperfekts des Kausativ-Reflexivstammes im Šahrī auch *mešahlót* in Frage käme. Die stets betonte Femininendung *-ōt* ist gerade bei Partizipien besonders häufig, vgl. Bittner, II, § 42, Anm. 3. Anstelle des anlautenden *me-* hätte man im heutigen Šahrī eher *eñ-* erwartet, da heutzutage *m* + Vokal zumeist umspringen und *m* dann vor dem folgenden Konsonanten nasaliert wird, vgl. Bittner, I, § 9 und § 37b. Da jedoch auch heute noch unnasalierte Formen vorkommen, wäre es zuviel gesagt, wenn man behauptete, dass das *Fatwā* eine ältere Form bewahrt hätte, die die Nasalierung noch nicht kannte.²

¹ Hiermit ist im folgenden auf Maximilian Bittner, *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Sudarabien*, I-V, I-III (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philos.-hist. Kl., Bd. CLXII, Abh. 5; CLXVIII, 2; CLXXII, 5; CLXXIV, 4; CLXXVI, 1; CLXXVIII, 2, 3), Wien, 1909-15, verwiesen.

² Noch weiter fortgeschritten war diese Entwicklung dagegen bereits 1840 in dem Dialekt des Šahrī, der Sprache der Insel Curia Muria, von dem J. G. Hulton in seiner 'Notice on the Curia Muria Island', *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, III, 1840, 183-97, 103 Wörter aufzeichnete. Hier ist die Nasalierung bereits wieder aufgegeben, so dass das *m* völlig geschwunden ist, vgl. Wolf Leslau, 'The position of the dialect of Curia Muria in modern South Arabic', *BSOAS*, XII, 1, 1947, 17, Conclusion § 5. Aus der gleichen Zeit finden wir freilich in den Šahrī-Aufzeichnungen von L. Krapf, die G. H. A. v. Ewald in seinem Artikel 'Ueber die himjarische Sprache', *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, Bd. I, 1846, 311-15 veröffentlichte (das Šahrī wird dort Sprache von Murbat dafür genannt) noch völlig unnasalisierte *magrub* 'Abend' gegenüber dem gleichen Wort *eñgrēb* 'Westen' bei Bittner, I, § 37c.

(3) *tīt* ist das Femininum zu *ṭad* 'eins', vgl. Bittner, II, § 32, und zur Etymologie auch Bittner, *Mehri-Studien*, III, § 70.

(4) *ṭatēt* 'drei' ist die maskuline Form des Zahlworts < **ṭaltēt*, vgl. Bittner, II, § 32.

(5) *tīrt* (oder *ṭīrt*)¹ ist das Femininum von *tro* 'zwei', vgl. Bittner, II, § 32 und zur Etymologie auch Bittner, *Mehri-Studien*, III, § 71.

Seltsam ist der Wechsel des Genus beim Zahlwort. Aber man muss ja wohl ein Wort wie 'Entlassung' oder 'Mal' ergänzen. Vielleicht ist hierbei einmal an ein maskulines und einmal an ein feminines Wort gedacht. Oder *ṭatēt* ist ein Fehler für die feminine Form *ṭlet* (wie im Arab. ohne Femininendung). Auch sonst finden wir in der Konstruktion der Zahlwörter im Šahri gelegentlich einige Verwirrung. So steht z. B. bei Müller kurz hintereinander '*aséret šet derēhim*', '*esérēt šitēt derēhim*', und '*ásér šet derēhim*' '16 Dirham'². Ein ähnlicher Fehler kommt auch im Soqotri einmal vor.³

(6) *hit* 'du (fem.)', vgl. Bittner, II, § 19.

(7) *se* 'sie' 3. Pers. fem. sing., vgl. Bittner, II, § 19. Das *h* soll sicher das *e* ausdrücken wie in der türkischen Orthographie.

EWALD WAGNER

NEW PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS ON SILVER VESSELS

Under the title 'Argenterie d'un seigneur sassanide' Dr. Ghirshman describes, in *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, 77-82, a recent find, made in Mazendaran,⁴ of silver-ware, the most important constituent of which is a set of three richly ornamented bowls with Pahlavi inscriptions. Of these inscriptions, throughout in *pointillé*, only feeble traces can be seen in the photographs that accompany the article; for the purpose of reading we depend wholly on a drawing (p. 81). Drawings are useful enough when they supplement photographs; but no student of epigraphy likes being compelled to rely on another man's eyes. In view of their importance for the history of Oriental art, these inscriptions deserved better; for they supply, for the first time, a definite date for specimens of 'Sassanian' silver-ware.

As most Pahlavi inscriptions on objects made of silver,⁵ the newly discovered ones consist of two parts, (1) the owner's name followed by *NPŠH* 'own' (= 'belongs to N.N.'), and (2) a determination of the weight, usually in the form *MN* (number) *ZWZN* ' (made) from so many drachms ' or *MN* (number)

¹ In der Handschrift steht das erste Mal *tīrt* statt *tīrt*, was offensichtlich ein Fehler ist. An der zweiten Stelle sind die diakritischen Punkte richtig gesetzt.

² David Heinrich Müller, *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*. III. *Šahuri-Texte* (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sudarabische Expedition, Bd. VII), Wien, 1907, 28.

³ Vgl. Ewald Wagner, *Syntax der Mehri-Sprache unter Berücksichtigung auch der anderen neusudarabischen Sprachen* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientalforschung. Veröffentlichung Nr. 13), Berlin, 1953, § 157.

⁴ The precise locality is not indicated.

⁵ For a brief survey of relevant material see my 'Mitteliranisch' (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, *Iranistik*, Pt. 1, 20-130), 49 sq.

ZWZN-sng¹ ' (made) from so many drachms-by-weight'. Bowls 1 and 2 belonged to the same person; his name is:

wnd't-²whrmzd (Z)Y k'ln'n³
(Windād-ōhrmīzd ī Kārenān).

Windād-ōhrmīzd (Windād-hormīzd) is a very rare name indeed.³ In the whole history of Iran but a single bearer of it is known, and he flourished in the part of the country where the bowls were found: Windād-hormīzd, the Ispahbad, who expelled the Arab invaders from Tabaristān and restored the ancient religion.⁴ He was, according to the family legend, a lineal descendant of Kāren (the son of Sōxrā), who was said to have received a part of Tabaristān in fief from Khosrau I; after its supposed founder, the little dynasty was called Kāren-wand. As the owner is described as Kārenān, i.e. 'descendant of Kāren',⁵ in our inscriptions, we may confidently assert that bowls 1 and 2 once were the property of Windād-hormīzd, the famous prince of Tabaristān whose exploits filled the closing years of the eighth century.

On the third bowl, which is smaller and less elaborately decorated, the owner's name is:

ʾšlmyk (Z)Y š(t)lwyn'n⁶
(Āzarmīg ī Ša(h)rwēnān).

No such person is known to history: his father's (or perhaps ancestor's) name, Šarwēn, is known all the better; that šlwyn-⁷ is a historic (or inverse) spelling of Šarwēn- need not be doubted. We may assume that Āzarmīg was an otherwise unmentioned son⁸ of the Malik al-Jibāl Šarwēn, Windād-hormīzd's friend and supporter.

One cannot take it for granted that the man named in an ownership inscription is the first owner, the person for whom the object was made; but, failing argument to the contrary, there is a presumption in favour of that supposition. In the present instance, moreover, the standard of weight derivable from the

¹ Instead of *sang* 'weight', Ghirshman reads *snī*, a reading that he proposed in *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 916 sqq.; cf. 'Mitteliranisch', 49, n. 3.

² *k'ln'* is clear in No. 1, *-ln'n* in No. 2, where the first letter is confused and, at any rate in the drawing, joined to the preceding (Z)Y; the resulting jumble of traces has been taken for *h* by Ghirshman (such an *h*, however, as would be incommensurate to the rest of the script). This misunderstanding helps to account for his reading of the name: *Zaraspān hormīzd hazarnēšāc*, which courtesy forbids discussing in detail.

³ It occurs in the list of witnesses in the Quilon copperplate inscription, 'Mitteliranisch', 51.

⁴ See M. Minovi's delightful essay on Māziyār, 4-13 (in M. Minovi and Šādiq Hidāyat, *Māziyār*, Tehran, 1312); cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 134.

⁵ Ordinarily the form in *-ān* designates a man's father, sometimes perhaps his forefather. It is possible that Windād-hormīzd's father's name was in fact *Kāren*, and not (as stated in most sources) *Farruzān* (which name may have been attributed to him in an attempt to link Windād-hormīzd with the earlier Ispahbads).

⁶ The *-t*, to judge by the drawing, is not perfectly executed and thus resembles *-p-* (cf. the *-t* of *wnd't* No. 2); but *šplwyn-* is less likely, though not impossible. According to Ghirshman this name reads *Hormīzdē hazarnēšāc*.

⁷ Or possibly *šplwyn-*.

⁸ And presumably, in comparison with Windād-hormīzd, a less important and wealthy man, who had to be content with a more modest bowl.

second halves of the inscriptions proves that the bowls were not fashioned before the eighth century; Dr. Ghirshman, who uses the figures in order to deduce from them the silversmiths' income, has missed their significance. Bowl No. 1 was made 'from 306 drachms-by-weight' and weighs 880 grammes; bowl No. 2 was made 'from 274 drachms-by-weight' and weighs 795 grm. These figures are almost proportionals; strictly, e.g., $880 : 306 = 795 : 276.4$. The 'drachm-by-weight', accordingly, is $\frac{880}{306} = 2.876$ grm. and $\frac{795}{274} = 2.901$ grm., say approximately 2.9 grm.; the figure has to be increased by a trifle in order to take account of accidental loss.¹ The resulting weight obviously agrees with the early Muslim weight standard (*dirham* = 2.97 grm.), which was introduced by the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in about A.H. 75-6 (= A.D. 694-6)²; at any rate it corresponds with no Sassanian measure.³ Strictly, we should not take a coin weight, such as the *dirham* of 2.97 grm.,⁴ as point of departure; for the inscriptions speak⁵ of *dra(h)m-sang* (= Pers. *diramsang* = Arab. *dirham al-kail*) 'drachms-by-weight', which often differed; yet even if we take as basis the weight given by Hinz⁶ for the *mithqāl* as used in Iran in early Muslim times, 4.3 grm., the corresponding figure for the *dirham al-kail* will not differ significantly: 2.87 grm. (= $\frac{880}{306}$) or 3.01 grm. (= $\frac{795}{274}$).

In conclusion, it should not be left unmentioned that E. Herzfeld once proposed reading the name of *Šarwēn* (the *Masmoyān* of Demāwend) on such a silver bowl; even though his reading has proved unacceptable,⁷ his estimate of the period to which the object belonged has now gained support.

W. B. HENNING

THE NAMES OF GOD IN NORTHERN SOMALI⁸

In Somaliland God is universally known by the names *Allaah*⁹ and *Rabbi*, both of Arabic origin, but the full list of His 99 Arabic names is known

¹ We cannot rely here on bowl No. 3, because its inscription is not wholly clear in the drawing. Probably: *MN cci ZWZN M-iii (Z)Y PIV(N) sng* ' (made) from 202 drachms (and) 3 *dāngs* in weight' (i.e. 202½ drachms). The bowl weighs 544 grm, hence a drachm 544 : 202.5 = 2.686 grm. This is rather too little; a correct proportion would be 880 : 306 = 582.3 : 202.5. However, we may be justified in assuming considerable loss (about 1 in 14) through wear, cf. Ghirshman p. 82 'son état prouve une grande usure'.

² cf. J. Walker, *Arab-Sassanian coins*, cxlvii.

³ The Sassanian drachm weighed about a whole gramme more.

⁴ Or rather 2.96, if the 18 *mithqāl* weight mentioned by Hinz (see below), p. 2, is accurate; for $\frac{1}{177}$ of 76.23 is 2.9645 (and even of 76.235 merely 2.9647). From the average, 4.231 grm., of smaller glass weights (Hinz, p. 1) one also obtains 2.96.

⁵ And thus have answered in advance Dr. Ghirshman's question 'les chiffres qui se rapportent aux drachmes, indiquent-ils le poids des objets ou leur valeur?' (p. 82).

⁶ *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, p. 6.

⁷ 'Mitteliranisch', 49 sq. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xi, 1957, 239.

⁸ There are slight dialectal differences in the Somali spoken by the 'Iise (Esa), Gadabuursi (both Dir), the Ishaq, Daarood, and northern Hawiye, but these differences are slight in comparison with those between 'Northern Somali', spoken by these groups as a whole, and 'Southern Somali', spoken by the Rahanwini and Digil, people of the Banaadir Coast, and southern Hawiye. Cf. M. M. Moreno, *Il somalo della Somalia*, Roma, 1955, 3-22; B. W. Andrzejewski and M. H. I. Galaal, *Hikmad Soomaali*, O.U.P., 1956, p. 1.

⁹ *Illaah*, and *Illaahi*, also occur in Somali.

only to sheikhs and *wadaads*.¹ In addition to the Arabic names, however, there are a considerable number of purely Somali titles for *Allaah*. The majority of those recorded here will be seen to be praise-names referring to God's attributes and in many cases direct equivalents in Somali of the corresponding titles in Arabic. The following list compiled initially by Yuusuf Maygaag,² for some time my assistant, and a recognized authority on Somali, does not pretend to be exhaustive.

1. *Baahilaawe* 'He who is without need or want', Who is self-sufficient; from *baahi-da* 'need' or 'want', and *laawe* 'without'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Ghaniyy*.³ There is a well-known Somali spirit-possession dance known as *baahilaawe* or *baloolay* (also *baar 'adde*),⁴ which seems to have arisen from a particular cult or *dhikri*, but hardly a new *tariqa*, founded perhaps some 200 years ago by a man of the Ogaadeen Reer 'Abdille⁵ lineage. But *Baahilaawe* as a name for God may well have existed long before its use in this particular form of praise.
2. *Bogsiye* 'the Curer, the Healer'; from *bogsi* (v.) 'cure, make better, deliver from misfortune'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Shāfi*.
3. *Dile* 'the Killer, He who causes death'; from *dil* (v.) 'kill, cause death of'—used of man as agent as well as God. Cf. Ar. *Al-Mumīt*.
4. *Eebbe* 'Master, Lord'. With *Waaq* (see below) the direct Somali correspondence to the Ar. *Allāh*.
5. *Gulle* 'the Victor, He who gives victory'; from *gul-sha* 'victory'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Nāṣir*.
6. *Hagaaje* or *Hagaajiye* 'the Amender, the Corrector, He who leads to the right path'; from *hagaag-ga* 'the right, the straightened', *hagaaji* (v.) 'straighten, amend, put right'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Hādī*.
7. *Hamuunshe* 'He who leads to the Right Way'; from *hanuun-ka* 'the correct path, the right way', opposite of astray. Cf. Ar. *Al-Hādī*.
8. *Hidiye* or (in north-west) *Kare* 'the Bestower of Bounties, He who has power to bestow'; from *hidis-ka* or *hidin-ta* 'the ability to do or bestow', and *karti-da* 'power to do'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Qādir*.
9. *Hodmiye* or *Baqaadshe* 'the Enricher, Creator of wealth'; from *hodmi* (v.) 'enrich, satisfy', and *baqaadi* (v.) 'enrich, satisfy'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Mughnī*.

¹ The word *wadaad-ka* is used synonymously with *sheekh*, although strictly the latter is applied to a man whose knowledge of the *Shari'a* is more advanced than that of a *wadaad*.

² Of the Sa'ad Muuse, 'Abdalla Sa'ad lineage of the Habar Awal clan (Ishaq) of the British Protectorate.

³ In giving the Somali titles for God I do not include the definite article because contrary to the Arabic convention this is not good Somali usage.

⁴ *Baloolay-da*, a she-camel which is not pregnant. The dance is said to have acquired this name from its initiator sheikh 'Baahilaawe' through his having on a certain occasion slaughtered a *baloolay* camel for a party of sheikhs who visited him. It was after this great gesture of hospitality to the 'ulimo that God gave him wisdom and knowledge of the *Shari'a* and inspired him to create the *dhikri* by which he is known as sheikh 'Baloolay' or 'Bahilaawe'.

⁵ The Reer 'Abdille are a large lineage of the Ogaadeen clan of the Daarood clan-family living in the Ogaden region to the south of the British Protectorate. On the Daarood see I. M. Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London, 1955, 18-23.

10. *Kaalmeeeye* or *Gargaare* 'the Helper'; from *kaalmo-ha*, *gargaar-ka*, 'help' or 'assistance'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Mu'in*.
11. *Koobe* 'the Accounter, the Numberer'; *koob* (v.) 'count, enumerate, know number of'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Muḥṣī*.
12. *Korreeye* or *Sarreeye* 'He who is on high'; from *kor-ka* 'top', *sare* 'on top of'. Cf. Ar. *Al-'aliyy*.
13. *Maqīnte* 'the Everlasting, He who does not die'; from *qīmo* (v.) 'die', *ma* 'not'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Ḥayy*.
14. *Mahadaale* or *Galladaale* 'He to whom thanks must be given'; from *mahad-da* or *gallad-da* 'thanks'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Shakūr*.
15. *Nooleeye* 'the Creator, the Giver of Life, the Reviver'; from *nolol-sha* 'life'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Muḥi*.
16. *Roone* 'the Generous, the Most Beneficent'; from *roone* (adj.) 'generous, beneficent, strong (in the sense of numerous)', as e.g. *wuu ka roonyahay* 'he is better, greater, stronger, etc.', *hoogroone*, 'stronger' (as e.g. of two parties). Cf. Ar. *Al-Karīm*.
17. *Sameeye* or *Abuure* 'Maker, Creator'; from *samee* (v.) 'do, make (from something)', *abuur* (v.) 'create (*ex nihilo*)'. *Samee* has the sense of to fashion from already existing material, while *abuur* is to create from nothing and is only applied to God. Thus for example 'I begot (children) but God created (or gave me) them' is in Somali, *anigaa qalay Ilaahay baase abuurray*. In this sense the verb *abuur* describes God's precedence in all creative acts or growth, all ultimately spring only from Him. Cf. Ar. *Al-Khāliq*.
18. *Siiye* 'Giver', He who grants; *sii* (v.) 'give'. Cf. Ar. *Al-Wahhāb* and *Al-Mu'fi*.
19. *Ururiye* or *Ururshe* 'the Gatherer', He who summons the dead to account; from *urur* (v.) 'collect' or 'gather', inanimate or animate objects. Cf. Ar. *Al-Jāmi'*.
20. *Waaq* or *Waaqa* 'God' cf. *Eebbe* corresponding exactly to Ar. *Allāh*. This word is further discussed below.
21. *Waare* or *Jire* 'the Eternal', He who lives for ever; from *waar* (v.) 'to be eternal', applied only to God, and *jir* (v.) 'be', or 'live', applied equally to persons and things and only in a special sense to God. Cf. Ar. *Al-Bāqī*.
22. *Weyne* 'the Great, Immense'; from *weym* 'big' or 'large', etc. Cf. Ar. *Al-Kabīr* and *Al-'aẓīm*.

With the exception of *Eebbe* these names are rarely used although they sometimes occur in proper and place names, in swearing, in poetry and songs, and in certain religious expressions. They are particularly used by sheikhs and *wadaads* in interpreting in Somali the various properties and qualities of *Allaah*. In their etymology they reflect the Somali interpretation of Muslim theosophy. It seems impossible to know definitely whether or not they were

applied to God in pre-Islamic times, likely though this appears in some if not all cases. But they are certainly generally regarded as being very old.

The name *Waaq* (cf. Galla *Waaqa*)¹ is especially interesting. Cerulli² has indicated something of the probable nature of the pre-Islamic cult of the Cushitic God *Waaq*³ and I have attempted⁴ to discuss Somali Sufism in terms of syncretism to it. To-day northern Somaliland is solidly and deeply Muslim and while, as in all countries, there still survive various practices and superstitions regarded by Somali as pre-Islamic,⁵ *Waaq* is no longer venerated. I have never heard *Allaah* addressed directly as *Waaq* although He is sometimes addressed as *Eebbe*. The name *Waaq* survives, however, and is regarded by Somali as an ancient pre-Islamic name for God. Its use by the non-Muslim Galla is well-known to Somali but is not considered by them to have been introduced from the Galla. As well as being an old name for God in Northern Somali, the name occurs also in several compound words. Cerulli⁶ has instanced its occurrence in proper names such as : *Waaqsuge* (or *Waassuge*, equivalent to *Allaahsuge*) 'he who waits for God', *Dardaar Waaq* 'adherent of God',⁷ *Ga'alWaaq* 'God's love'.⁸ Other clan names which include *Waaq* are : *JidWaaq* 'the path of God',⁹ *TagaalWaaq* 'follower of God',¹⁰ *AabudWaaq* 'he who worships God'.¹¹

Other more interesting uses are in phrases like *weligaa iyo Waaqaa* (exactly equivalent to *weligaa iyo Allaahaa*) meaning 'never before, never in your life', as in the sentence, *weligay iyo Waaqay kaas oo kale maan arag* 'I have

¹ See G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia.—The kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London, 1955, 74–87.

² E. Cerulli, *RSO*, x, 1923, 1–36.

³ I do not wish to imply that *Waaq* is the only name for the Cushitic God, or indeed the only Cushitic God, but that this word is one of the Cushitic names for God as e.g. in Galla and Somali.

⁴ I. M. Lewis, *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 581–602; xviii, 1, 1956, 145–60.

⁵ I refer here only to ritual, magical, and religious phenomena. The interaction of the *Shari'a* and secular Somali custom is a vast and complex subject. Various practices regarded as superstitious, and by some as unorthodox, have also been introduced with Islam from Arabia. Fortune-telling by the beads of the rosary and other means, in Somali *faal-ka*, is of Arabian origin (cf. Ar. *fa'l*). Contrast Somali sorcery, *faal-ka*, corresponding to the Ar. *sihr*. Arabic works of astrology, medicine, and magic such as *Kiitib al-Rahma*, by Jelāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī. Cairo, 1938, are very popular in Somaliland and much of the terminology of such practices is Arabic.

⁶ Cerulli, op. cit., 5.

⁷ In Northern Somali, *dardaaran-ka* is the last will or testamentary disposition of property made orally by a man in the presence of kinsmen and *wadaads* who are charged to see that its terms are fulfilled. *Dardaar* is applied (as an adjective) as a name for the last child of a family of children begotten of the same parents; it has the sense of 'the last of God's blessing'.

⁸ From *ga'al-ka* 'love'.

⁹ From *jid-ka* 'road, path, way'. The *JidWaaq* are a Daarood clan living mainly as cultivators to the east of Harar in Ethiopia, whither they were driven from their original home in north-eastern Somaliland probably in the sixteenth century; see Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn*, 21.

¹⁰ From the verb *tag* 'go'. The *TagaalWaaq* are a Daarood clan living to-day in the western Ogaden between Jigjiga and Harar. Some are found also with the Habar Awal (Ishaag) with whom they pay blood-money (*mag-ta*), in the British Protectorate.

¹¹ From *aabud-ka* 'fearer, worshipper', cf. Ar. *'ābid*. The *AabudWaaq* are a Daarood clan to-day inhabiting the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya to the north-east of the Tana River. For the movement of the Daarood into this region see Lewis, op. cit., 47–8.

never seen anything like that in all my life', or *Waaqay maan arag* 'I have never seen before'. One may also say, *Waaq annu soo noqonnin* (exactly equivalent to *Illaahow aanu soo noqonnin*) 'May he never return', 'Let God not bring him back'. The name *Waaq* also occurs in the following mat-weaving song, sung both in the east and west of northern Somaliland by women as they make 'aws or harrar¹ mats. This is a 'Hoyal' song (*hees-ta*) named after the character of the refrain in which 'hoyal' is repeated and is worth quoting here in its entirety.

'Awskanow sabool² diidow,
Waaq an suuqa lagu digin oon,
Soddon lagugu baayi'in³ oon,
Yaa sameeyay lagu uqanneey,
Ey hooyalaayow, hoyal,
Ey hooyalow hooyee,
Hoyalley.⁴

This mat is not for a poor man,
 God forbid that I should have to take it to the market,
 Thirty (Rupees) could not buy it,
 'Who made it?' they will ask.
Ey hooyalaayow . . . (equivalent to 'La, la, la . . .').

The Somali expression for abundance and plenty, the time after the rains of abundant water and grass when none go without, is *barwaaqo-da*, as opposed to drought and famine (*abaar-ta*). This word is regarded as being very old and appears to be a compound of *bar-ta* 'a spot of rain'⁵ or 'property',⁶ and *Waaq* 'God'. This is certainly the only satisfactory etymology which I have been offered by Somali.⁷ Although they tell us little of its nature, such usages provide evidence of a former cult of the Cushitic God *Waaq* in northern Somaliland. But in this region it is not under this name that God is now worshipped.

In central and southern Somalia in the area occupied by the Hawiye⁸ clan-family, the impression is gained that Islam although strongly developed,

¹ 'Aw-ka is grass in general, including many separate named varieties and also with *harrar-ka* the general name for those mats woven principally from grass and used in the construction of the walls and roof of the nomadic Somali house. These naturally differ in design and quality.

² *Sabool-ka* 'poor, destitute', perhaps connected with *sabo-da*, a patch of parched grass exhausted by over-grazing near a well where stock water.

³ Verb from *baaya'ad-da* 'bargaining' or 'selling', cf. Ar. *bay'*.

⁴ 'Hoyal' is the leading word of the refrain sung at the end of each line by the companions of the soloist. The last three lines are the chorus. The song is transcribed here as it would be sung, and was originally recorded amongst the Dulbahante (Daarood) in the east of the British Protectorate. But it is well known generally in the Protectorate.

⁵ Large spots of rain are *barweyn*, small spots *baryar*. *Bar* (pl. *baro-ha*) means also any small spot in general, as e.g. a mark on the skin.

⁶ *Bar-ta* (pl. *bar-ta*) 'property' in general, including immovable and movable property and livestock; cf. *barlaawe* 'without property, property-less'.

⁷ *Barwaaq* 'prosperous, lucky, blessed', as in *BarWaaq*, a nickname of the founding ancestors of the Ogaadeen clan.

⁸ For the Hawiye see Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn*, 28-31.

is not perhaps quite as deeply rooted as it is in northern Somaliland.¹ This is also, of course, particularly true of the Bantu riverine peoples of the Shebelle and Juba region,² but as they are of non-Somali (and non-Cushitic) origin, survivals of pre-Islamic beliefs amongst them are not relevant to a discussion of pre-Islamic Somali survivals. Nor is consideration of the Digil and Rahanwiin (Sab) ³ clan-families of southern Somalia apposite here, for in their present extremely mixed clan constitution they are of relatively recent formation and contain many Galla (Booraan and other Galla) elements.⁴ It is probable, therefore, that any traces amongst the Sab of the cult of *Waaq* would be of recent Galla introduction and throw little or no direct light upon pre-Muslim Somali religion.

Features of Hawiye belief and religious practice, especially of the Abgaal clan (living along the coast and to a considerable extent inland, to the north of Mogadishu), which appear to be connected with a pre-Islamic cult of *Waaq* have been noticed by Cerulli.⁵ The most significant is the use of the expression *Waaqda'in*,⁶ one of many Hawiye expressions for sacrifice, or offering, to God. Other equivalent words in Hawiye are *durraamo*,⁷ *Rabbituug*,⁸ *Rabbibari*, and

¹ Islam was, according to the testimony of Arab historians, established on the Somali coast by the ninth/tenth centuries, see Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn*, 140. To what if any considerable extent it had at this date penetrated into the interior is difficult to assess. All the Somali clans and clan-families claim ultimately to be of Arabian origin although the extent to which they stress such claims varies considerably. The cult of the Hawiye eponym as a Sūfī saint is certainly less developed than that of Sheikh Daarood, who probably reached Somaliland from Arabia in the eleventh century, or of Sheikh Ishaq (founder of the Ishaq clan-family) whose date of arrival from Arabia is ascribed to the thirteenth century. According to Sharīf 'Aydaarūs Sharūf 'Alī's *Bughyat al-amaal fī taarīkh as-Soomaal*, Mogadishu, 1955, 279–81, the eponym 'Samaale' himself emigrated from the Yemen to Somaliland in the ninth century. At any rate, as the Daarood and Ishaq clans expanded after the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the Hawiye, and other Somali, were driven southwards in the direction of their present habitat, and, if the traditions of their Arabian origin are correct, must have originally been Muslim. Their contact with Arabia and Islam may thereafter have decreased in their subsequent migrations. To-day in dress, hair-styles, and other habits, they still adhere as a whole more closely to traditional Somali custom than do either the Daarood or Ishaq.

² See Lewis, *op. cit.*, 41–3.

³ The Somali people are primarily segmented into two vast genealogical groups—Samaale and Sab. The first comprises the 'Pre-Hawiye', Hawiye, Dir, and Ishaq, and by intermarriage Daarood, clan-families. The second division consists of the Digil and Rahanwiin clan-families.

⁴ See M. Colucci, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia italiana meridionale*, Firenze, 1924, 119–39. For a summary history of the Sab, see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 46–8, etc.

⁵ Cerulli, *op. cit.*, 6–9.

⁶ From *Waaq* and *du'ayn* (v.) 'to bless, pray for'; the noun is *du'o-daa*. Cf. Ar. *du'ā'*. Cerulli, *op. cit.*, gives the form *Waaqda'il*, and not *Waaqda'in*, as I have heard it. M. M. Moreno, *op. cit.*, 224, records *Waaqda'in* from an Ashraaf informant of the Reer Hamar clan of Mogadishu town, in Somalia.

⁷ *Durraamo* (v.) 'beseech, beg repeatedly, implore', as *waan ku durraamaneyaa* 'I implore you'. The noun is *durraamusho-da* 'beseeching, prayer'. Cf. the proverbial phrase, *Shaydaan naftiisaa janno loo durraantaas* 'The devil is implored to enter Heaven' (but he always refuses).

⁸ From *Rabbi* 'God' and *tuug* (v.) 'ask for, pray'. The difference between this word and **tuug-ga* 'thief' is that the vowel sound in the second is pronounced with 'fronting'. According to Andrzejewski's orthography the two words would be written *tyug* and *tuug* respectively. See B. W. Andrzejewski, *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 567–80.

Allaahbari. The two last mean literally 'to beseech God' (from *bari* (v.) 'beseech, beg') and are applied universally in Somaliland to any type of sacrifice or offering to God. In northern Somaliland, the Hawiye *Waaqda'in* is unknown, and indeed unintelligible, to the majority. Further research amongst the Hawiye (or the Dir),¹ especially amongst those Hawiye living relatively sheltered from external influence along the Ethiopian border of Somalia or in the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya, may reveal more definite traces of the cult of *Waaq* surviving from pre-Islamic times.

I. M. LEWIS

ZUARA BERBER PERSONALS

In his interesting study (*BSOAS*, xv, 2, 1953, 375-90) of Zuara Berber particle-noun complexes, T. F. Mitchell lists (376) the 'exponents of ten categories': *netta y-*, *nettat t-*, *ɬekk t-əd*, *ɬəmm t-əd*, *netɬ -əy*; *netnin -ən*, *netninat -net*, *neknim t-əm*, *neknimat t-mət*, *neɬnin n-*. It was not his purpose there to dwell on the internal analysis of these forms, but a conventional morphemic analysis offers an instance of interesting organization.

Each of the above exponents will be regarded as a complex of two entities: a personal pronoun and a personal affix. The analysis of the pronouns will be stated first.

The second person singular particle {*ə*-} stands apart from the following form-class; it combines with the two gender suffix morphemes {-*kk*} and {-*mm*}, and does not undergo any of the suffix combinations discussed below.

The personal pronoun base (P) is {*nə*-}, with but one allomorph. The suffixes of p(erson) may then be extracted: {-*t*-} '3rd', {-*k*-} '2nd', {-*(t)ɬ*-} '1st'. It is convenient next to state the suffixes of n(umber). The morpheme 'plural' is {-*nin* ∞ -*nim*}, with two morphemically conditioned allomorphs, the latter occurring after '2nd'. The morpheme 'singular' is {-*ta* ∞ -*ɔ*}; it is most economical to extract a zero-allomorph as occurring after '1st' so that we may state that an n-suffix always occurs. There is but one suffix of g(ender): {-*(a)t*} 'feminine'; morphophonemic √(*a*)/ represents /*a*/ when not preceded by /*a*/. The g-suffix is non-obligatory with all suffixes, and non-occurring with '1st'.

The morphemic structure of the personal pronoun is, then, Ppn(g).

¹ The strongest and largest present-day representatives of the Dir clan-family are the 'Iise and Gadabuursi of northern Somaliland, who have, for the most part, lost their traditions of Dir origin. The Ishaq, who are considered by other Somali to be Dir, claim themselves to be *ashraf*, see Lewis, *The Somali lineage system and the total genealogy* (duplicated), Hargeisa, 1957, where these rival claims are discussed in their social contexts. Other small groups of Dir origin survive all over Somaliland and especially in southern Somalia. The Dir are generally regarded as the oldest Somali group.

The 'Iise and Gadabuursi, devout Muslims though they are, are probably the least deeply Islamized of the northern Somali and certainly many pre-Islamic Somali customs survive amongst them in greater clarity than they do amongst the Ishaq or Daarood. But while working amongst them I could find no traces of any cult of *Waaq*. More thorough and extended research into their religious practice might, although I doubt it, yield traces of religious beliefs connected with *Waaq*.

The personal affixes of the verb (V) offer a different segmentation. It should be noted preliminarily that a morphophonemic $\sqrt{ə/}$ occurs such that throughout these affixes $/ə/$ appears automatically before final $/-C/$; it would be necessary to know more about the language in order to state whether $\sqrt{ə/}$ is morphemically automatic or phonemically automatic. Aside from the points which will emerge in the statement which follows, this set, or system, of affixes differs from the pronoun set in being applicable to all numbers of all persons; this justifies treating the pronouns separately from the verbal affixes, and enables us to proceed to set up a fresh set of morphemes without seeking more involute complementations with the allomorphs already extracted and assigned above.

It is convenient to begin with the affixes of p(erson). The morpheme '3rd' is $\{y- \infty \infty -\}$, the zero-allomorph occurring when another affix is present; it will be seen that the behaviour of $\sqrt{N/}$ below can be specified simply only by the assumption of a zero-allomorph here. The morpheme '1st' is $\{-y \infty - \infty\}$, the zero-allomorph occurring with the plural; this zero-allomorph differs from the last in that it does not condition the allomorphic shape of any other morpheme, but permits us by its presence to state that a p-affix always occurs. The morpheme '2nd' is $\{t-\}$.

We proceed to the affixes of n(umber). The morpheme '2nd sg.' (the only occurring morphemic mark of singularity) is $\{-d\}$. The morpheme '2nd pl.' is $\{-m\}$. The morpheme 'non-2nd pl.' is the ambifix $\{N\}$; the morphophoneme $\sqrt{N/}$ has the special sequence property of being phonemically prefixed $/n-/$ when no other prefix is present, and of being suffixed $/-n/$ in other environments.

The affix of g(ender) is the ambifix $\{T\}$ 'feminine'. The morphophoneme $\sqrt{T/}$ is realized as a second-order prefix $/t-/$ when no plural affix is present; in the 2nd sg. we may regard it as morphophonemically collapsing with '2nd' $/t-/$, or else we may simply state that $\{T\}$ does not apply to this form. In other environments $\sqrt{T/}$ is realized as a second-order suffix $/-t/$. The g-affix does not occur with the affix '1st'.

The morphemic structure of the personal affix is, then, $Vp(n)(g)$.

A few closing comments are in order on the morphemic organization of these forms. Note that a prefixed $/n-/$ structures not with $/t-/$, but with $/(ə)-d/$; and that suffixed $/(ə)-y/$ structures not with $/(ə)-d/$, but with $/t-/$. In this fashion, we see the crucial importance, if we are ultimately to account in an exhaustive and organized way for the total system and its sub-systems, of keeping a clear distinction, in both analysis and statement, of phonemic and morphophonemic properties.

Note the close tie-in of the formal organization with the semantics. Thus, though the seriation appears superficially to be in disorder, the structural order is close-knit and highly congruent with the meaning—though, of course, there is never total congruence between form and meaning, or else they would be but one system, and therefore not discriminable. Note, too, that despite seriation g is an outer-layer affix in both form-classes.

REVIEWS

MURAD KAMIL (ed. and tr.): *Amharische Kaiserlieder*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXXII, 4.) [vi], 50 pp. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GMBH, 1957. DM. 10.

Inspired by Littman's *Die altamharische Kaiserlieder*, Professor Kamil has published this collection of 12 Amharic songs composed for the 52nd and 53rd birthdays (1944-5) of the Emperor Haile Selassie, together with a transliteration and a German translation.

The transliteration is described as being 'in accordance with the pronunciation' ('nach der Aussprache'). This raises problems concerning the nature and aims of transliteration, for a pure transliteration can only be based on the writing and cannot in any sense follow the spoken utterance. In the case of the Ethiopian syllabary, the transliteration is generally modified to indicate features that the original leaves ambiguous—the distinction between single and geminate consonants and whether the 'sixth order' represents a half close central vowel or the absence of a vowel. Professor Kamil's transliteration has two further modifications; symbols are used to indicate: (i) where the songs differ from ordinary speech in respect of the 'sixth order'—we read of the 'insertion' and 'omission' of 'the vowel e' (the half close central vowel), shown by square and round brackets respectively; (ii) where the writing appears to be unmetrical—the ligature $\sim$ is employed to indicate the metrically relevant feature of the coalescence of a word-final vowel with a following word-initial vowel.

Modification (i) is of obvious use to anyone more familiar with the spoken language, but it is not applied consistently. The 'vowel e' frequently forms part of the rhyming element at the end of a line, and so word-finally, though it would not similarly appear word-finally in the ordinary language; yet it is not bracketed in the text. Moreover consistency of principle would require that there is indication of the places in which the songs differ from conversation in respect of gemination; the absence of such indication is extremely inconvenient to the reader. On a point of detail, I would require justification for the assumption that there is 'omission' of the 'vowel e' in 'itōp(e)ā' (p. 7) or 'tagalāg(e)lō' (p. 11), or its 'insertion' in '[e]restennā' (p. 19).

Of modification (ii) there are two criticisms.

First, we are not informed whether this indicates more than the metrical convention of treating what appears to be two syllables as one, or whether, as seems likely there are specifiable features of junction, such as those traditionally referred to as 'crasis' and 'elision'. Secondly there is no coalescence of vowels in *ṣadīṣ* (p. 7) or *ḡelāṭchehū* (p. 25). If anything, these should be treated as cases of the 'omission' of the (penultimate) vowel (though he does not make it explicit, Professor Kamil has examples of an 'omitted' *i*); preferably, the vowel, which represents phonetically a palatal glide and has no syllabic significance, ought not to have been written at all.

For the texts themselves and the translation, we must be very grateful.

F. B. PALMER

E. O. JAMES: *Myth and ritual in the ancient Near East: an archaeological and documentary study*. 352 pp., table. London: Thames and Hudson, 1958. 35s.

In this considerable work Professor James has made what is certainly a notable contribution to the comparative study of the ancient religions of the Eastern Mediterranean area, out of which all that is traditionally recognized as such in the present occidental world has been fashioned. This fact having been long acknowledged, modern writers have turned their efforts in another direction, to understand, if possible, how these cultural elements and conditions were evolved, and this poses immediately the question by what conformations, and even by what rebellions, did the mind of man, the one discordant factor, attempt to adjust itself to the order of external nature which it was then, much more even than now, powerless to command or to mollify. This inquiry has produced an extensive literature, which has taken for its studies on the one hand the early civilizations where man began to express in various forms his (growingly individual) feelings and ideas in response to this challenge, and on the other hand the primitive peoples remaining in the modern world who have retained any of their pristine myths and rituals and have been able in various degrees to explain their motives.

The present work belongs by its title to the former group, without excluding occasional illustration from the latter. Professor James's method is to take some of the main institutions

and ideas of the ancient Near East and examine them in order—as ‘the seasonal cult-drama’, ‘the sacral kingship’, ‘the mother-goddess and sacred marriage’, creation, good and evil, eschatology. These are preceded and followed by chapters of more general discussion as concerning origins, other orders of myths, and the relation of myth with ritual. Under the heads of institutions and ideas are considered in turn the ancient literatures of Egypt, Babylon, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Iran, and lastly Greece, where human thinking took so many new forms. These inquiries lead the author into many pages of rather detailed description, founded upon a very extensive reading (as witnessed by the copious notes and bibliographies to each chapter), but requiring, it must be owned, some perseverance to follow, and not immune from errors and misprints, which specialists in each subject will separately detect, and no doubt excuse, in consideration of the vast area covered. None of these, perhaps, are such as seriously to affect the argument.

It is, however, common to this kind of literature that its perusal leaves the reader with a rather confused impression of what is supposed to be its result, and from this disadvantage Professor James's book is not exempt. In the descriptive chapters the wood too often disappears behind the trees; the opening chapter is interesting especially in its sketch (however speculative) of an inferred Palaeolithic religion, which was the subject of a preceding work by the same author. From the last chapter, with its analyses of the types, meaning, and functions of myth and ritual should emerge something which the reader could take away as a clear gain from his industry through the preceding pages. And indeed there is enlightenment, but the distinctions of myths into different kinds are blurred and overlapping, and ritual, which should have a clearer outline, tends to be confused by re-introduced details and by the readmixture of myth, from which it was to be viewed apart. It is nevertheless no reproach to Professor James that his careful and reflective statements, like others of their kind, do not prove ultimately so instructive as might be wished. His subject (see p. 277) is the puzzled mind of mankind ‘before philosophy’ (as expressed in another recent title), and we should not be surprised to find that ‘philosophy’, which has had recourse to some myths of its own in seeking to expose the remote springs of human thought and action, has been incapable of understanding completely those collective myths which the un-analytical consciousness created long ago for itself.

C. J. GADD

SYEDAH FATIMA SADEQUE : *Baybars I of Egypt*. xix, 379 pp. Dacca : Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Pakistan, 1956. Rs. 21, 42s.

This is intended to be the first of three volumes dealing with the life of Baybars al-Bunduqdāri. It contains the Arabic text (with an English translation) of Muhyi al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāhir's biography, *Al-raʾūd al-zāhir* (not *zāhir*, pp. xix, 4, 74, 240) *fi sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*. The textual material is preceded by a general historical introduction, a dissertation on the sources for the history of Baybars, and a short biography of the sultan. The two succeeding volumes will be devoted mainly to the work of Ibn Shaddād on Baybars. The present work was completed in 1949 and has been published without any change. This lack of revision is unfortunate, since not only have various errors and immaturities been allowed to pass into print but there is also no reference to Ayalon's important work on the Mamluks.

The text is furnished by the fragmentary MS Add. 23,331 of the British Museum, which covers the first five years of Baybar's reign. Dr. Sadeque was unfortunately unaware of a much more complete text in Istanbul (MS Fātih 4367), containing 195 folios, of which the British Museum text corresponds to ff. 1-64b. The Fātih manuscript lacks some of the initial folios (corresponding to pp. 1-14, line 2, of Dr. Sadeque's edition) and also the greater part of the chapter on finance (Sadeque, pp. 24-25) but it covers the whole of the reign.¹

There are defects in both text and translation which could have been remedied by more careful revision or better proof-reading. There is no indication of the foliation of the British Museum manuscript, nor does the translation refer to the pagination of the printed text: thus cross-reference is rendered difficult. The list of corrigenda on p. 379 is not exhaustive, and a bad typographical error on p. 36 has been missed. The map attempts to cover too wide a region and is overcrowded. The use of ʃ for ʕ is ugly and irritating to the reader.

The translation is in general adequate although the *mot juste* has not always been achieved: e.g. شعار would be better translated as ‘insignia’ than as ‘emblem’ in such

¹ I am obliged to Professor Lewis for drawing my attention to this manuscript and for the loan of a photographic copy. See B. Lewis, ‘The sources for the history of the Syrian Assassins’, *Speculum*, xxvii, 4, 1952, 488. A critical edition of the Fātih text is now being prepared by Mr. A. A. Khawaiter at the School of Oriental and African Studies.

phrases as *شعار بني العباس* (pp. ٣٥/124), and *شعار السلطنة* (pp. ٤٥/138). In the latter passage, incidentally, the statement in the translation that the Atābek was wearing the insignia of the sultanate is gratuitous; the phrase clearly refers to the newly invested sultans. On pp. ٢٨/114 *الخليل* means Hebron. A misleading impression is given by the translation of *al-nās* as 'the people', without qualification or explanation: it usually implies the Mamluks specifically, as in the later usage *awlad al-nās* for the descendants of the Mamluks. To take only one example from many, the sentence (pp. ٥/81) *اتفق الناس على أتابكية الأمير عز الدين التركاني الصالحى*

which is translated 'the people agreed to have the amir 'Izz al-dīn al-Turkumānī al-Ṣāliḥī as the Atābek' does not imply a popular election but the decision of a military aristocracy. The term *al-halqa* is explained (p. 38) by a footnote reference to Dozy: this has now been more fully dealt with by Ayalon in 'Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army—II', *BSOAS*, xv, 3, 1953, 448 ff. The plural, *halqas*, which appears surprising, is unsupported by the text (pp. ١١٩/237). In explaining technical terms of the government, use might have been made of Poliak's work, especially *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon, 1250-1900*, London, 1939.

There is some confusion in the translation of the *tadhkira* on pp. ٥١-٥٢/145-6. Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir does not say that he wrote the document but simply that he made 'a copy in Arabic suiting the present circumstances' (نسخته بالعربية بمقتضى الوقت والحال). It did not 'reach the hand of . . . Nāṣir al-dīn' but arrived by his hand (وصلت تذكرة علي يد الأمير . . .). The Nāṣir al-Dīn referred to was the ambassador of Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn from whom the *tadhkira* emanated. The document comprises the whole of the text from p. ٥١, l. 5 (. . . حصل من . . .) to p. ٥٢, l. 4 (. . . سنة ستين وستائة). There is no reason for closing it at the words *حاكما مطلقا* (p. ٥١, l. 12), or for dividing the passage into two documents, separated by a few lines of narrative, as in the translation. The relevance of the inscription referred to in the footnote (١) to p. ٥١ is not clear. Since it is dated 561/1166, it does not support the emendation *اينانج قلع بك* (l. 11). On p. ٥١, l. 22, read *ولا يعزل أحد من الجماعة* as in the British Museum manuscript. On p. ٥٢, l. 1, the sentence *ولا يعزل أحد من الجماعة المذكورين* means 'none of the aforesaid corps

[of amirs] is excluded', i.e. Baybars's orders are to be binding on all the amirs in the territory ceded by 'Izz al-Dīn. In l. 2, *مثال* means a rescript from the sultan setting in motion the grant of a fief.

The critical edition of an Arabic historical text is presumably intended for readers with specialized knowledge, and the purpose of Dr. Sadeque's introduction is therefore difficult to understand. Purporting to describe the nature of the Islamic state, she ranges from the time of the Prophet to the decline of the 'Abbāsids. To attempt to cover so vast a subject in a dozen pages is bound to produce a superficiality which is out of keeping with the nature of the book, while a sacrifice of historical judgment is indicated by such sweeping statements as 'Islam destroyed for good the clan organization of the Arabs based on the ramification of families' (p.v.), and 'the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs became titular figures at the head of the 'Ulema who became the real power in the Islamic State more or less similar to what prevailed during the time of the Khulafāi Rāshidīn' (p. xi). Her discussion of the origins of the Mamluk system is distorted by an apologetic aim, the desire to demonstrate the hostility of Islam to slavery.

In her account of the sources relating to the reign of Baybars (pp. 1-28), Dr. Sadeque returns to firmer ground. This section provides a useful review of the available material. The list of historians mentioned on p. 1 as 'given overleaf' is actually inserted after p. 64. The writer tends, perhaps unconsciously, to be as biased in favour of her subject as some of her medieval predecessors were biased against him. On p. 12 she criticizes al-Dhahabī because 'He will not credit Baybars with bold, forthright murder, but must prove that he is dastardly and treacherous'. The writer cites Margoliouth as saying (p. 26), 'The indictment of Baybars drawn up by the German historian Weil leaves a most painful impression on the reader'. This is not, as she assumes, a criticism of Weil's historiography but of Baybars's character; Margoliouth continues, 'Perfidy and cunning can nowhere be better illustrated'.

Dr. Sadeque's biography of Baybars, based on the Arabic sources (pp. 29-73) forms a useful compendium of information. It is anachronistic to speak of the struggle between Baybars and Qutuz as 'the civil war between Syria and Egypt' (p. 37). Dr. Sadeque again adopts an unnecessarily partisan tone in describing Baybars's achievements and personality, which betrays her into unwarranted assumptions. The occurrence of 'must have' five times in a single paragraph on p. 69 is a danger signal.

Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's work is a source of primary importance for early Mamluk history, which throws light not only on the course of events but on the wider political issues of the period. Among the topics which it illuminates are the circumstances which assisted Baybars to supremacy, the motives behind the revival of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, and the Futūwa organization. *Al-raud al-zāhir* is a court-chronicle, and its writer was a panegyrist of Baybars to a greater degree than Dr. Sadeque would perhaps be willing to allow, but used critically and judiciously this is a text of very great value.

P. M. HOLT

H. A. R. GIBB (tr.): *The travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325-1354, translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti. Vol. 1.* (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series, No. cx.) xvii, 269 pp., front., 2 maps. Cambridge: University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1958. 30s.

If we have waited long for the full translation of Ibn Battūta which Professor Gibb announced in the *Broadway Travellers*, the delay has been fully justified by the excellent and authoritative nature of his English rendering of the first volume of this famous traveller. The Arabic text of Deffrémery and Sanguinetti, he says, has largely stood the test of time, and the small number of emendations he has included in his footnotes certainly seem to support this tribute to their labours, now a century old. Their translation into French is also of high quality, but their commentary is confined to a few pages, and it is in Professor Gibb's annotations that the prime importance of this new version lies, for he has brought the entire apparatus of Arabic scholarship to bear on the content of the text, leaving nothing obscure, or no obscurity unremarked. For general readers the amount of biographical detail, relating to personages mentioned even briefly in the text, may be excessive, but for this the Arabist will be more than grateful. The book is prefaced by a biography of Ibn Battūta and a summary account of the problems of the text; given the strangeness of an Arabic work for Europeans, the text is rendered in an elegant readable style. In amplification of the commentary the following suggestions are offered:

p. 36. The saying of Damietta that, 'Its wall is a sweetmeat and its dogs are sheep', does not really seem to present any difficulty. The simple explanation seems that it is extremely difficult to penetrate a banana plantation, in formation, or without noise,

and in the reviewer's personal experience if one walks into a town where the sheep and goats are allowed to wander in the streets day and night, the animals rise in the dark, making so much stir that secrecy is impossible!

p. 80. In Arabia in later times, perhaps even at this period, investment with the *khurrah* had become a merely formal act for the sake of *tabarruk* and was performed with a cap; cf. *Le Muséon*, LXVII, 1954, 163.

p. 83. Mu'adh b. Djabal is associated with a mosque said to have been founded by him in al-Djanad. Though Šālih's tomb is located in Acre it is also found at Djabal 'Asnab in Ḥadramawt, a long grave, probably pre-Islamic. Many truly Arabian prophets seem to have tombs in both Arabia and Syria. In the case of Šālih and Hūd the explanation may be that the tombs attributed to them in Syria were originally sanctuaries consecrated to them by the Yemenite tribes who migrated there from Arabia.

p. 101. Names such as al-Faiḥā' for Damascus are probably not so much poetical as originally nicknames which one commonly finds for towns and villages in South Arabia. Saiwūn, for example, is commonly called al-Tawīlah by camelmen on account of its shape.

p. 104. The reading Dabīlī for a fabric seems correct for the geographers specifically state that Dabīl manufactured textiles.

p. 117. *Dast*, it is true, is a Persian word, but here the word is to be derived from the Persian *tast*, and the use of *dast/tast* in the sense of a cauldron or large pot is not new in Ibn Battūta's time. In the form *tast* it is found in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Manāḩib 'Umar* (edit. Becker), p. 53, cf. Djawlīkī, *Mu'arrab* (Saḥau), p. 101, I, Sidah, III, p. 78. In Arabia to-day *dast* and *dist* are used, usually of copper with a tinned surface, as on p. 250 where the rendering 'brass' should be corrected to 'copper' (*nahās*).

p. 129. 'I have seen in the vicinity of the town of Zafārī of the Yaman in a place called al-Aḥqāf a building containing a grave bearing the name of Hūd b. 'Ābir.' Here either Ibn Battūta's memory or his honesty is at fault, for the tomb of Hūd (cf. *Le Muséon*, loc. cit.) is not near Zafārī (a misprint for Zafār), but near al-Shihr as attested by several writers including al-Ḥarawī, but the very form of the sentence would tend to show that Ibn Battūta had not actually been there, but was quoting from his memory of certain *ḥadīths*.

p. 143. Besides the place in Palestine called al-Kaṭṭīb al-Aḥmar there is such a place traditionally at the tomb of Hūd in Arabia. Near Aden there is al-Kaṭṭīb al-Abyaḍ, a holy place. It would be interesting to note the existence of other holy sand dunes.

p. 145. The place-name Burṣ but spelled with *ṣ* is not known to Ibn Battūṭa alone of the geographers as suggested, but is found in al-Mas'ūdī's, Murūjī Yākūt's *Mu'djam*, and Yahyā b. Adam's *Kitāb al-Kharājī*. The spelling *ṣ*/s would be no reason to consider these two different places.

p. 148. The 'grave at Dihya al-Kalbī' must read 'of'.

p. 162. Thamūd is also associated with Bir Thamūd south of al-Rub' al-Khālī.

p. 181. The 'Oil-stone', i.e. Ḥaḍjar al-Zait, is properly a stone from which olive-oil is said to exude. To-day Arabians pour oil over such stones and set it alight—this may have some bearing on the ceremonies associated with these stones in antiquity.

p. 220. The mark of protection given by the Sharifs of Mecca is most interesting—an old religious custom still very much alive in Arabia. It is significant that in Mecca the weapon characteristic of the South, the *djambiyah*, should be used; it figures on medieval Yemenite coins.

p. 223. Concerning the discussion of the word *ḥamī* in the sense of 'fig', this may be an error for *hamī* or *ḥamāt*, which in my transcript of the *Bughyat al-Fallāḥīn* is cited as another name for the balas fig. Hava also gives *ḥamāt* as 'wild fig tree' though of course without authority quoted. The term may occur in the work known as *Husn al-kirā* (cf. *BSOAS*, xxi, 2, 1958, 254).

p. 230. The Shāfi'ī Imam leading the prayer appointed by those in authority must surely have been a Sharif appointed from among the Sharifs themselves. In Sharifian society it is difficult to envisage anything else. Though *mukaddam* translates quite well as 'appointed' here it is also a common Arabian term for a headman or spokesman; cf. *Gloss. dat.* 'contremaître, surveillant'.

p. 233. Read *Rumaiṭha* for *Runaiṭha*.

p. 252. In Arabia *laban* does not usually mean 'curdled milk' as Professor Gibb renders it in accordance with usage in Egypt and Palestine, but simply 'milk'. Here and in other places is it quite exact to call a flat cultivated area (*baṣīṭ*) with a tower or fortified farm house in it (*ḥuṣn*) 'a fortified enclosure'?

B. B. SERJEANT

P. M. HOLT: *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898: a study of its origins, development and overthrow*. ix, 264 pp., 4 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 35s.

The tale of the Mahdiyyah is by any standard high drama, with its two climaxes, the death

of Gordon, and the slow but inevitable march of events culminating in the battle of Omdurman. It is also known to us in several admirable eyewitness accounts such as those of Slatin, Ohrwalder, and Neufeld; but in such of the abundant literature as the reviewer has read there has been nothing resembling the approach of Dr. Holt. His study of the Mahdist state is masterly, for though, of course, it lacks the close personal touch of the eyewitnesses, it presents a coherent picture of what appears to most authors of the time as a jumbled and ramshackle tyranny. Dr. Holt manages to resist any impulse to whitewash a régime so generally painted in the blackest colours, but he discovers for us something of the springs of action of the Mahdi, and of the Khalifah whose career covers much the larger portion of the book, leaving the reader able at least to sympathize with his problems as an administrator, and admire his bravery to the end.

Again this admirable volume differs from previous writings, with the exception of Shukair in relying largely on the neglected archives of the Mahdiyyah, a bibliography in concise summary of these being included at the end. These are considered side by side with the eyewitness accounts, especially that of Slatin, while of course British and Egyptian official sources are also utilized. The whole is set against the back-cloth of the surgent development of the colonialist powers. Perhaps the most valuable portion of the book is the final chapter on the administration of the Khalifah; even here one feels that on further examination of the archives, Dr. Holt may be able to expand this in a later work—certainly one would like to have some assessment of the relative failure and success of the Mahdists in their attempt to set up a theocratic state. This would surely be salutary reading for reactionary elements in any Islamic country who hanker after such an ideal. Although it is difficult to think of the Mahdist state as anything but an accident, a freak, an anachronism in the late nineteenth century, similar of course to other movements in the same belt of Africa which were roughly contemporary to it, there can be no doubt that it has had a profound and lasting effect on the course of Sudanese history even in its defeat, up to this very day.

One's curiosity is aroused to learn yet more of the tribal situation, though this is well handled in the text, and of the relations between the Aghrāf and the Khalifah of which Dr. Holt says comparatively little. There may be much of substance in the view of some Sudanese that the Aghrāf were not in fact descendants of Muhammad, but a local religious aristocracy. Perhaps the archives will provide the basis of a whole series of

monographs? It seems to the reviewer that the description of the former Egyptian administration of the Sudan is exceptionally informed and impartial. The Arabist will welcome the frequent citation of Arabic technical terms, especially those relating to administration. For the *mukaddam* (pp. 105-6), an official under the Amir, however, the reviewer is inclined to understand the Arabian sense of 'headman, spokesman', and regard the term *naḳīb* as having a more theocratic flavour to it, but only further research can determine this matter with precision.

A matter of vital interest is the suspension of legislation before the new legal régime of the Mahdiyyah, on 12 Radjab 1299 H. (p. 113). This procedure is also followed by European protecting powers, indeed probably by Muhammad himself, but does it in reality settle the long tale of aggression and reprisal between tribes that went before? Is it necessary for an administration such as that of the Mahdiyyah to see that old disputes are settled after promulgating such a decree, in order to build a new society? In Arabia the period of anarchy before the central government asserts its authority is known as *Aiyām al-Kabyalah*, and to this the country reverts on the weakening of that power. For the rendering (p. 121) where the *Khalifah* declares himself 'innocent of' the *Ashraf*, I think one should understand that he disassociates himself from them, or in effect outlaws them, as has been proposed for the root *tabarra'* where it occurs in the *Sirah* (cf. *BSOAS*, **xxi**, 1, 1958, 13).

On one small point of translation (p. 123) an alteration is suggested. The text runs, 'All this vision is caused by this hair (of the Mahdi). The secret in this hair that you swallowed in the Mahdi's tomb [sentence incomplete]'. On consulting the original photograph made available to me by Dr. Holt, I should prefer to read, 'The mystical virtue (*sirr*) lies in this hair that you swallowed in the Mahdi's tomb'. In much post-classical Arabic *ammā* is not followed by *fa-*, but the sentence is completed without it. This concept of the transference of virtue from the Mahdi to the *Khalifah* might perhaps be compared with *al-nūr al-Muhammadi*.

Dr. Holt's marshalling and presentation of his material merits great praise no less than his excellent critical method. It is to be hoped that he will survey with this fine clarity the following period—the development of the Sudan under British tutelage—when it was a 'country of the Blacks ruled by the Blues'. We know so little of this period from a Sudanese standpoint, and with the emergence of the Sudan as an independent and vigorous state it is essential we should know more of the

development of Sudanese nationalism, and of the outlook and mentality of its people.

R. B. SERJEANT

DAVID COWAN: *An introduction to modern literary Arabic*. xi, 205 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1958. 35s.

Anyone who sets out to write an Arabic grammar for beginners ought to bear in mind a fundamental principle: that the simplification (necessary for beginners) of the complexities of the language should be effected in such a way as not to breed in the student a crop of misconceptions which he will have painfully to correct at a later stage. The author of the present work, in his striving for simplicity, has failed to realize the importance of this. Time and time again, we find him formulating grammatical rules in a vague and inadequate way likely to puzzle and mislead the student. The main bulk of the work consists of illustrative sentences with accompanying translation (the so-called exercises are really only this, since they are immediately followed by a translation), with a minimum of explanatory introduction. Too often the student is simply given examples of an Arabic construction prefixed only by 'Note the following construction'. But unless a real attempt is made at analysing the construction and defining the extent of its use, the student will never learn how to compose his own Arabic sentences; such analysis is here too often absent or formulated in a gravely deficient way.

A few examples of this criticism must suffice: more could be mentioned.

On p. 18 the reader is told that the sound masculine plural is 'practically confined to participles and nouns indicating the profession or habitual action'. This is a slipshod way of saying '... nouns denoting members of a profession or performers of an habitual action', and the reader is left to deduce from the examples what the author really means. No mention is made of this being the usual plural of the *nisba* (and, astonishingly enough, there is no description of the *nisba* formation anywhere in the book); yet among the examples given is *Faransiyyāna*, and the puzzled student will wonder in vain why this sound masculine plural should be used.

On p. 43, at the end of the section on the *ism al-tafḍīl*, the reader is simply presented with the uninformative direction to 'note especially the very common superlative construction *'akramu rajulin*, the most generous man'; no attempt is made to explain the *rationale* of this construction or when it can properly be used.

On p. 44, line 7, the words 'an indefinite noun' need to be replaced by 'a definite noun'.

On p. 71 sqq., *alladhī* and the associated forms are termed 'relative pronouns'. No mention is made of the distinction between the adjectival function of these forms (with an antecedent defined substantive) and the strictly pronominal function (with no antecedent), and all the examples given show them only in the adjectival function. Yet on p. 74 we read '*man* and *mā* are very often used as relative pronouns equalling *alladhī*', a statement which, coming after what has been said about *alladhī*, 'can only be described as a complete travesty of the facts, and disastrous for the student's understanding of the Arabic relatives.

On p. 72 we are told that *alladhāni/allatāni* are 'nominative' and *alladhayni/allatayni* 'accusative and genitive', but not a hint is given that the use of these cases is dictated by the case of the antecedent and not (as with English *who*, *whom*, *whose*) by the syntactic structure of the relative clause.

On p. 87 we read, 'The negative of the imperfect is made by prefixing *lā* or *mā*, the latter being more common when the imperfect is present tense'. This is followed by three examples: '*lā 'ajlisu 'alā l-'arḍi* I do not sit on the ground, *lā naqṭa'u l-lahma bi l-shawkaṭi* we do not cut meat with a fork, *mā yafhamu qawḍi* he does not understand what I am saying'. From such a formulation, the student will not be able to gain the faintest idea of the true differentiation between *lā* and *mā*.

On p. 178 the negative construction of *kāda* is hurled at the student's head with the preface 'Note specially the two following sentences'; no attempt is made to explain how this construction arises, or to guide the reader in forming further sentences of this pattern.

On pp. 195-7 the apodosis of a conditional clause is termed the 'finite' clause. Granted this terminology, it is grossly misleading to write at the top of p. 198, 'Note the subjunctive after *fa*- meaning "so that" following a finite clause [sic] expressing a wish, command or prohibition', specially since the author gives no examples of this construction from which the reader might have some chance of deducing what is meant. As it is, to a reader who does not know Arabic already, such a statement makes complete nonsense. One observes also that the author has omitted all reference to *fa*- plus the subjunctive following a plain negative statement, which is if anything commoner than after a wish, command, or prohibition. On p. 198 we read 'If the finite clause after a condition introduced by *idhā* is a nominal clause or begins with an imperative or pro-

hibition, it must be introduced by *fa*': the fault here lies in the limiting words 'introduced by *idhā*', from which the reader will naturally draw the erroneous conclusion that this construction occurs exclusively after *idhā*.

Difficulty may also be caused to the student by certain features of grammatical terminology which are, so far as I know, idiosyncratic to the author. Thus he speaks (p. 32) of a noun followed by a dependent genitive as being 'governed' by the genitive: but 'governed' is an unsuitable translation of the Arabic term *mudāf*, since most European grammarians would consider the genitive to be the governed word.

It is surely desirable that illustrative matter in a grammar of literary Arabic should in fact be examples of the literary language, preferably selected from actual writings. This principle has been admirably exploited in such works as Freyha's *Essentials of Arabic*, Pellat's *Introduction à l'arabe moderne*, and (for the classical language) Blachère and Ceccaldi's *Exercices d'arabe classique*. The present work represents unfortunately a retrograde step, consisting as it does of the 'made-up' sentences characteristic of an earlier generation of pedagogues. Very striking is the unsuitable nature of the subject-matter of a considerable number of Mr. Cowan's examples, dealing with subjects which sound ludicrous expressed in literary style, and for which the only appropriate vehicle is one of the colloquials, or at least an 'informal' style of language with omission of the *'rāb*. Yet throughout the book, the Arabic is presented with the full panoply of *'rāb* and numerous 'high-classical' turns of expression which are indeed in use by modern authors, but only when they are dealing with serious subjects and not everyday conversation. I myself can recall, from my first visit to the Near East, the shouts of laughter which greeted my use of *nahwī* language in inappropriate contexts. The same is likely to be the fate of a student, trained on this work, who delivers himself of such utterances as (p. 102) *līma lam taghsil wajhaka f lam 'aghsilhu li'anna l-ṣābūna kāna mafqūdan*. Not only does Mr. Cowan's procedure tend to blunt the student's appreciation of the contexts in which 'literary' Arabic is appropriate, but also a precious opportunity has been lost of giving him a vocabulary really useful for reading a modern newspaper. In a book of this size, if all the examples had been genuinely 'literary' specimens, and chosen with an eye on the statistics of word-frequencies provided by Moshe Brill's *Basic word-list of the Arabic daily newspaper*, the student could have been really well equipped for reading the contemporary press.

All in all, I regret to have to say that the present work is unworthy of the labour the author has expended on it. He obviously has himself an extremely good knowledge of Arabic, but he is deficient in the linguistic perceptiveness needed for stating the facts clearly and precisely to a beginner, and his book is not one I could recommend to a student.

A. F. L. BRESTON

S. D. GOITEIN and A. BEN SHEMAH : *Muslim law in Israel. An introduction to Muslim law, by S. D. Goitein ; Basic principles and laws, by A. Ben Shemesh.* (Faculty of Law of the Hebrew University. Legal Studies, No. 3.) xv, 311, [iii] pp. Jerusalem : Mif'al Hashichpul and Gvilim Publishing Co. Ltd., 1957.

This is a text-book for law students, in Hebrew, except for 24 pages of Arabic at the end and a title-page and table of contents in English. The book consists of two parts. The first part, by S. D. Goitein, a student of Islam, is a historically orientated survey of the main features of Islamic law. After a short introduction about Muslim civilization, the author sketches the nature of Muslim law and jurisprudence, of the literature produced by the Muslim jurists, and of the administration of justice in Islam. This is followed by an excellent bibliographical survey. Chapter 2 deals with the history of Muslim law 'from the Qur'ān to the *Mejelle*': special attention is given to the *Mejelle*, the nineteenth century Ottoman codification of those parts of Ḥanafī *fiqh* which deal with civil law, as it still plays a great part in the law of the State of Israel. Chapter 3 deals in greater detail with the Muslim laws of marriage and divorce, inheritance and wills, and *waqf*. The whole is an outstandingly lucid introduction to Muslim law.

The second, practical, part is by a lawyer, A. Ben Shemesh, and is similarly divided into three chapters: Civil laws, Laws of personal status, Muslim religious courts. It consists of systematically arranged paragraphs taken from modern text-books of Ḥanafī law and from Ottoman laws and their amendments by mandatory Palestinian and Israeli legislation, with comments whenever necessary.

It is perhaps worth while to single out some features of the laws of personal status. The law of personal status for Muslims in the State of Israel is based on the Ottoman Law of Family, of Tishrīn al-Awwal 1333 *māliyya*/October 1917, which had been in force also in mandatory Palestine. At the end of the book

there is published an Arabic text of this law, established by Sheikh Ṭāhir Ḥammād, Qadi of Jaffa; while in the body of the book there is a complete Hebrew translation with a commentary. There are two Israeli laws which affect the Law of Family: the Law of the Equality of Man and Woman (1951) and the Law of the Age of Marriage (1950): the first makes it punishable to marry more than one wife or to divorce one's wife without her consent or an order of the court, while the second makes it punishable for a girl under 17 years of age to apply to the Qadi for permission to marry, or for her parents or guardians to give her in marriage. These laws do not cancel the Law of Family—thus marriages contracted or divorces made in contravention to them are valid, but the parties are punishable under criminal law. There is quoted a judgment of the High Court in a case where the Qadi of Acre appeared as a defendant because he refused to arrange a marriage with a second wife. His action was upheld; the court gave an interpretation of the law of 1951 and refused to admit the supplementary argument that the prohibition of bigamy is an infringement of religious freedom. It pointed out, in accordance with the official commentary to the Ottoman law, § 38, that polygamy is not a religious duty in Islam, but is merely facultative.

According to the Law of Equality of Man and Woman, the system of dividing the inheritance in the cases of *mīrī* land prescribed in the Ottoman law of 3 Rabi' al-Ākhir 1331/1913 (based on a European law) applies also to *mulk* lands; thus in the case of *mulk* lands too the settlement of inheritance has been taken out of the hands of the religious courts.

At the end of the section on the laws of personal status there is a survey of the modern legislation on this subject in the various Middle Eastern countries.

S. M. STERN

DAVID MARSHALL LANG : *The wisdom of Balahvar : a Christian legend of the Buddha.* (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 20.) 135 pp., front. London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; New York : The Macmillan Co., 1957. 15s.

The book under review has a double function. Forming part of a series which addresses itself to a wider circle of readers, it is also meant to acquaint the general reader with the curious history of a legend of the Buddha which was turned into the Christian legend of Sainte Barlaam and Josaphat, and to provide

for him one of the earlier forms of the legend : the shorter Georgian version. The author acquits himself very well in this task, and both his first part—giving the literary history of the legend—and the translation itself make good reading.

In addition, however, the book has a considerable scholarly value, and this for various reasons. Firstly, this is the first translation of the Georgian text in any Western European language. (The only translation previously published is a Russian one.) Secondly, in his introduction the author has taken into consideration the results of his examination of the longer Georgian version, which has never been used before and which contributes greatly towards the solution of a difficult problem in the history of the transmission of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat. Thanks to this last feature, and to his well informed paragraphs on the 'prehistory' of the legend, the first part of the book—entitled 'From Bodhisattva to Saint Josaphat'—is the most up-to-date account of the history of the legend, and merits a detailed discussion. (We shall see at the end of this review the reasons which moved the author to translate the shorter, rather than the longer, version.)

It had been recognized by the middle of the nineteenth century that the legend of Saints Barlaam and Josaphat was based on that of the Buddha. The search for Indian sources has not, however, led to the discovery of an exact Buddhist prototype. The figure of Josaphat, a prince kept by his father in seclusion, but who realizes the vanity of the world through chance encounters with human misery, is based on that of the Buddha, and the story reflects faithfully enough the legend of the Buddha's early career. The origin of the other principal figure, that of Barlaam, Josaphat's mentor whose ascetic preachings and parables are a central part of the story, is more doubtful. It probably grew out of the figure of the wandering holy man, the encounter with whom was the Buddha's fourth and last encounter according to the legend. (While Josaphat's name—Yūdāsaf in Arabic—is clearly a deformation of 'Bodhisattva', the origin of the name of Barlaam—in Arabic Bilawhar or Balawhar—has not yet been solved. I risk a conjecture with all the due reservations, and fully aware of the danger of adding another unsatisfactory proposal to the previous ones. The ascetic whom the Buddha met is sometimes described as a *brahmachārin* 'a celibate'; this could have been corrupted, in the various alphabets through which the story passed, into Bilawhar. The Sanskrit word *jameśvara* 'king' was turned into a proper name in the Arabic version, where Josaphat's father is called Janaysar; here

we would have another parallel case of an attribute of a person turned into his proper name.) Many of the parables told by Barlaam have been traced back to various Indian books, such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Pancatantra*. But we do not know when the basic legend and the parables were put together and the book given its present form.

As for the subsequent history of the book, it has been noted—and the author gives the evidence in full—that two fragments of the Central Asiatic Manichaean literature in Turkish (recovered by excavations in Eastern Turkistan) are connected with our legend. The first fragment deals with the encounter of the prince and the disfigured old man, of whom the sight first awakes him to the vanity of life. The account is closer to the original Buddha legend than the corresponding passage in Barlaam and Josaphat. The other fragment contains a parable ('the drunken prince and the corpse') which reappears in one of the Arabic versions of the legend of the Buddha. All this does not prove that the Manichaeans also had something resembling the Book of Barlaam and Josaphat, but rather suggest it only.

We reach safer ground with the Arabic versions. It is clear that the Arabs were acquainted with various versions of the legend of the Buddha, of which the Book of Barlaam and Josaphat was only one. We do not know the circumstances under which the translations were made and the names of the translators, but there is hardly any doubt that the texts on which the Arabic versions were based were in some Middle Iranian dialect—probably in Pahlavi. This does not exclude the possibility that those responsible for these Pahlavi versions were Manichaeans, rather than Zoroastrians; but no positive data are available to decide this problem. (As a matter of fact, for all we know some of the versions may have been available to the Arabs in some other Middle Iranian dialect used by the Manichaeans, e.g. Sogdian; but as this kind of book usually passed into Arabic from Pahlavi, we need not go out of our way to seek such somewhat exotic models.)

Dr. Lang gives an excellent summary of our knowledge of the history of the Arabic versions. The present reviewer has made some investigations into this subject, the results of which either modify the picture or complete it and make it more precise. The details must be left for a number of separate studies, but I should like to take the opportunity to give here a revised sketch of the transmission of the legend in Arabic.

The most important version is the one which was printed in Bombay in 1888. This version, however, seems to contain a few interpolated

passages. It had been surmised a long time ago, by internal indications, that a few passages do not belong to the original text but have been interpolated from another version—possibly from a 'Book of the Budd' (i.e. the Buddha). Now in the longer Georgian version, which, as we shall see, is very close to the Arabic text, these passages are in effect missing. Otherwise we seem to have in the Bombay printed text a faithful representative of the Arabic 'Book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf' (as the title corresponding to Barlaam and Josaphat appears in Arabic).¹ Somewhat surprisingly, of this complete version no manuscripts have been recovered; even the whereabouts of the Indian manuscript, on which the Bombay text must have been based, is unknown—if it still exists at all. It would be good if scholars with access to less known collections of Arabic manuscripts would be on the lookout for manuscripts of the text, as it is not unlikely that such may still be hidden somewhere. At any rate, it was the 'Book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf'—with or without the interpolated passages—which had the greatest success in Arabic as well as in other tongues.

We have two incomplete manuscripts of an abbreviated text: one in Halle, published long ago, another in Cairo, which I propose to describe in the near future. This abbreviated version is entirely based on the 'Bombay version'—for example, in the new manuscript there recur also the assumedly interpolated passages.

The same Arabic text has also been used for a Hebrew version by Abraham ibn Ḥasdāy, who lived in Spain in the early thirteenth century. This author, however, dealt with his model freely and reshaped it in a manner conforming to the literary taste of his readers.

There is another Arabic version, quoted at great length by an author of the tenth century, Ibn Bābūya; the beginning and the end seem to be closely related to the Bombay version, but as I have had as yet no occasion to study the full Arabic text, I say this with some reserve. Into this frame, which makes up the greater part of the text, has been interpolated another version of the legend of the Buddha. The interesting thing about this last version is that it contains among others the gruesome parable of the prince and the corpse, which has appeared, as we have said above, amongst the Manichaeans of Central Asia. Finally, there is a very different version incorporated into a twelfth century anonymous Arabic history of

the world (*Nihāyat al-Arab*): here Josaphat appears as a Parthian prince.

So much for the Arabic texts. We come now to the Georgian versions, the discussion of which forms, obviously, the most important part of Dr. Lang's introduction.

The story exists in Georgian in two recensions: a complete and an abbreviated one. The abbreviation ('The wisdom of Balahvar') has been known by scholars for some 70 years, but the only known manuscript of the full version has only been recently traced in the Greek Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem (no. 140 of the former Holy Cross Monastery collection), and Dr. Lang is the first scholar to study it. In addition to the present book, he has dealt with the complete version in an article entitled '*The life of the Blessed Iodasaph: a new Oriental Christian version of the Barlaam and Ioasaph romance*', *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 389-407, in which he discusses some of the details at greater length. Naturally, the discovery of the complete version greatly facilitates the comparative study of the Georgian version with the other versions of the story. The longer version turns out to be very similar to the Arabic Bombay text (to be sure without the assumedly interpolated passages, as mentioned above); the abbreviator has effaced some of the similarities by cutting the full text. (Dr. Lang stresses the fact that the detailed comparison of the two Georgian texts which has been made by him 'leaves no doubt that *The Wisdom of Balahvar* is in fact an abridgment of the new Jerusalem *Life of the Blessed Iodasaph*'.) The study of the complete text fully confirms, in Dr. Lang's opinion, the thesis which had been advanced by earlier scholars solely on the basis of the abridged version—namely that the Georgian text was translated from the Arabic, and that the Greek version—most famous of all—is derived from the Georgian.

In effect, Dr. Lang has made it highly probable, if not proved, that the Georgian text is translated from the Arabic. If so, it is the Georgian author who must be credited with the Christianization of the story and with the introduction of a few personal names which are not found in the Arabic version. This is a crucial point, as the same innovations recur in the Greek text, so that it would follow that the Greek goes back to the Georgian text. The question of the origin of the Greek Barlaam and Josaphat is quite a *cause célèbre*—it was traditionally attributed to St. John of Damascus (eighth century), and this attribution has lately found new defenders. On the other hand, there are various authorities who name St. Euthymius the Georgian (d. 1028) as the translator of the story from Georgian into Greek: thus some external evidence

¹ Note added in the proofs: I am now

inclined to doubt about this alleged interpolation and to assume that the Bombay version is homogeneous. I shall discuss this problem in one of my projected studies.

coincides with what now seems to result from the internal evidence of the various versions. In view of the importance of the subject, it is hoped that the comparative study of the Georgian with the Arabic, and the Greek with the Georgian, will be further pursued, in order to settle definitely this question which has excited so much attention and which now seems ripe for judgment.

All the Western versions derive from the Greek, which was more than once translated into Latin from the eleventh century onward. From the Latin, translations were made into most of the European languages, and the story was often versified or made into plays. In the East, the Greek Barlaam and Josaphat was rendered into various Slavonic languages, and into Armenian and also into Arabic. (This Christian Arabic translation has, of course, to be kept apart from the old Arabic versions.) From Arabic it passed into Ethiopic. There was, however, no need for Dr. Lang to follow up this later history of the legend, which has formed the subject of detailed studies.

The second part of the book gives the translation of the shorter Georgian text. The author's choice fell on the shorter version, because the difference between it and the longer version, which is over twice the length of the shorter, is mainly 'made up of verbose homilies on religious topics which add little to the work's literary merits'. The author assures us that 'the shorter version, while modifying certain episodes, retains all the story's essential features'. For the sake of completeness, three parables of the longer version, which were omitted in the abridgement, are reproduced separately.

Finally, it will be useful to reproduce here the information, which I owe to Dr. Lang, that since the publication of his book, the longer version (together with the shorter one) has been published in Georgia. The reference is: Ilia Abuladze, *Balavarianis k'art'uli redak'tsieli* 'The Georgian versions of Balahvar' [texts with critical introduction and glossary], edited under the supervision of A. Shanidze, Tiflis, 1957, 48 + 216 pp.; no. 10 of the series: *Dzveli k'art'uli enis dzeglebi* 'Monuments of Ancient Georgian Language'. (Russian title: *Gruzinskii redaktsii povesti 'Varlaam i Ioasaf'*.)

S. M. STERN

TÜRK DİL KURUMU: XIII. yüzyıldan günümüze kadar kitaplardan toplanmış tanıklarıyla tarama sözlüğü, IV. (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından, Sayı 167.) 923 pp. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957. Lira 20.

This is the fourth volume in this well-known

series of lists of words with illustrative quotations from Osmanli and Anatolian works ranging from the thirteenth century to the present day. Scientifically speaking, it is an advance on its predecessors from three points of view. The method of transliteration is improved by adding two extra letters to the Turkish Official Alphabet; the original Arabic script of the key words is printed; and precise references are given for the passages quoted.

The new letters are (1) *h* for the unvoiced velar fricative, which is unobjectionable, though *x* would surely be more convenient; (2) *ñ* for the guttural, not the palatal nasal, which is ill-chosen, since in eighth- and ninth-century Turkish both the guttural *ŋ* and the palatal *ɲ* existed, and it can only produce confusion to use the latter sign for the former sound in any form of Turkish transliteration. The other two changes can be welcomed unreservedly.

Nevertheless some of the defects found in earlier volumes still survive. It was of course always inherent in the project that the work of compilation should be farmed out to a number of workers, just as was the work on which the great *Oxford English dictionary* was founded. This inevitably means that the choice of words for inclusion is subjective and capricious. Another defect is more serious. What is lacking here, but was supremely present in the *Oxford English dictionary*, is the firm hand of an editor with wide philological knowledge to co-ordinate the whole and check the transliterations and translations. One manifestation of this lack of competent supervision is that too many of the words listed are misspelt. The first entry in the book is a case in point—*aba nine* with a sixteenth-century quotation. This word is now pronounced *ebe* and there is no reason to suppose that it was ever pronounced in any other way. Another is the word for 'very', here spelt *iğen* (p. 410). This word is one of the enigmas of Turkish lexicography; there is no reason to suppose that it is other than pure Turkish, but there is no trace of it before the fourteenth century, when it suddenly appeared in Osmanli and three other authorities; thereafter it survived only in Osmanli where it became obsolete in the seventeenth century. If the only evidence were in Osmanli, there might be reasonable doubt regarding its pronunciation, although the scriptions with triply dotted *kāf* point more to *iğen* than *iğen*. But the other three authorities leave no room for doubt. They are (1) the Codex Cumanicus (German section, early fourteenth century) which has *iğen valde*, 'very'

(Grønbech's index, Copenhagen, 1942); (2) the *Kiabu'l-İdrāk* (ed. Caferoğlu, 1931) where the word appears twice. In this work *ḡ* was written with a *nūn* with three subscribed dots, but the latter have usually disappeared in the surviving MSS. On p. 24 there is *inen* (no doubt originally *iḡen*) *cidda(n)*, and on p. 25 in a gloss to one MS *ingen kōrkli* (misspelt *kōrkliṭr*) *fī haddiḡi* (misspelt *kariḡi*) *malīḡ*; (3) the *Nahcu'l-farādīs* (mid-fourteenth century) where the word, spelt *ingen* (no doubt for *iḡen*), is fairly common (e.g. 6, 3; 231, 10). Again *devlengēç/devlūgēç* 'a kite' (bird), p. 216, is clearly an error for *dūlengēç/dūlūgēç* which is the spelling in Redhouse and Sami's dictionaries and corresponds to the entry *al-hid'a tūlūgēç* in *ibn Muḡanna* (ed. Kihālī Rifāt, 1921), p. 171. No doubt other misspellings could be found.

Even more unsatisfactory are the spellings of Persian and Arabic words in the bilingual dictionaries from which extracts are given. These are spelt not only in the Turkish Official Alphabet without the additional letters, but also in the Turkish pronunciation. A word, for example, like *faṣāḡatun* (p. 3) potentially represents eight other possible Arabic words in addition to *faṣāḡatu(n)*, which it is intended to represent.

The purpose of the book is primarily to promote the search for *öz Türkçe* material, which is the main objective of the TDK. It is therefore a little ironical that many words are listed which are not *öz Türkçe* at all. This will not of course distress those scholars who are primarily interested in the history of the actual Turkish language. It is, for example, extremely interesting that the Arabic phrase '*alā'imū'l-samā*' 'rainbow' should have been corrupted to *ineḡim saḡmal* (p. 431) as early as the sixteenth century. It is true that Sami in his *Qamūs* (p. 157) said that '*alā'imū'l-samā*' was a 'futile' ('*abi*') spelling of the Turkish word *eḡimsaḡma*, but he was writing nearly 60 years ago and the minor nonsenses of this great scholar might surely now be buried in oblivion. Here are a few other specimens of foreign words or Turkish derivatives from foreign roots: Arabic *ablak*, *adamcullanmak*, *kulmaḡ*; Greek *abartmak*, *arhun* (aḡacı), *boryaz*; lingua franca *alabanda*; Mongolian *aḡa*; Persian *alav*, *tiz* (and its derivatives); Sogdian *tamu*, *uçmak*.

* However, all in all, provided that its shortcomings are realized and suitable precautions taken to meet them, this is a valuable collec-

tion of raw material for the great historical dictionary of the Turkish languages which is so badly needed.

GERARD OLAFSON

Nehcu'l-farādīs. 1. Tıpkıbasım. Önsözü yazan János Eckmann. (T.D.K. Tıpkıbasımlar Dizisi, 35.) [1], xiv, 444 pp. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956. Lira 20.

Nearly all scholars, both Turkish and foreign, are agreed that the most valuable publications of the TDK have been its series of facsimiles of the MSS of old Turkish books. The present volume, which is a clear reproduction of the best MS of a key work in the history of the Turkish languages, is a worthy addition to this series.

It seems to be generally agreed that the *Nahcu'l-farādīs* was written in Kh^ṡarazm, or at any rate by a Kh^ṡarazmian Turk. The exact date of its composition is unknown, but almost certainly lay in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It was therefore written two or three decades later, and some distance further north, than the *Qıssa'u'l-anbiyā* of Rabḡūzī, which was finished in A.D. 1310, almost certainly in Khorasan. The two works are much like one another, and what Grønbech said of the latter in his introduction to the reproduction of the British Museum MS (*Rabghuzi, Narrationes de prophetis* (MLAM, IV), Copenhagen, 1948)—'The *Qıssa Rabyūzī* is remarkable for the purity of its Turkish idiom, for its natural and easy style, and, last but not least, for the conservatism of the dialect of the author'—is equally applicable to this work. Indeed from the point of view of pure philological study the *Nahc* has the advantage that the MS here reproduced was finished on 26 March, A.D. 1360, only four days after the author's death, while the best available MS of Rabḡūzī is much less carefully written and undated but apparently not earlier than the fifteenth century. The script of this MS is not beautiful, but it is easily read. The spelling, with its free use of *alıf*, *wāw*, and *yā* as vowel letters, is reminiscent of that of the two Arabic script MSS of the *Kutadḡu bilig*, also reproduced by the TDK; like them, it preserves the old Turkish (originally Persian) triply dotted *fā* for *v*, which implies of course that consonantal *wāw* represents (the English) *w*; but unlike them it makes the fullest possible use of vowel signs, so that, except on such fine points as the difference between the four rounded vowels, there is no doubt of the sounds which the scribe intended to represent. Indeed there even appears to be an effort to distinguish

the closed *ö* from the open *e*, the former being represented by *faḥa yä*; if close examination shows that this scriptio is reasonably consistent, some welcome light will be thrown on this obscure phonetic point. Another important phonetic point is that the *Nahc*, like *Rabgūzi*, retains the old Turkish voiced dental spirant *ḡ* in such words as *edḡü* 'good'. To that extent the language is close to the Khakani of *Kāḡari* and the *Kutadḡu bilig*. On the other hand the indiscriminate use of vowel letters suggests that the distinction between long and short vowels in old Turkish, which was indicated, though not entirely consistently, in *Kāḡari*, and seems also to emerge, again not entirely consistently, in the scansion of the *Kutadḡu bilig*, had by the fourteenth century ceased to be perceptible. One interesting feature of the *Nahc* is that, although it was written a century after the Mongol invasion, there is at first sight no obvious sign of the mass invasion of the language by Mongolian loanwords which is so conspicuous a feature of the vocabulary of Classical *Çaḡatay* and of the Paris '*Oḡuz nama*' edited by Dr. Arat, and has even left some marks on the Turkish vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus.

It is therefore obvious that Dr. Eckmann's promised word-list will be a work of the first importance for students of the history of the Turkish languages. We have long been waiting impatiently for Dr. Arat's word-list of the *Kutadḡu bilig*; we shall now be waiting equally impatiently for Dr. Eckmann's list. It is greatly to be hoped that the 'TDK will put the learned world still further in its debt in the near future by publishing these two vital works. It is also perhaps not too much to ask that the words in these two lists should be spelt as they were pronounced then in Central Asia and not as they are pronounced now in Turkey. There is, for example, every reason to suppose that our author called his book *Nahcu'l-farādis*, not *Nehcu'l-faradis*. It is unfortunate that, so far as is known, no scholar is preparing a word-list of *Rabgūzi*. Until that is available, one link will be missing in the chain of the history of the Turkish languages in the crucial period of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries when great changes were taking place. Nevertheless great progress has been made in recent years in accumulating the necessary material; and when Drs. Arat and Eckmann's lists have appeared, it will be possible to get a clear picture of the Turkish vocabulary as it existed before the Mongol invasion introduced a new complicating factor, and *inter alia* to judge how far the Turks of those days, when they ceased to be nomads and became a civilized people, thought that

they could make their own language go, with its few Sogdian, Chinese, and other old loanwords, and for what concepts they found it more convenient to adopt the vocabulary of the Perso-Arabic world with which they were for the first time coming into intimate contact.

GERARD CLAUSON

PAUL THIEME: *Mitra and Aryaman*. (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 41.) pp. 1-96. New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1957. \$2.

J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN: *The Western response to Zoroaster*. (Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, 1956.) vii, 112 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 25s.

These two works are here reviewed together because both are concerned with Professor G. Dumézil's classification of the Indo-Iranian gods, which Professor Thieme uncompromisingly rejects, and Professor Duchesne-Guillemin unreservedly accepts.

In D.'s pattern of functions, reproduced by D.-G. on p. 40, Varuna and Mitra represent the function of sovereignty, Varuna being the 'despote', the 'magician', Mitra the benevolent protector, 'juriste', and 'presque un prêtre divin', cf. Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*, 1958, pp. 38 sq., 62 sqq., 67 [on this latest work of D.'s see Professor J. Brough's article above, p. 69 sqq.]. Aryaman is for D. a 'souverain mineur' (op. cit., 68) who belongs to 'the Mitra half of sovereignty' (D.-G., p. 41), while Varuna 'restait solitaire dans ses lointains'.

Of such distinctions, T. points out, the Rigveda knows nothing. When D. quotes Rigvedic passages in support of his theory he has either misunderstood them or pressed them to suit his views. In any case, to set up a theoretical framework of functions in order to arrive at a definition of Mitra is to start at the wrong end. For the god is clearly and sufficiently defined by his name. 'Mitra' means 'contract', as Meillet established long ago and D. knows but keeps forgetting. T. guards against such forgetfulness by altogether abolishing the name 'Mit(h)ra' in his translation of Vedic and Avestan verses, and replacing it by the name 'Contract'. This simple device enables T. to show that the Rigvedic hymn to Mitra (iii, 59), which hitherto had been dismissed as colourless and uninformative, offers a fairly detailed description of the god, in terms which closely resemble those of the Avestan hymn to Mithra. T.'s penetrating analysis of hymn iii, 59

constitutes the chief merit of this sober and eminently reasonable monograph, and marks a considerable advance in Mithraic studies.

On Aryaman T. recapitulates the arguments he had put forward in *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*: if *aryá* means 'hospitable' the original meaning of *aryamán-* can be assumed to have been 'hospitality'. Here much depends on whether one accepts T.'s explanation of Ved. *arí*, on which his interpretation of *aryá* as 'concerned with strangers, hospitable' is based. To me the explanation seems convincing: the hostile and friendly meanings of *arí* are to be traced to a basic meaning 'stranger', from which on the one hand 'enemy' could develop, on the other hand 'guest' and 'host'. There is, however, one Rigvedic verse, ix, 79, 3, in which T. failed to do justice to the context of *arí*, as D. has not been slow to point out (op. cit., 113): *utá svásyā árátyā arir hí gá [utádyāsyā árátyā vřko hí sáh* must indeed mean '[Protège nous] de la nuisance *propria*: car c'est l'*arí*. [Protège nous] de la nuisance *aliena*: car c'est le loup'. But contrary to D.'s belief this translation does not invalidate T.'s understanding of *arí*, as *vřka* may well refer in the present context to the *animal* 'wolf', and not 'l'homme qui mérite d'être appelé loup'. The contrast will then be between ferocious animals on the one hand ('nuisance *aliena*'), and enemies belonging to one's own, human, kind on the other ('nuisance *propria*').

In support of his interpretation of *aryá* T. refers to NPers. *irmān* 'guest', which is usually held to go back to *aryaman-*. In addition, V. I. Abayev has strengthened T.'s case with an attractive etymology of Oss. *æcegaelon* 'strange, alien', which he derives from **habyaka-* + *arya-* 'truly alien', see *Voprosy yazykoznaniya* (Akademiya Nauk SSSR), 2, 1958, 115. On the other hand, Abayev rightly points out that T.'s etymology, taken over from Andreas, of Oss. *lmaen* 'friend' from *aryaman-* should be abandoned in favour of Miller's connexion of the word with the base *fr-*.

Aryaman as the hypostasis of hospitality forms a satisfactory counterpart to Mitra, the hypostasis of the treaty. Although the Avestan evidence does not confirm T.'s interpretation of Aryaman, it does not exclude it. With the slender means provided by the texts, and without taking recourse to theoretical fancies, T. has been able to make it at least likely that the conception of Aryaman is part of the same process of personification of abstractions to which the conception of Mitra belongs. By so doing T. has rendered pointless D.'s claim that Mitra and Aryaman must be fitted into what he has postulated as an Indo-European hierarchy of gods.

Since T. and, more recently, J. Brough (*BSOAS*, xxi, 2, 1958, 395 sqq.) have shown that D.'s theory is neither founded on, nor explains the Vedic facts, it is interesting to find D.-G. convinced that D. has proved and successfully tested this very theory on the Zoroastrian *Amēša Spēntas*. In D.'s view Varuṇa and Aša on the one hand, Mitra and Vohu Manah on the other, respectively represent the terrible and benevolent aspects of the function of 'sovereignty'; what is more, Aša and Vohu Manah are said by D. to owe their respective aspects to a conscious translation into Zoroastrian terms, of the same aspects of the discarded gods Varuṇa and Mitra. Let us see what proof is culled from the Iranian evidence, and by what method.

D. views Aša and Vohu Manah as if the Zoroastrian tradition provided no definition of the two Entities and their names offered no clue to their character. It was therefore left to him to discover their function and essence by scrutinizing the obscure meaning of cryptic Gāthic passages. He accordingly discovers that the difference between the two Entities consists in 'Aša's relative remoteness as compared with Vohu Manah's proximity to man' (D.-G., p. 50). This constitutes sufficient definition for Dumézil. Varuṇa too, he says, is more remote from man than Mitra. Hence Aša is Varuṇa in disguise,¹ and Vohu Manah is Mitra. *Quod erat demonstrandum*.

Transposed to 'mathematics' a parallel argument would run as follows: There is no means of defining the numbers represented by the symbols V and VI, except by stating that these symbols, like the symbols X and XI of the numbers ten and eleven, consist respectively of one and two signs. Ergo V represents the number ten (in disguise), and VI the number eleven.

The fact is that just as the numbers represented by V and VI are well known, and the spelling with one or two signs is easily explained as arising from the numerical definition of five and six, so the definition of Aša and Vohu Manah is clearly given by the sources, and what D. calls their respective 'remoteness' and 'proximity' is a mere secondary consequence of this definition.² The Zoroastrian tradition informs us that Aša represents the

¹ The disguise is described by D. himself as a 'sublimation' or 'transposition', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLII, 1, 1957, 9 (point 3), 12, n. 2, 23, n. 2.

² The symbols V, VI = the Entities Aša and Vohu Manah; their numerical value = the definition of A. and V.M.; the spelling with one and two signs respectively = the respective remoteness and proximity of the two Entities.

element fire, while experts in Avestan studies have long known that the word means 'truth', more especially 'transcendental truth'. The definition of Vohu Manah is that it represents the 'element' cattle, while its name means 'good thought'. The behaviour of Aša and Vohu Manah in all the Gāthic passages D.-G. quotes on pp. 45-50, and in all those he does not quote (in so far as any of either group is at all understandable), is accounted for by these definitions, as are, of course, the respective 'remoteness' and 'proximity' of the two Entities. For example, it is only natural that man should 'strive towards', or 'maintain', or 'consult' Aša = Transcendental Truth = Fire, and that conversely Aša should not, like Vohu Manah, 'come' towards man; or that there should be no mention of a man's Aša, while 'a man's Vohu Manah is on a level with his deeds and words' (cf. on all this D.-G., p. 49).

Accordingly D.'s unrealistic appraisal of the data before him reveals itself both in his definition and in his inference. In the definition, in that instead of letting himself be guided by the meaningful information at his disposal, he gropes through nebulous Gāthic passages for something he calls 'remoteness' and 'proximity', and raises these two vague qualities to the status of a definition of substance; in the inference, in that even if the contention that Varuṇa is more 'remote' than Mitra were correct—which T., pp. 58 sq., has shown not to be the case—it would not warrant the conclusion that the 'remote' Aša and the 'nearer' Vohu Manah represent, respectively, Varuṇa and Mitra.

It will thus be seen that the objection to Dumézilianism does not arise from the usual, inevitable disagreement on the meaning of individual Gāthic verses.¹ The point is that D.'s conclusions are altogether irrelevant to the Iranian material, because their justification consists in bypassing reliable information, and accounting arbitrarily for what this reliable information suffices to explain. They constitute, in fact, not a doctrine which arises from the data, as its defenders claim, but one needlessly imposed on them from outside. Such new arguments as Dumézilians from time to time adduce 'in confirmation' of the

doctrine make no difference,² because what has never been proved cannot be confirmed.³

D.'s lively reaction to criticism⁴ cannot fail to incline would-be critics to think twice before venturing to disagree with him. But specialists have a duty towards readers who are not equipped to check the validity of statements alleged to arise from a deep insight into such difficult texts as the Gāthās. So long as D. was alone in claiming that he had proved his case the cautious reader, alive to the possibility of self-delusion, could be relied upon to exert a healthy scepticism. But the wholesale surrender of D.-G., a leading expert on Zoroastrianism, leaves the non-Indo-Iranian mythologist defenceless, as he will naturally infer from D.-G.'s approval that at least the Iranian evidence fully supports D.'s views. Fortunately it is not difficult to absolve D.-G. from ignorance of the very Gāthās he has himself translated. For D.'s error does not lie in wrong translations, or actual denial of obvious data, which D.-G. would not have failed to condemn at once. The error has in fact nothing to do with the source on which its effects are brought to bear, but is simply one of reasoning. This explains in my opinion why D.-G., finding that his sources had not been misquoted, and being no doubt predisposed towards D.'s sociological and 'functional' approach, allowed himself to overlook the elementary fallacy of the argument.

Although D.-G.'s book is seriously misleading in its uncritical attitude towards D.'s work, it is full of interesting information. Apart from surveying the progress of Western scholars in understanding the Zoroastrian scripture, D.-G. ranges with great versatility and erudition from the Dead Sea Scrolls to Shelley, discussing every reaction of non-Iranians to the

¹ To return to our 'mathematical' simile, the added argument that the composite symbols VI and XI have one sign in common, would be no confirmation of the conclusion previously reached that VI, like XI, represents the number eleven.

² The latest 'confirmation' is D.-G.'s new rendering of the Ahuna Vairya prayer (p. 104, and *Indo-Iranian Journal*, II, 1, 1958, 66 sqq.), for which he relies on H. Humbach's interpretation of *ahū* as an instrumental. To me there can be no doubt that Bartholomae and Benveniste were right in interpreting the word as a nominative co-ordinated with *ratus*; this view is firmly supported by the common Avestan co-ordination of these two nouns, also in the nominative, and by the first sentence of Y 19.12, which D.-G., in his discussion of Y 19.12, has not taken into consideration.

³ On p. 24 of the article referred to above, p. 155, n. 1, scholars who feel unable to subscribe to Dumézilianism are picturesquely described as 'mongrels from every yard and of every colour, yapping at our ankles'.

¹ With regard to the main passage in question, Y 29.3, D.-G. points out quite rightly (p. 45) that I had offered a 'rather desperate' translation as an alternative to the one used by D. However, by refraining from insisting on the latter he implicitly concedes the point I had tried to make, viz. that the verse is unusable for Dumézilian purposes because all translations of it are inevitably 'rather desperate'.

teachings, or supposed teachings, of Zoroaster. His chapters on 'Iran and Greece' and 'Iran, Israel, Gnosticism' will appeal to a wide circle of readers, and can be recommended as a cautious appraisal of the many instances in which Zoroastrian articles of faith have been suspected of having influenced Greek and Jewish thought.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

JOHANNES SCHUBERT and ULRICH SCHNEIDER (ed.): *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. xix, 903 pp., front., 25 plates, 4 maps. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954. DM. 90.

This impressive volume forms a landmark in the field of Asian philological, historical, and religious research in all its ramifications. There are 55 contributions, ranging from 3 to 62 pages. They are preceded by a bibliography, up to 1954, of Professor Weller's larger publications and articles (57 entries) and reviews (111 entries). The great variety of subjects presented in this book is in keeping with the wide range of interest and immense scope of learning emerging from this bibliography. Many articles are comparative and can be classified under different headings. Extensive bibliographies are frequently added. Regrettably enough, it is not possible to give here an adequate account of the enormous richness of information contained in this volume. No doubt scholars in the different fields will critically discuss the various contributions elsewhere. Here only a few indications can be given. According to subjects the articles may be grouped as follows: I, Avesta (3); II, Veda (2); III, Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar (6); Pali (1); IV, Buddhist Sanskrit (6); V, Tibetan (3); VI, Central Asian and Mongolian (9); VII, Sinology, including Chinese Buddhism (10); VIII, Japanology, including Japanese Buddhism (5); IX, history of Buddhism (3); Indian (Buddhist) art (1); X, comparative religion and Indian philosophy (2); Indian medicine, zoology, and botany (4). This order is followed below.

I. E. Benveniste, 'Notes avestiques', discusses the words *hīnu*; *apa-x'anva*; *daya*; *enāvara.bāzura*. W. B. Henning, 'Ein unbeachtetes Wort im Awesta', re-examines the first paragraphs of the Fāvardīn Yašt (13, 2-3) with regard to the word *aēm*. H. Lommel, 'Anahita—Sarasvati', arrives at the conclusion that the Iranian goddess 'Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā' (originally 'Harah-vat') essentially corresponds to the Vedic goddess 'Sarasvati'.

II. R. Hauschild, 'Das Selbstlob (*Ātma-*

stut) des Somaberauchten Gottes Agni', continuing Joh. Hertels' investigations, devotes 42 pp. to a new interpretation of Rgveda x.119. In § 13 of his article, 'Les vers insérés dans la prose védique', L. Renou observes: 'Mais ce qui perçait d'un bout à l'autre de manière souvent dominante, c'est le verset de "brahmodya", qui représente en somme un aspect popularisé de l'hymnologie à énigmes du RV. et de l'AV.'

III. T. Burrow, 'The Sanskrit precativ', investigates relevant grammatical formations in Hittite, Tocharian, Latin, Phrygian, and Old Persian. In his opinion the precativ is not a creation of Sanskrit, analogical or otherwise, but rather an interesting and important archaism which has been preserved. Paul Thieme, 'Die Wurzel vat': one of the conclusions of this (Indo-European) study regarding the root (*api*)*vat* is expressed as follows: 'In Wahrheit ist der Weg von "blasen" zu "inspirieren" und zu "Dichter" ebenso gerade wie kurz. . . . Nicht nur im Lateinischen, Keltischen und Germanischen findet sich die Vorstellung der "Inspiration" ausgedrückt mit dem alten idg. Verb **vat* "blasen", sondern auch im RV und im Avesta . . .'. Hartmut Scharfe, 'Kleine Nachlese zu Kielhorns Übersetzung von Nāgajibhattas Paribhāṣenduśekhara': Kielhorn's translation of this work is a most admirable achievement. However, a few general expressions have been all too vaguely interpreted. The author suggests corrections of the following words: *arthāpatti*, *asāṅgati*, etc., *buddhi*, *vyabhicāra*, *spāṣṭam*. L. Alsdorf, 'Der Vedha in der Vasudevahinī': the use of the Vedha—this peculiar intermediate between normal verse and rhythmic prose—furnishes linguistic evidence for the high antiquity of this Jaina text. Professor Alsdorf has found 260 Vedhas in the Vh. alone, a large number of which are reproduced and discussed. Among the several important conclusions of this article: they show a strong affinity to the material collected by H. Jacobi. They are probably not far removed from the ones found in the classical canon. Gustav Roth, 'Mohanagṛha in Prakrittexten, in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra und in den Annalen des Tābārī': the Vedha is also discussed in this article which clarifies the meaning of *mohanagṛha* and other (architectural) terms. Franklin Edgerton, 'The Middle Indic verb system', once more draws attention to the 'historic fallacy', i.e. the danger of distorting the descriptive pattern of a language under the influence of what is known of its history. Among other things, he lists all the i-aorists mentioned by W. Geiger in his Pali grammar (§ 169) as from the 'athematic conjugation' and supplies for each the thematic

present which is the true base of the i-aorist. (These are, in fact, cited by Geiger himself in other parts of his grammar.) Ulrich Schneider, 'Acht Etymologien aus dem Aggañña-Sutta', discusses the etymologies of the words *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *veśsa*, *sudda*, *mahā-sammata*, *rājan*, *jāyaka*, and *ajjhāyaka* with regard to their probable Middle Indic origin.

IV. Constantin Røgemey, 'Randbemerkungen zur Sprache und Textüberlieferung des Kāraṇḍavyūha', describes and analyses the origin and development of specific linguistic characteristics of the different stages of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Moreover, he gives interesting information about the script peculiarities of Central Asian and the Gilgit MSS on the one hand, and of later Nepalese MSS on the other. There are two articles concerning the *Lalitavistara*. In the first J. W. de Jong, 'L'épisode d'Asita dans le Lalitavistara', examines the two Sanskrit versions (ed. Lefmann, ch. 7, prose and verse) of the story of Asita's visit to King Śuddhodana, comparing them with two deviating Chinese versions (1, by Dharmarakṣa, dated A.D. 308; 2, by Divākara, dated A.D. 683) of which he gives French translations. He further refers to 13 texts of the Chinese Buddhist canon, only four of which mention Nārada. Tracing the vedic and epic (*Mbh.*, XII, 267) origin of this story, he shows that the Buddhists, by identifying Nārada-Narada with the famous Mahākṛtyāyana, have 'Buddhisized' this story. He also mentions some interesting geographical data. In the second article, Walther Schubring, 'Zum Lalitavistara', gives 45 pages of highly useful text-critical corrections, and emendations to Lefmann's edition. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 'The Jātakastava of Jñānaśāśas', produces an accurate text as well as a translation of this elaborate specimen of Buddhist *kāvya* consisting of 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanzas. It was previously transcribed by H. W. Bailey in *BSOS*, IX, 4, 1939. G. Tucci, 'Ratnākaraśānti on Āraya-parāvṛtti', is an edition of the beginning of Ratnākaraśānti's important commentary on the Khasama-Tantra based on two Sanskrit MSS, one palm-leaf, fourteenth to fifteenth century, one paper, discovered by Professor Tucci in Nepal. He has added the Tibetan translation. The text provides important data concerning the 'Bodies of the Buddha'. Ernst Waldschmidt, 'Zum ersten Buddhistischen Konzil in Rājagṛha', gives a transcription as well as a full reconstruction and German translation of two unique Buddhist Sanskrit fragments, written in the so-called later North Turkestan Brāhmī, of two leaves belonging to the same Sarvāstivādin Vinaya MS. It was found in Murtuq and belongs to the MS remnants from East Turkestan.

(Catal. no. M 147; cf. for a similar report, J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, 223 ff., and for the deviating Theravāda account, *Cullavagga*, ed. H. Oldenberg, *The Vinaya piṭaka*, II, ch. xi, xii.)

V. Jacques A. Durr, 'Wie übersetze ich Tibetisch?', analyses and criticizes the work of many scholars. Giving numerous instructive examples, he points out that canonical Tibetan (i.e. classical and literary Tibetan) in its vocabulary and word formations is strongly dependent on Sanskrit. However, in morphology and syntax the verb holds a central and decisive position. Here Tibetan, not influenced by Sanskrit, remains 'sovereign'. Jean Filliozat, 'Un chapitre du Rgyud-bai sur les bases de la santé et des maladies', gives the Tibetan version and a French translation of ch. i, iii of this important medical text the more exact name of which is *Bdud-rci-sñin-po*, *Amṛtahrdaya*. It contains a Buddhist adaptation of ancient Indian medical science. Especially the introduction in which Professor Filliozat discusses the different Buddhist classifications of the maladies (e.g. $404 = 4 \times 101$, see *Atharvaveda*) is very interesting. Johannes Schubert, 'Das Reis-Maṇḍala': the performance of the 'Rice mandala' is a ritual act in the daily lamaistic temple service. The author gives the Tibetan text and German translation dealing with this rite. In his introduction he describes Indian cosmological principles, the Sumeru system, etc., and its 'projection' on the sacrificial disk, i.e. the diagram of the *mandala* used in the temple service.

VI. H. W. Bailey, 'Hārahūpa', introduces into the problem of the history of the 'Hūpa' people some new data which come from Indo-Iranian texts. They must ultimately be considered before a final solution can be reached. He discusses the following words: 1, *karmīr hyōn* 'red Hyōn'; 2, *karmīr* 'red'; 3, *karmīr* and *spē* with Hyōn; 4, *hala*-, *hāra*-; 5, *heina-khoca*; 6, OIONO; 7, *hul*. Walter Couvreur, 'Kutschische Vinaya- und Prātimokṣa-Fragmente aus der Sammlung Hoernle', gives a more up-to-date emended edition and translation of fragments H 149. X.4-5 and of fragment H 149. X.3 which he compares with the Sanskrit fragment published by L. Finot in *JA*, XI. Other fragments are published here for the first time. A most valuable palaeographic study, 'Brāhmī script in Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts', was contributed by the late F. W. Thomas. It comprises the following sections: some developments in India; Indian Brāhmī MSS in Central Asia; succession of stages in the forms of certain *akṣaras*; Gilgit and Bamiyan MSS; Bamiyan, Gilgit, and Kura scripts in Chinese Turkestan; Kuca-Turfan writing

and 'Slanting Gupta'. The knowledge of Tocharian grammar is enriched by the article of Werner Thomas, 'Die Infinitive im Tocharischen' (63 pp.). Erich Haenisch, 'Kapitel XVII von Jalavāhana aus dem Kalmukischen Text des Altan Gerel', provides an edition and German translation of this chapter of the Kalmuck version of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* to which for the introductory and the concluding parts he has added the Sanskrit, Chinese, Uigur, Mongolian, and Tibetan translations. Louis Ligeti, 'Notes sur le colophon du "Yitikan Sudur"', re-examines the interpretations of the colophon of this Uigur translation of the 'Sūtra of the Seven Stars of the Greater Bear'. He reaches new conclusions regarding the date of this and other texts. Annemarie von Gabain, 'Buddhistische Türkenmissionen': quoting numerous sources, the author answers the question when and where the Turks became acquainted with Buddhism and which of their tribes in particular accepted it. P. Poucha, 'Zum Stammbaum des Tschingis Chan': in this genealogical study the author examines many Mongolian and Central Asian textual and linguistic data. He observes that the artificially construed genealogical tree of Gengis Khan contains not only legendary and mythical, but also popular and anecdotal elements. Paul Ratchnevsky, 'Die Mongolischen Grosskhane und die Buddhistische Kirche', gives much interesting information regarding Gengis Khan's successors and their friendly attitude towards the Buddhist Church. He points out that this Church had materially contributed to the impoverishment of the country and the distress of the peasant masses ultimately bringing about the fall of the Yuan dynasty.

VII. Eduard Erkes, 'Das Schaf im alten China': in this historico-sociological and textual study the author traces and describes the origin and economic function of sheep-farming in ancient China as well as its ritualistic-sacrificial significance. Kate Finsterbusch, 'Shan-Hai-Ching, Buch 13: Das Buch vom Osten innerhalb des Meeres': this thirteenth book is of special interest because it is almost entirely of a purely geographical character. It is a *Shui-ching*, a waterbook. Miss Finsterbusch gives a translation as well as the commentary, copious notes, maps, and an index of Chinese geographical names. Herbert Franke, 'Zur Biographie des Pa-Ta Shan-Jen, 八大山人': this article contains an interesting study of the life of the famous seventeenth century painter and poet, the 'Chinese van Gogh', who became a Buddhist monk. It is based on a number of literary biographies including two very important texts hitherto neglected by European

scholars and now for the first time translated. Wolfgang Franke, 'Neuere chinesische Arbeiten zur Geschichte der frühen Ming-Zeit': the author lists three reasons for the relative neglect of historical research regarding the Ming period in China, Japan, and the West. This deficiency is now corrected by a number of recent important Chinese publications which he proceeds to discuss. Walter Fuchs, 'Eine buddhistische Tunhuang Rolle v. J. 673', critically re-examines a Tunhuang MS of Kumārajīva's version of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, found in 1899 in Tientsin. Wilhelm Gundert, 'Die Nonne Liu bei We-sohan': this is an interesting study of Chinese Zen Buddhism based on the author's translation of the 24th chapter of the *Bi-yan-lu* (*Heki-gan-roku*), a collection of *Kōans*. We-sohan (I-san) is the Zen master Ling-yu (Rei-yū) born in 771 or 772 in the province of Fukien. His partner is the militant nun Liu Tia-mo (Ryū Tetsu-ma), i.e. Liu, the iron millstone, who in any debate always had the last word. Fritz Jäger, 'Eine Textdublette im 97. Kapitel des Schi-gi': in this literary-historiographical study the author investigates the problem of the occurrence of two slightly deviating versions of the biography of Li I-gi, a political agent in the service of Han Gau-dsu, in one and the same chapter of the *Schi-gi*. Gunther Köhler, 'Das Mundungsgebiet des Hwang Ho', gives a geographical study (with maps and illustrations) of the estuary of this river, based on personal investigations. Jaroslav Průšek, 'Die Chui-tsi-ahu', describes the popular narrative songs of Ho-nan. He discusses their verse-technical structure and gives interesting information about their socio-political purpose. Ulrich Unger, 'Die Shi-King Zitate in Shuo-Wen und Han-Shi', is a very detailed text-critical study of the *Shi-king*.

VIII. Horst Hammitzsch, 'Chinesisches im Jikkishō, einer didaktischen Schrift der Kamakura Zeit': this extensive article is concerned with the development of Confucianism in Japan. The *Jikkishō* is a didactic treatise which holds a special position. Its purpose is the moral-ethical education of youth. It teaches, among other things, the Confucian doctrines of the *gorin*, the five human relations, and of the *go-jō*, the five cardinal virtues. The author critically analyses this treatise. Otto Karow, 'Das Daidō-ruijuhō — "Klassifizierte Rezepte der Daidō-Periode" und die Reformbestrebungen des Kaisers Heijō': the author describes the Japanese reaction against the all-powerful Chinese cultural (Buddhist, medical, etc.) influence. He discusses the creation of a 'Canon of Japanese medicine' on autochthonous principles as basis of a complete

reorganization of the current medical legislation which was to form part of a wider all-comprising social-political reform during the reign of the Emperor Heijō (A.D. 806-10). Martin Ramming, 'Eine neue Faksimileausgabe aus dem Nachlass des heiligen Nichiren', gives important information concerning the planned Japanese edition of the extant writings of the great Buddhist reformer Nichiren. André Wedemeyer, 'Hitomaro's letzte Liebe': in this long article (62 pp.) the author interprets old Japanese poems from the *Manyōshū*, giving a wealth of historical information. He establishes the identity of Hitomaro as Kakinomoto no Saru. Gunther Wenck, 'Zum Problem der nasalisierten Verschluslaute', is a very useful phonological study.

IX. E. Frauwallner, 'Die Reihenfolge und Entstehung der Werke Dharmakīrti's', contains an important contribution to the history of Buddhist logic. Professor Frauwallner suggests a highly ingenious solution to the problem of the unusual order of the chapters of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* which has puzzled scholars for a long time. It is generally assumed that the entire work is a commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* which comprises six chapters, respectively, on perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*svārthanumāna*), syllogism or proof (*parārthanumāna*), etc. However, the *PV* opens with an extensive disquisition on inference. This is followed by a long introduction dealing with the validity of knowledge (*pramāṇyavāda*, *pramāṇasiddhi*) based on the initial stanza of Dignāga's work in which the Buddha is hailed as *pramāṇabhūta*. Finally, there are two chapters on perception and syllogism. A more natural order would have been: validity of knowledge, perception, inference, and syllogism. On the basis of an internal and comparative analysis of Dharmakīrti's different works and a critical evaluation of relevant data, the author arrives at the following conclusions: Dharmakīrti's earliest work was a treatise full of highly original ideas but still lacking the maturity and clarity of his later writings. In it he examined the logical-causal problems of inference, especially outlining his own theory of *avinābhāva* on which the three kinds of reason or 'ground' are based. Professor Frauwallner calls this treatise '*Hetuprakaranam*'. Subsequently, Dharmakīrti set out to write his very ambitiously conceived commentary, the *PV*. Owing to various reasons, he lost heart and never finished the work as originally planned. However, he added the *Hetuprakarana* as a first chapter which explains the unusual order mentioned above. He then wrote the '*Pramāṇaviniścaya*' in which much of the material of the *PV* is used. This work is

mature and better arranged. Not being a commentary but an independent work, it is less repetitive. Next he wrote—apart from two smaller works, viz. the *Sambandhaparikṣā* and the *Samtānāntarasiddhi*—the important logical treatises *Nyāyabindu*, *Hetubindu*, and *Nyāyavāda* in which he clearly summarized and perfected his logical theories. Etienne Lamotte, 'Sur la formation du Mahāyāna': following a very informative survey of the general characteristics of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Professor Lamotte proceeds to examine the indigenous theories regarding its origin as culled from a large number of texts. In this section he discusses: 1, 'The Preaching' with regard to the *tri-cakra*; 2, the compilation of the *sūtras*; 3, the preservation of the texts and their publication; 4, the spread of Mahāyāna. Next Professor Lamotte examines the arguments in favour of either the Southern or Northern origin of Mahāyāna, taking into consideration, among other texts, the *Mahā-karunāpundarika* which mentions 11 north-west Kuṣāna centres of Mahāyāna 'évangélisation'. This is, up to a certain extent, confirmed by Tāranātha. Professor Lamotte adds three interesting statistical tables, listing the regions, the number of monasteries and monks, both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, one based on Fa-hien (T 2085) and two on Huan-tsang (T 2087). He is inclined to accept a Northern rather than a Southern origin of Mahāyāna, stating that in the course of time the distinction between the two Vehicles tended to disappear. Helmuth von Glasenapp, 'Der Buddhismus in der Vorstellungswelt der Hindus', is an interesting survey of Hindu ideas about Buddhism through the ages. Professor von Glasenapp traces two attitude patterns: 1, a conciliatory, irenic approach in which Hinduism and Buddhism are viewed as two expressions of the same transcendent truth, especially with regard to absolute reality, *karma* theories, salvation, common mythological conceptions, etc.; 2, the more important strongly antagonistic opinions deriving from Vedic orthodoxy, the belief in an enduring, immutable soul as well as in a personal God or World Ruler; and from the Brahmanical institutional structure (caste, etc.). A large number of texts (Pāli, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Vaiṣṇava, modern writings) as well as historical situations are discussed. Significant is the present-day largely favourable attitude. J. Ph. Vogel, 'The past Buddhas and Kāśyapa in Indian art and epigraphy': this highly informative and interesting article was one of the last to be written by the late Professor Vogel. In it a very large number of ancient monuments are described—supplemented by the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims and by epigraphical evidence—which are

indicative of the reverence in which the Indian Buddhists held the past six Buddhas, in particular Kāśyapa, and also the future Buddha Maitreya. He observes that it was probably Buddhahbakti which prompted the devotees to erect these monuments.

X. Siegfried Morenz, 'Ägyptische Ewigkeit des Individuums und indische Seelenwanderung', is concerned with comparative religion as well as historiography. The author discusses the divergent views regarding the *principium individuationis* as found in ancient Egyptian, Greek (Herodotus, etc.), Hebrew, and Indian sources. He is convinced that there is a connexion between the belief in the eternity of the individual soul and far-reaching exact historical traditions on the one hand and the belief in the migration of the soul and the lack of such historical traditions on the other hand. Walter Ruben, 'Hegel über die Philosophie der Inder': Professor Ruben has collected a large number of significant passages regarding Indian philosophy and religion from Hegel's various works which he evaluates from the Marxist point of view. He discusses: philosophy and religion, philosophy and science, methodical questions, mythological presuppositions, the beginning of philosophy, freedom and philosophy, oriental philosophy, Sāmkhya, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and Hegel's general approach to Indian philosophy. Willibald Kirfel, 'Ein medizinisches Kapitel des Garuḍapurāṇas': following the principles outlined in his *Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* Professor Kirfel gives an edition and German translation (based on four printed editions) of this medical chapter of the *GP*, which, among other things, is important with regard to the history of its textual development. He has been able to separate the original text from later secondary additions. Moreover, Professor Kirfel has given a critical analysis of this interesting text which is mainly concerned with the process of human birth in all its stages. Reinhold F. G. Müller, 'Soma in der altindischen Heilkunde': in this elaborately annotated study the author gives a translation of the hitherto neglected 29th *adhya*ya regarding Soma (*cikitsita* 27-30) of the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, comparing it with relevant passages from the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, the *Satapathabrāhmaṇa* (IV, 5, 10), etc. Joseph Friedrich Kohl, 'Einige Bemerkungen zu den Tierlisten des Jüdischen Kanons': this is an interesting and detailed description of some remarkable zoological conceptions as found especially in the Jaina *Uttarādhyāyana* (ch. 36), the *Jīvabhigamasūtra*, and *Prajñāpanā*. Wilhelm Rau, 'Lotusblumen', attempts to arrive at a better botanical identification than usually given in the Sanskrit dictionaries (and *kosas*) of flowers mentioned in *kāvya* works. The author lists a very large number of names

(from *abja* to *harmakamala*). He discusses the Indian criteria of classification.

D. FRIEDMAN

KARL H. POTTER (ed. and tr.): *The Padārthatattvanirūpanam of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (A demonstration of the true nature of the things to which words refer)*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, xvii.) ix, 102 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 40s.)

In spite of the brevity of the text, this is a work of considerable philosophic importance. Raghunātha was one of the most outstanding of the Navya-nyāya writers, and the present work shows marked originality in many places. Dr. Potter's introduction, and his commentary (based on the published Sanskrit commentaries, but adding much stimulating discussion of his own) make the difficult and condensed Sanskrit of the original readily accessible; and even those who may ultimately disagree with some of his interpretations will be indebted to his analysis.

The translation of *padārtha* in the title as 'the things to which words refer', in place of the traditionally adopted term 'categories', will probably arouse some opposition (and Dr. Potter will have expected this). He explains (pp. 4-5) that the 'things' are not what we ordinarily mean by 'things', and that the word 'refer' is used in a technical sense. Even so, we may wonder whether the translation is not too etymological. The use of 'trope' to translate *guṇa*, instead of the rather misleading term 'quality', has something to recommend it; but 'element' for *brūti* may be a little misleading, especially as 'elemental' is used for *bhūta*, *bhautika*. Perhaps 'molecule' would still serve here, and would be no more misleading than 'atom' for *anu*.

A difficult passage occurs on p. 33: *īśvarasya ca parimānavatīve mānābhāvaḥ dravyatvasya brūtiśvāder iva parimāṇasyāsādhakatvāt. tasya cāparimitāvṛtistvam asiddham*. This is translated as: 'Further (there is) no proof (that) god possesses dimension, for (his) being a substance can no (more) prove (that he has) dimension (than it can prove that he) is an element. And (the argument that god) has unmeasurable non-residence (is) unproved'. The comment is added: 'To say something has "unmeasurable non-residence" is to say that one cannot find a place where it doesn't reside'. Without being at all certain that it is

correct, I would suggest the following interpretation for consideration. The passage follows the discussion of atoms (*anu*), rejected by Raghunātha, and molecules (*brūhi*), which he accepts. It may be therefore that he wishes to attribute infinitesimal size to the molecules, and infinitely great size to god; and the passage could be understood to mean this if we interpret *parimāna* as 'finite size'. If then we take *brūhivāder iva* as parallel to *dravyat-vasya* rather than to *parimānasya*, the sentence could be translated as: 'There is no proof that god possesses finite size, since the fact of being a *dravya* is not sufficient to prove finite size, any more than the fact of something being a molecule (or *paramānu* or *dravyanuka*) will prove that the molecule, etc., has finite size'. (A still better sense could be obtained if we could take *brūhivāder* as parallel to *īśvarasya*: 'for being a *dravya* does not prove finite size for god any more than being a *dravya* proves finite size for a molecule'. For this, however, we would have expected simply *brūhivāder*.) In the final sentence *aparimīta* would then mean, strictly, 'non-finite'. This, however, is ambiguous. Dr. Potter has apparently taken it as 'infinitely small'. But if we take it as 'infinitely large' (which is also more in accord with the ordinary meaning of *aparimīta*, 'unlimited'—also, incidentally, the ordinary sense of 'unmeasurable'), we can translate: 'and his unlimited non-occurrence (i.e., his zero-occurrence) would be an illegitimate conclusion (*asiddham*)'. The argument would then be, in effect, that finite extent is not proved, zero-occurrence would be *ex hypothesi* absurd, and therefore there is no objection to an all-pervading character. Raghunātha's only quarrel with the old school on this point would then be the application of the term *parimāna*. Even in the absence of a mathematical theory of infinity, he appears to have felt instinctively that there was something unsatisfactory in this usage.

J. BROUGH

T. V. MAHALINGAM: *South Indian polity*. (Madras University Historical Series, No. 21.) x, 475 pp. Madras: University of Madras, 1955. Rs. 13.

Though much has been written on ancient and medieval South India, Professor Mahalingam's book is, as far as we know, the first to deal with South Indian polity as a single whole. It covers a period of over a millennium and a half, from the early empire of the Śātavāhanas in the Deccan to the fall of Vijayanagara, and it exploits a very wide range of sources, in more than half a dozen languages. These have been made to yield

something of a coherent picture of a political system which, despite regional and temporal differences, had a special character of its own.

After a general introduction a lengthy chapter discusses kingship, covering such aspects of the subject as the duties and rights of kings, succession to the throne, and court life. In this chapter the difficulty of treating 1,500 years of history as a single whole is very apparent. Though certain continuities can be traced between the kings of the Eight Tamil Anthologies, who were often little more than tribal or quasi-feudal chieftains and were publicly criticized by wandering bards, and the great emperors of Cōlamanḍalam and Vijayanagara, divine or semi-divine in the eyes of their subjects, and divided from them by a rigid system of court ceremonial, the contrast between the two systems of monarchy is perhaps not sufficiently clear to the reader without much background knowledge. Confusion and misunderstanding are likely to be caused in the mind of the uninitiated reader by jumping from the Vijayanagara empire back over a thousand years to the days of the Eight Anthologies (e.g. as on p. 289). As this book will probably be read by students of political science without much knowledge of the history of the region, a brief historical outline at the beginning of the work, or at least a table of the main dynasties and dates, would have been helpful.

The third chapter is entitled 'The imperial council and secretariat'. Though Professor Mahalingam employs such anachronisms as 'secretariat' and 'portfolio', and once (p. 116) even uses the word 'cabinet', he is under no illusions that the ministerial council was normally capable of initiating legislation or functioned in the manner of the modern cabinet. His handling of the 'Five Great Assemblies' of ancient Tamil tradition (pp. 103-4) is markedly cautious in comparison with the treatment of some earlier scholars. It may be doubted that the minister of state was always granted the freedom of action that Professor Mahalingam claims for him. The statement that 'he was to be trusted fully with his work and not interfered with by the king' (p. 135) is based on a single elliptical verse in the *Kuraḷ* (v. 517). The spirit of the *Arthaśāstra*, which was not unimportant in South India, rather encouraged the reverse, and the complex system of 'red tape' which characterized the administration of the imperial Cōlas was hardly conducive to initiative on the part of ministers and officials.

In this chapter Professor Mahalingam has done much to elucidate the bewildering official terminology of South Indian inscriptions. It should be noted, however, that the *dauvārika* must have been more than a doorkeeper, if

this officer was a member of the ministerial council of the Eastern Cālukyas, together with the chief minister, the court *purohita*, the general, and the heir-apparent (p. 109). We would draw attention to the *dvārapati* or *dvāreśa* of the Kashmir Chronicle, who was the officer in charge of the defence of the frontiers. In dealing with the term *dandanāyaka* Professor Mahalingam recognizes that the distinctions between civil and military and between executive, administrative, and judicial aspects of the state, which play a great part in modern political theory, were hardly existent in early India (pp. 117 ff.). The *mahāsāndhivigrahika*, whose title he sometimes translates literally as 'minister of peace and war' and sometimes as 'foreign minister', was only the approximate counterpart of the foreign minister of modern statecraft. The *mahāsāndhivigrahika* accompanied the king on campaign, and was at the same time responsible for drafting the royal land-grants, and putting them into effect. He seems to have had general advisory and administrative responsibilities, besides his special concern with peace and war. Similarly the term *dandanāyaka* implies more than a military officer. It seems that often these terms were used as titles of honour and were indications of rank, rather than of function. Professor Mahalingam recognizes that military and civil responsibilities were often combined, but suggests that this was due chiefly to the peculiar conditions of medieval South India. In fact the same system seems to have prevailed at all times in India, from the age of the Mauryas down to that of the Mughals.

The fourth chapter, on income and expenditure, reviews the evidence on the taxation system of the state. On this subject South India provides much more material for study than the north, but it is still inadequate to determine with certainty the incidence of taxation on the peasant in any of the kingdoms of the time. Professor Mahalingam makes no attempt to conceal the fact that taxation was often oppressive (pp. 185 ff.), and refers to interesting records of sturdy resistance on the part of caste councils and village communes to extortionate demands; Northern India can provide nothing comparable to the councils of the right and left hand castes in the South, which formed states within states, and were sometimes influential enough in combination to enforce their will on the king's government in matters of taxation. On the system of land survey the statement that land was assessed to the 1/52,428,800,000 of a *veli* (p. 157) can hardly have been true in actual practice, though some kings may have claimed this minute accuracy for their surveying; whatever the size of the *veli* the area concerned could only have been a very minute fraction

of an inch, which would be ignored even in present-day surveying with the most accurate instruments.

Chapter v, entitled 'Law, justice, and police', contains much information concerning the administration of justice, legal procedure, and punishment, obtained especially from numerous inscriptions recording the settlement of disputes and the punishment of crime. Specially interesting is the discussion of compacts and treaties between local chiefs among themselves, and between chiefs and village communes or townships (pp. 244 ff.). The evidence points to conditions in some ways similar to those of early medieval Europe, and suggests that further comparative study would be valuable.

The next chapter, on military organization, war, and diplomacy, is equally useful and interesting. The period covered by Professor Mahalingam was one of almost continuous rivalry for the hegemony of South India, and the military aspects of its history show many interesting features. The remarkable military corporations, such as the famous *Vēlaikkārar*, who are met both in South India and Ceylon, are a special characteristic of medieval South Indian warfare. The exact status of these corporations is not fully explained, and Professor Mahalingam is himself unable to throw much fresh light on their character. In one place he describes them as probably 'a volunteer force enlisted when any occasion (*vēlai*) arose' (p. 258). A little later he seems dissatisfied with this obvious etymological interpretation and refers to the *Vēlaikkārar* as possibly 'some sort of local militia of the organized type'; but in the next sentence it is suggested that they were 'some sort of a regular standing army quartered in various places and ready for service at any time' (p. 259). From the references to these people in the literature and inscriptions of Ceylon it seems to us that they were mercenaries who served the kings as a corporation under contract. Though in Ceylon they were sometimes settled in special villages and probably inherited membership of the corporation from their fathers, they evidently did not form a caste in the true sense, for Professor Mahalingam shows that they accepted new members into their ranks from various castes (p. 259). The evidence from Ceylon would show that they had a degree of independence of the state which often made them potential dangers to their nominal masters, and we have pointed out elsewhere¹ that their undertaking the protection of temples, though expressed in superficially loyal and pious terms, may well

¹ *Ceylon Historical Journal*, iv, 1954-5, 19-20,

have been in fact a form of gangsterism. We do not believe that our conclusion is invalidated by the literary sources adduced by Professor Mahalingam, which refer to loyal *Vēḷaikkārar*, pledged to die for their king.

In dealing with naval warfare Professor Mahalingam makes but modest claims for South India, and recognizes that the Indian shipping of the medieval period was by no means as impressive in size or performance as some authors maintain (p. 279). Despite the naval achievement of Rājendra I Cōla it is indeed doubtful whether any Indian kingdom maintained a maritime navy in the modern sense of the term. There was little if any difference between merchantmen and vessels of war, and probably the former were used for naval purposes (p. 280). Such, we believe, was also generally the case in medieval England.

Chapter VII treats of provincial administration, and contains an interesting study of the nomenclature of provincial and local divisions, followed by a discussion of the system of administration, which showed some variations, but at most times tended to take on a quasi-feudal character. Specially interesting is the study of the *nāyankāra* system of Vijayanagara (pp. 320 ff.), for which considerable evidence exists from various sources, and which is compared in detail with European feudalism (pp. 327 ff.).

On local government, the subject of the final chapter, much interesting material has survived from the Cōla empire. This has been thoroughly studied already by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, but Professor Mahalingam is by no means slavishly dependent on the great master of South Indian historical studies, and makes several significant points of his own. A further interesting comparison is made between the Cōla village communes, the transactions of which are still to be found recorded on the walls of many temples, and the townships of Saxon England (p. 335). The tendency towards the development of autonomous local bodies under the Cōlas might, in different circumstances, have led to the growth of municipalities not unlike those of medieval Europe, and even to the positive limitation of the power of the king. Why local self-government in South India failed to develop from these beginnings is an interesting subject of speculation.

This is not to say that the communities of craftsmen and traders were feeble or unimportant in South India. Very interesting is Professor Mahalingam's discussion of the guilds and mercantile corporations, especially of the latter. The great *Manigrāmam* corporation, records of which are to be found far and wide in South India and even in Ceylon and Thailand, seems to have had the makings of a

Hanseatic League, but, like the village communes, it did not achieve the autonomous status of its medieval European counterpart. The character and functions of the *Manigrāmam* and of similar South Indian corporations of merchants are still far from clear, and there is scope for further research on them. With its own military forces, and enjoying great power and prestige, the *Manigrāmam* suggests an organization rather like the East India Companies of later times. But it seems never to have carried on trade in a corporate capacity, but merely to have provided facilities and protection for the private trading ventures of its members.

In this last chapter Professor Mahalingam briefly considers the vexed question of land ownership. Earlier, in his treatment of *nāyankāra*, he states that the king was the ultimate owner of the soil (p. 328), on the testimony of Nuniz, the Portuguese envoy to Vijayanagara. Later (pp. 360 ff.), in treating of village corporations, he seems to reject this view, adducing in support a passage from Mādhava's *Jaiminiya-nyāyamālā-vistara*,¹ where it is explicitly stated that the king cannot give away the land of his kingdom, because it is common property. In practice, as foreign travellers from Megasthenes to Nuniz attest, the king normally looked on himself as the final owner of all the land in his kingdom.

We conclude with the consideration of two or three minor points raised by the work under review.

While Professor Mahalingam's treatment of his sources is in general critical and scholarly we believe that nobody but a Tamil would adduce facts of political history from *Cilappatikāram*. We are gravely told that 'when Madurai passed through a period of interregnum as a result of the Pāndyan king's death closely following the execution of Kōvalan, the administration of the kingdom was temporarily in the hands of a body of five . . .' (p. 102). It is true that Tamil scholars admitted that this beautiful poem, ascribed to Naṅkōvaṭikal, a princely contemporary of the events referred to, is a *psuedoepigraphon*. Netuñceliyaṇ, the wicked Pāndya king of the story, is referred to more than once in the literature of the Anthologies, while language, style, and content prove that *Cilappatikāram* is a much later work.

A strange interpretation of the compound *tirumandira-ōlai* is propounded by Professor Mahalingam, who tells us that 'the latter term means palm leaf and *māndram* means Council. Thus the compound would mean an

¹ Anandāśrama Series, Poona, 1892, p. 358. For further consideration of this topic see our review of J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas*, below.

order of the king and his Council' (p. 138). We can find no justification for this translation of *mandiram*, which must either mean a palace or temple or be the equivalent of the Sanskrit *mantra*. If taken as the latter it may mean 'counsel', and it is possible that the author has confused the two homophonous English words. The term does not necessarily imply that the order was issued by the king and his ministers acting jointly, but merely that it was issued after deliberation or consultation; alternatively it may merely mean that the document emanated from the royal palace.

In stating (p. 199) that Manu, in a famous passage (VII, 18) 'deifies danda as a goddess', Professor Mahalingam is probably thinking of the fierce form of Kālī. In fact the word *danda* is grammatically masculine and punishment is personified by Manu as a god. The concept of the red-eyed Danda stalking the land in search of sinners seems to have been influenced by the Yama of Epic mythology. This is indicated by the verse in question, which states that wise men know Danda to be Dharma; Yama was commonly referred to as Dharmarāja.

Our criticisms of points of detail do not lessen our admiration of this very valuable work, the product of years of devoted study. Professor Mahalingam's style is simple and lucid, and has few idiomatic inaccuracies. Printing, format, and proof-reading are good by Indian standards. The book concludes with a lengthy bibliography and a most useful and detailed analytical index, such as is rarely to be found nowadays, when often even major works of scholarship are produced in a hurry.

A. L. BASHAM

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT: *The Hoysālas: a medieval Indian royal family*. xx, 257 pp., 5 plates. Madras: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1957. 21s.

This book traces the history of an important medieval dynasty of the Deccan from its modest beginnings through the period of its greatness to its inglorious end. Because of the comparative abundance of their records the history of the Hoysālas can be reconstructed in considerable detail; for this reason among others, as Dr. Derrett suggests (p. 3), they may be looked on as a paradigm of other Indian dynasties of the period which are less well documented.

The work is written in graceful English, with an infectious enthusiasm which makes the dry bones of Indian dynastic history live; the

accounts of the many campaigns of the Hoysālas are made interesting not only to the professional historian of India who has acquired a taste for Hindu dynastic history, but also to the reader with a modicum of background knowledge. The general impression given by the book is of restraint and caution in the handling of the material. The author has evidently excellent linguistic equipment, and a thorough mastery of his sources, and the reader feels general confidence in his conclusions, even when it is impossible to check them.

Descending from the hills of West Mysore around the beginning of the eleventh century, and gathering power in the plain, the Hoysālas, at first often loosely feudatory to the Cālukya emperors, saw their greatest glory in the last quarter of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth, under the reign of Ballāḷa II, and then entered on a steady decline, which ended in 1343 with the rise of the empire of Vijayanagara and the death of the last Hoysāla of significance, Ballāḷa III, at the hands of Ghūyās ud-dīn, the ruler of the ephemeral sultanate of Madura. The decline and fall of the Hoysālas is attributed by Dr. Derrett, we believe with good reason, to their preoccupation with gaining and holding territory in the Kāvērī Valley, which began in 1218 with the expedition led by the Crown Prince Nārasimha, son of Ballāḷa II, to aid the declining Cōlas against the rising Pāṇdyas. The acquisitions in the Tamil country led to the Hoysālas shifting their interest and attention to the south, to the weakening and impoverishment of the heart of their kingdom, the region of Kārnāṭaka, and to their ultimate destruction. This southward expansion which was so baneful in its effects is aptly called by Dr. Derrett 'the aberration', and his analysis of the causes and results of this diversion of Hoysāla effort is among the most valuable and interesting parts of his book.

The work has one outstanding defect, which, as will be realized by any readers who have seen the original thesis on which it is based, is not the fault of the author, but of the publishers—it does not contain full references to the sources. The Indian college student for whom it is largely intended may not find this a serious shortcoming, but the research student is put to the utmost difficulty by the absence of full references for most of the author's statements. Admittedly an excellent bibliography is provided, and occasionally a reference is given to a very knotty passage, but in general there is either no clue, or only an incomplete one, to the source of a given statement. As the corpus of Hoysāla inscriptions is so large, and as these documents are to be found scattered throughout the twelve volumes of

Epigraphia Carnatica, with others in *Epigraphia Indica* and other publications, the historian who wishes to trace the author's reconstruction of Hoysala history to its sources is faced with immense labour. Moreover, though positively established facts are usually distinguished from inferences and hypotheses, it is not always quite clear which is which, and without indication of the source it is almost impossible for the student to determine the comparative reliability of a given statement, or the degree of hypothesis which it contains. In a work which otherwise might serve as a model for future writers of Hindu dynastic history the absence of references is lamentable.

In these circumstances it is impossible for the reviewer who has not himself carried on research on the same topic to check the details of Dr. Derrett's reconstruction of Hoysala history without an inordinate expense of time and labour. Hence we confine our criticism chiefly to topics of general significance.

Dr. Derrett defends the view that the Hindu king was looked on as the ultimate owner of the land, against numerous Indian authorities who reject it (pp. 233-5). We agree with most of what he says, but his attempt to explain away a crucial passage in Mādhava's *Nyāya-mūla-vistara* seems to us unconvincing. The fact that most writers on *arthaśāstra* and *smṛti* maintained that the king was the owner of all the land and water in his kingdom does not necessarily entail the corollary that all of them held this view. As we have briefly pointed out elsewhere,¹ a famous story of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii, 21, 8) describes the Earth herself as declaring angrily that she is common property, and that no king has the right to give her away. This dictum, propounded at a time when tribal chieftains, in the process of becoming territorial monarchs, were arrogating to themselves more and more rights over the properties and lives of their subjects, was by the medieval period a dead letter; but the Mīmāṃsā school, maintaining as it did the complete authority of the whole of the Vedic literature, could hardly ignore the explicit instructions of the Earth-goddess, and hence certain Mīmāṃsaka lawyers, against the general trend of learned opinion, rejected the doctrine of the royal ownership of land, claiming that the king's rights were limited to the levying of taxes therefrom. Dr. Derrett interprets the passage in question as merely implying that the king has not the right to give away the whole kingdom, as distinct from 'parcels of land which he holds privately'. But here he has virtually conceded Mādhava's

case. The argument rests to a large extent on the exact connotations of such Sanskrit words as *svāmin* and *pati*, and for that matter of the English word 'owner', which we have neither the space nor the qualifications to consider. But the fact remains that legendary stories, not to speak of passages in *prabandhis*, of which Dr. Derrett himself mentions a Hoysala example (p. 235, n.), show that many kings did consider themselves competent to give away their whole kingdoms, though we have no reliable case of their having done so, except through *force majeure*. It was this theoretical competence that Mādhava opposed, but it is quite clear that most Hindu lawyers of early times would not have agreed with him.

A further passage, referred to by Dr. Derrett (p. 234), from Nilakanṭha's *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* declares explicitly that the *svatva* in individual villages exists in the *bhāumikas*, and not in the king, who has only the right to collect taxes. It is pointed out that the exact meaning of *svatva* and the exact character of the *bhāumikas* are 'not insignificantly vague'. But, whatever the implications of these two words, it is evident that the *svatva* of the *bhāumika* in the land is, in the view of Nilakanṭha, more fundamental than that of the king, and that the *bhāumika* is not the king. We cannot interpret this passage otherwise than as implying that Nilakanṭha believed that the king was not the ultimate owner of the land. This, however, does not in any way invalidate the numerous other texts, some of them adduced by Dr. Derrett, which point to a contrary conclusion. In ancient and medieval India, as elsewhere, it was possible for opinions to differ. It is noteworthy that the lawyers who maintain most clearly and explicitly the limitations of the king's ownership of land, as against Manu's even more explicit *bhūmer adhipatir hi sa* (VIII, 39), are late—writers of the period when Mauryan centralization was largely forgotten and the quasi-feudal state system of medieval India was well established. By this time, moreover, an owner's rights over many types of property were limited by law and custom. The legends of Śunahśepa and of Vessantara, together with several passages from early *sūtras*, show that parents in very ancient days often had almost unlimited rights over their children, and husbands over their wives, while cow-slaughter was quite legitimate. But in later times the husband had no right to give his wife away, and the peasant could not legally kill his cow. The former parallel is particularly significant, for the king was often looked on as the husband of the personified earth. Though the king was the owner, the *pati*, *adhipati*, *svāmi*, or *prabhu*, of his kingdom, his rights, in theory if not in practice, were not absolute, any more than

¹ *The wonder that was India* (London, 1964), 109-10.

were those of a husband (to whom the same terms were applied) over his wife. From such limitations on the king's ownership of the land as are laid down by Mādhava it was but a short step to the explicit statement of Nīlakaṇṭha, writing when most of India was in Muslim hands, to the effect that the king had no ownership of the land whatever, but owned only the taxes levied from it.

On one further aspect of his view of Hindu kingship we would mildly disagree with Dr. Derrett. He tells us that the Hindu king 'was not, of course, despite his epithet *deva*, considered to be a divine personage, though on account of common attributes he was constantly compared with the god Viṣṇu' (p. 2). This may have been true of the Hoysaḷas, but we do not believe that it was universally so. The famous passage of Manu (vii, 3-8) can hardly be misinterpreted—the king contains eternal particles of the *Lokapālas* and is a great divinity in human form. That there were other great divinities in human form, such as exceptionally learned brahmins or exceptionally devout ascetics, in no way lessens the divinity of the early Hindu king, in a culture with a very different concept of divinity from that maintained in lands of which the traditional religions derive ultimately from the rigid monotheism of post-exilic Judaism. Moreover in a well-known passage of his *Kādambarī*¹ Bāṇa shows us quite clearly that some Hindu kings were persuaded by sycophants to take their divinity very seriously indeed!

Dr. Derrett shows such mastery of Canarese and Sanskrit that we hesitate to criticize him in this respect, but we must record our doubts about his interpretation of the strange epithet *munda*, applied in an inscription to the early Hoysaḷa king Nrpa Kāma (p. 21). He quotes Kittel's Canarese dictionary for its possible meanings—'bald, shaved, base, and deprived of a limb'. It is improbable that the king was a 'shaveling' or Jain monk, and equally unlikely that the word was intended as a term of abuse, since the respected ancestor of the line would hardly be referred to thus in an inscription of a later king of the dynasty. 'On the whole', we are told, 'it seems most likely that he had lost a limb in battle, a notable mutilation which would occasion comment in a world of orthodox Jains, who appear to have had a horror of bodily defects.' Theoretically a king with a serious bodily defect was debarred from ruling, and on this fact the whole legality of the cause of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata* hinges. Certainly Hindus as well as Jains had a horror of persons seriously mutilated, especially of kings in this condition. It seems to us hardly likely that a

defect as grave as this would be recorded in a panegyric. The scars of battle are often referred to, but we know of no *prabasti* wherein so inauspicious and incapacitating a mutilation as the loss of a limb is mentioned. There are good and unambiguous words, moreover, implying 'deprived of a limb' (*vikala*, *vyanga*, etc.). *Munda*, which is not really a Canarese word at all, but a Sanskrit loan-word, has as its first and normal meaning 'shaven' or 'bald'; it is used in the Veda in the sense of 'hornless', when referring to cattle, and thence by analogy it may mean 'lopped' of a tree¹; 'deprived of a limb' is a tertiary and evidently poetic application of the word, and if this had been the intention of the inscription one would expect *munda* to have been qualified in some way (e.g. *angamunda*). We believe that Nrpa Kāma's defect was no more serious than baldness. That minor physical defects were sometimes taken lightly by kings is evident from the case of the younger brother of Pulakeśin II Cālukya, the founder of the line of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi, who is referred to as Kuḇja-Viṣṇuvardhana on account of his hunched shoulders.

As the reader of this review will notice, our criticisms, though lengthy, are few in number, and, with one exception, refer only to minor points. In fact this is an excellent monograph, erudite and well written, and satisfactorily produced.

A. L. BASHAM

J. J. POORTMAN: *Ochēma: geschiedenis en zin van het hylisch pluralisme (het z.g. dualistisch materialisme). II. Het hylisch pluralisme in het Oosterse denken.* 171 pp., front., 3 plates. Assen: van Gorcum & Co. N.V., 1958. Guilders 8.50.

This book, dealing with 'hylie pluralism in Eastern thought', constitutes the second part of a greater work and deals mainly (pp. 17-134) with Indian thought and to a smaller extent also with Chinese thought (pp. 134-54). The author is interested in a problem which is partly of a philosophical nature: whether there exists, particularly in living bodies, a subtle kind of matter. In *Ochēma*, I (Assen, 1954) in the first part (introduction) there has been no attempt to clarify the concepts utilized or to discuss the philosophical problems which arise (e.g. those about the kinds of being we

¹ Tr. C. M. Ridding, London, 1896, p. 82.

¹ Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English dictionary*, s.v.

are talking about and the way we can talk about them), but the author has entered into subdivisions of the *pneuma* and he has given an enumeration of possible philosophical positions with regard to 'subtle matter' (standpoints *alpha-zeta*). In *Ochiêma*, II, he engages upon a historical survey of the occurrences of subtle matter, whilst applying the system of six standpoints set up in advance.

As this second part is called a 'history of hylic pluralism', one does not expect a further philosophical discussion (which is reserved for the third part); hence the approach is not philosophical. But as a historical investigation (II, 14) the work cannot be expected to interpret philosophies or assess the relative importance of their aspects adequately, if it sets out within a specific frame of reference and searches for predetermined phenomena; and so it does. The result is a sometimes interesting collection of references and an amount of information, which is, however, not sufficiently new and hitherto unknown to warrant the author's contention of dealing with a neglected chapter of human thought.

The historical part might be nevertheless valuable to historians of thought, if the frame of thought adopted by the author were sufficiently wide and pliable to serve as a tool for the interpretation of Oriental philosophies. But it generally happens that whoever sets up a framework of categories *a priori* for interpreting other philosophies, is unaware of the philosophical background of the system itself. In fact, the author does not seem to have turned inward into his own presuppositions, as a philosopher may be expected to do. The result of a closer scrutiny is, that the six metaphysical standpoints reveal themselves as being conceived of from a point of view, which is close to the Cartesian dualism of matter and consciousness or of body and mind. It is clear that the author himself does not sympathize with this view—the *epsilon* standpoint—as he evidently does with the psychical monism of the *zeta* standpoint. But his classification is based upon the accepted possibility of this dichotomy, also wherever he rejects it. In addition, his categories reflect the material realm in as far as they presuppose the idea of matter as an indisputable but unclarified entity, and add to it several substances, constituted along the lines of matter itself. If the spiritual is not characterized in itself as a 'different' kind of being, it is mere words to say that God is spirit, or is matter; and this holds for subtle matter, unless analysed and clarified, too. In such a set-up, too, one wonders whether there is any difference between the *alpha* standpoint (monistic materialism) and the *zeta* standpoint (monistic spiritualism).

The point of view, which is at the bottom of the classification of the six standpoints, manifests itself occasionally, e.g. where the author defines metaphysics as a science dealing 'with being, reality, as well in the deepest sense concerning the absolute, as also concerning the relation of mind and matter' (I, 51, n. 1). Such a philosophical approach betrays a lack of acquaintance with the standards of critical thinking evolved in modern philosophy. The author does not merely fail to see that it is dangerous to transfer the categories of matter and the outside world (substance, etc.) to 'soul' (a problem dealt with by some existentialists), but he also transfers them to yet another realm: that of subtle matter. Likewise, he does not merely accept a substance view, which may be the outcome of our linguistic habits and structure (a problem dealt with by some analytical philosophers), but he also hypothesizes (i.e., substantializes) terms of our language which may originally have been nothing but images or symbolical representations.

Thus, the author speaks in general about subtle materiality in the way in which one is used to speaking about materiality, and in particular about the vehicle of the soul, as if it really were a kind of vehicle. His assertions, that we are dealing in this context not with a different kind of matter, but with a different kind of materiality (for this is what the elucidations of I, 26-9, amount to), do not dispel the difficulties.

Such a foundation may not be sufficiently solid to evolve correct interpretations of Oriental thought. We may limit ourselves to a few remarks concerning the interpretations of Indian philosophy. The author himself is aware of the fact that some of his interpretations, not being based upon primary sources, may be erroneous, and he says, referring to the vastness of the field he deals with: 'We do hope that specialists in the various fields will take this into account, if they feel like criticizing details' (I, 77). But it may not be merely a criticism of detail, if it be remarked that the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara (which the author looks upon as the most important of Indian philosophies and refers to as Vedānta), is not an extreme spiritual monism, coinciding with the *zeta* standpoint (II, 87-8). Advaita is rightly called monism, or rather: non-dualism, but it is not spiritualism (as suggested by *saccidānanda*): Śaṅkara did not know the matter/spirit dichotomy and was not in a position to identify *brahman* with one of these terms. The author interprets Śaṅkara's doctrine as a kind of philosophy akin to Heymans' psychical monism, in a way similar to Deussen, who interpreted Advaita as sub-

jective idealism, because he started with the subject/object dichotomy in the Kantian-Schopenhauerian sense. The latter interpretation is incorporated by the author too (II, 85-6).

Where the author discusses the Advaitic doctrine of the subtle body, he does not see what is the really characteristic and interesting contribution of Śaṅkara. This is partly due to the fact that he has formerly passed by the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, which is called 'more a doctrine concerning *dharma* and rites than a purely philosophical thought structure' (II, 73-4; also II, 22), and which can hence be left out of consideration. Śaṅkara, on the other hand, discusses the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā view of Jaimini, 'that the released person possesses a body and sense-organs as well as a mind' (*manovaccharirasyāpi sēndriyasya bhāvam muktam: Sūtrabhāṣya*, 4.4.11). He differs from this view himself, because he claims absolute freedom for the liberated soul: 'when he wishes to have a body, he appears with one; when he wishes to be disembodied, he is without one' (*yadā aśarīratām samkalpayati tadā aśarīro bhavati, yadā tv aśarīratām tadā'śarīra īti*: id., 4.4.12). This view does also clearly show how Śaṅkara does not adhere to an ideal of disembodied spirituality, but to an ideal of a type of freedom, which excludes all limitation.

There are some inaccuracies and misinterpretations in the author's sketches of earlier phases of Indian thought, e.g. the *Upaniṣads* (which are sometimes called primitive, sometimes not quite primitive), or the Śāṅkhya (criticized on account of its plurality of *puruṣas*, which constitutes, however, no flaw in the system if judged on its own merits—the real difficulty lying in the concept of *puruṣārthatā*). The omission of a discussion of the Yoga system (referred to, II, 22 and 55), which possesses elaborate doctrines concerning the subtle body, can hardly be justified. In the review of Buddhist doctrines, which is relatively elaborate, it is dangerous to speak about Buddhism as a whole and in general, and to consider as the most typical school Japanese Zen Buddhism—characterized in a way which applies equally well to Advaita.

These few remarks are not intended to minimize the appreciation a reader feels for the author's inclusion of many Eastern doctrines in his historical survey. It is gratifying to note that the Orient is no longer excluded from investigations of a philosophical nature. The above may serve to stress the fact that Indian and Chinese philosophies should be studied with care and exactitude in order that they may be treated by Western philosophers with the esteem they deserve.

J. F. STAAL

K. M. KAPADIA: *Marriage and family in India. Second edition.* xxxii, 318 pp. Bombay: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1958. 27s. 6d.

The Reader in Sociology in the University of Bombay, well-known author of *Hindu kinship*, is heartily to be congratulated on the deserved appearance of a second edition of this work, which has not been reviewed before in *BSOAS*. In this edition additions have been made to record some of the legislative changes that occurred between 1955 and 1958, though it is still too early to attempt a sociological survey of the effects of that legislation.

The great merit of the book is its courageous attempt to depict the Hindu, the tribal, and the Muslim family in an historical as well as analytical perspective. We often find good describers of actual Hindu families, for example, and there are some faithful exponents of the ancient Hindu atmosphere: but both skills are not normally to be found together. Nor is it a small matter to attempt equal objectivity in reference to Muslim and Hindu societies. It would be a magnificent achievement if this attempt had actually succeeded; and whereas the contents are not in themselves strictly speaking original the conception of the work is decidedly so. In so far as the author deals with current trends, reveals from unpublished statistics facts that were hitherto only suspected, or comments upon the effect of administration of law and the drafting of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, we see his feet firmly upon the soil. We are delighted to see that the 'break-up' of the joint family is far more apparent than real (p. 264), that divorce by mutual consent is unpopular (p. 296), and that polygyny and early marriages are, at different speeds, on the way out (pp. 159, 296). There is new information on the effects of hypergamy, some depressing but doubtless accurate prognostications regarding caste, some useful facts about prehistoric Indian matrimonial relationships, and evidence of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter even well north of the Vindhya. But by far the most interesting feature is one of which the author may be unaware. One of India's great (and undocumented) problems is the phenomenon of Neo-Hinduism. Corresponding developments in Islam are noticed by the author, but he is himself an unconscious exponent of this powerful growth in his own community, and his book will one day be a historical document for research into the gradual evolution of an utterly unhistorical but none the less genuine revival of the indigenous culture in a form fit to meet India's current needs. Dr. Kapadia repeatedly describes the ancient society and its rules

in terms of panegyric, explicitly imputing motives suitable to a mythical philosopher-king. For example, on p. 18 we are told of the *jñāni* visualized by the *Gītā* that 'a man with this appreciation of humanity, vision of his objectives and disinterestedness in his doings, is capable of appreciating the enormities of inequality in any form and in any field of life'. Now if anything is certain it is that inequalities were accepted in pre-British times as not merely inevitable, but right. And the 'social justice' to which we are frequently referred would have no meaning in those days. Instead of an unconscious attempt to whitewash and to justify the old texts, and of an often ingenious attempt to see developments where historians have as yet failed to detect them, we should have appreciated a simple and direct explanation of the condition of the surviving 'old-fashioned' family and of the extent to which it is described, explained, and justified by the texts, seen as they are and not as we might wish them to be. The penetration of Western ideas into the educated Hindu mind has been so deep that many really believe that their ancient culture anticipated all the ideals that are now current, but these subjective interpretations do a disservice to the study of ancient India. On the other hand the Neo-Hindu (if he may be so called) holds reactionary views: woman is never fit for independence, and one may have a more or less open sympathy with the revival of suttee (p. 171). Of course it is the sociologist's task to trace facts of life with an impartial and detached eye—but here Dr. Kapadia fails, for animus and personal prejudice, let alone the prejudices of the social reformer, are in evidence. On p. xxvi we read that, 'Śaṅkarācārya . . . unfurled the banner of Hinduism, giving a death-blow to the decadent Buddhist culture', and on p. xxvii, 'The distorted sense of values expressed so unmistakably in art and literature was fondled by libertine practices in the name of religion', while on p. 33 we have, 'But such inhibiting rules of social intercourse minimize human dignity and worth, and consequently the whole concept of hospitality as a *yajña* with its implication of respect for human personality loses much of its significance and glamour'. Value-judgments appear often, but then this is characteristic of the Neo-Hindu, who is often out to re-civilize his 'backward' compatriots.

Constructive criticisms will include the wish that the motives and methods behind the very interesting (but sometimes rather naïve?) statistical investigations should be revealed more clearly; that less attention should have been given to marginal (if notorious) communities so that adequate space could be devoted to the common caste Hindu family

and *the way it works*, i.e. present-giving between related families, the rôle of festivities, conscious and unconscious disciplining of members (other than the daughter-in-law), and the function of the 'manager', *inter alia*; that very careful distinction should be preserved between the emancipated classes and the vast majority that lies between them and the tribes; and lastly that the constitution, usefulness, and functioning of caste tribunals in matrimonial and other disputes should be depicted. An account of the difference between Hindu-type Muslim families and 'orthodox' Muslim homes would be a very relevant enhancement of this book. The author's unconscious assumption (despite his field experience) that Hindus he knows are a fair sample of the whole (a very common myopia amongst Neo-Hindus) is illustrated by his belief that 20 is the proper minimum age for marriage of a girl because girls do not matriculate before they are 18 and four years must be allotted for their 'college education': and this notwithstanding the fact recorded on p. 253 that *literate* females do not amount to 14 millions in a nation of 350 millions. This reviewer, who does not find much difference between the young married Hindu and the bachelor (not surprisingly, in the setting of the joint family), would be very interested to know *why* marriage causes Anavil schoolboys (p. 111) to neglect their studies and 'cultivate bad habits'. On the whole the treatment of the legal side of the picture is full, and with the reservations noted below reliable. In particular the influence on the development of Hindu law up to 1864 (not 1868) of the *śāstris* seems shrewdly and concisely depicted. When describing such usages as a husband of one woman taking his mother-in-law as a second wife Dr. Kapadia uses commendable restraint, but there were occasions when the old tale was brought to mind, of the second-year anthropology student who greeted his informants with the words, 'You must be quite frank with me. Tell me all you know about your abominable practices'.

Inaccuracies and misleading statements unduly detract from the book's usefulness. *Dharma* is the path trod (not by 'people' but) by 'great folk'; what is detested by the public should be avoided even though it be (not 'pure' but) consistent with *dharma* (p. xxv); the different strands in Hindu thought should not be actively harmonized, the discrepancies not being due to *yugas* (pp. 14-15) but to parallel doctrines, inconsistencies between which bothered no one; initiation involves a costly feast, not the end to indisciplin and unregulation (p. 27); celibacy and a repressed life was necessary for the apprentice medicine-man, and neither

was (p. 30) nor, one would think, is, essential for effective studentship; we may safely assume that Brahmins *were* (and did not merely pretend to have been) invited to procreate children on the wives of men of other castes (p. 57); the Hindu joint family is not less patriarchal for the possibility of partition or the substitution of the elder brother for the father (p. 59 *et alibi*); and the husband of a widow is not their offspring's *adoptive* father (p. 61). Incidentally the interesting information on polyandry would be much better collated after a study of the Kandyans of Ceylon. The author fails to arrive at a conclusion as to the character of Nair polyandry, and the terms *enangar* and *inangu* do not seem to be fully understood (pp. 77-8); and the *tali-kettu-kalyanam* [sic] is definitely a mock marriage, introduced to give an air of respectability to the habits of an aspiring but really non-Hindu people. There cannot be a marriage 'in a very loose sense' (p. 80), and *sambandham* (a relationship *sui generis*) demands a definition intermediate between 'marriage' and 'promiscuity'. The tier of the tali did not usually have intercourse with the girl, and to say that virginity ceased with the ceremony gives an odd impression of the facts (p. 80). There is no ground for supposing that Manu, Kautilya, or any other authority records usages unrelated to current practice. On the other hand it is almost certain that *pratiloma* marriages, being detested by all, were almost unknown (p. 104). Most people would deny that there is discrimination shown against female children in the home (p. 110). The statement (p. 115), 'Bigamous marriage contracted before the commencement of the Act is said to be voidable on petition. The Act provides on the other hand, for judicial separation or dissolution of marriage before contracting marriage with another wife', may mislead one who cannot refer to the Hindu Marriage Act. Girls do not normally recite *pravaras* (p. 127), and though it is true that by custom the degrees of sapindaship were not uniformly observed we are not justified in assuming that the *smṛti*-writers took 'loose and elastic' views on the subject. The two Central Acts of 1946 dealing with Hindu marriages and a wife's separate maintenance are wrongly attributed to the Bombay legislature. There is a *non sequitur* on p. 133 where a statement regarding Chitpavans is supported by contrary evidence. It is true that some regret the prohibition of uncle-niece marriages (p. 134) but it must not be thought that this is widespread. Marriages of corpses and betrothals of unborn embryos are so rare as to be hardly worth mentioning. Intercourse between husbands and brides of eight and under cannot, however, be wished away. 130 years is hardly 'a

few years' (p. 148); and the legislation in question (p. 175) was a Regulation, not an Act. Divorce, which Dr. Kapadia says is 'alien to the social pattern' of Hindus (p. 180), is widely practised by 80 per cent of them, and always has been. The statement that marriage continues to be a sacrament, only it is raised to an ethical plane (p. 184) seems to raise difficult problems—one might as well be frank and say that its sacramental character has been modified by a fundamental change in influential Hindus. It is unfair to commence a treatment of Islamic marriage with an account (and an apparently self-contradictory one) of *muta* [sic], the 'temporary marriage'. It is doubtful whether Muslim husbands have 'invariably abused' their privilege of divorce (p. 192), and no signed contract is required for a Muslim marriage (p. 193). How, under the conditions described, Islam can require every bride to be a virgin (p. 195) will pass the comprehension of many. Kātyāyana must have lived well before the seventh century, and it is important for the argument to realize that Vijñāneśvara, Lakṣmīdhara, and Jīmūtavāhana were contemporaries. With all respect to Professor Ghurye kulnism, which applied to a small section of the smallest group of Bengalis (in fact the poorest), can hardly explain Jīmūtavāhana's doctrines, which, incidentally, do not introduce the mother's kindred as heirs. On p. 228 it must be observed that the daughter's son takes, both after the daughter (in the law as it was before 1956) and in default of the daughter, but in both cases as heir to his maternal grandfather and not of his mother. Bālabhattacharya (p. 231) was too late to be of any practical influence. Membership of a *tarwad* does not imply (p. 238) deprivation of rights in *tarwad* property, while conversion to Christianity will always sever a precedent state of jointness, though rights of property are preserved to the convert. Nilakantha was not ignored by the British (p. 249): perhaps the truth is that they made too much of him in Bombay. A minor cannot *insist* upon a partition (p. 250), and the right in *South India only* to alienate the undivided interest was a device not to destroy the joint family but to keep it intact. The Act of 1929 introduced the sister's son, not her daughter (p. 257).

For 'Abhayatalakajani' read -gani; for 'antarganam' read -janam; for 'Sir D. Mullah' read Mulla, and for 'Mullah' 'the Mullah' (pp. 131, 235, 192, 50). Likewise most people will understand *kānam* better than *kōnan* (p. 237). I am sorry to see that the publisher's reader missed 'imbibed with', 'disposed it off', 'were appeared to tolerate', 'data is', 'which domiciled there'. There are verbal errors spoiling the sense on p. 48, l. 34

and p. 187, l. 19; 'Guru Prasad Banerjee' must, I suppose, be Gooroodas Banerjee; and on p. 27 the correct Sanskrit forms of the abstracts *vānaprasthya*, etc. ought to be given. Apart from these isolated blemishes the book is a credit to Indian publishing.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

D. J. WIJAYARATNE: *History of the Sinhalese noun: a morphological study based on inscriptions.* [ii], xxv, 217 pp. Colombo: University of Ceylon Press Board, 1956.

This careful study of Sinhalese case-forms does not go beyond the tenth century A.D., as its original title as a University of London thesis made plain. By that time, however, the modern case-system of Sinhalese was more or less formed as it is to-day. Written literature also begins at about that time. It is surprising that Dr. Wijayaratne should hold (preface, p. iii, also p. 94) that the language of the tenth-century inscriptions is of a more popular character than the 'archaic and artificial language' of contemporaneous literature, as one would surely imagine that if one kind of language was more archaic than the other, it would be the language of the inscriptions. However, this study is concerned only with inscriptional material, since that is in fact all the material that there is for this early period, which is one of such great significance morphologically.

The principal thesis of the book is the emergence, in the early centuries A.D., of the two Sinhalese systems of noun inflection, for animates and inanimates respectively. It is, however, somewhat misleading to call this a system of notional *gender*. Dr. Wijayaratne rightly objects to the observation in Geiger's grammar that 'Sinhalese has preserved in inflection the three genders'; but he himself also uses 'gender' to mean 'declensional system'—specifically so on p. 35, n. This, however, is not what is primarily understood by grammatical gender in the languages he adduces as parallels, from Sanskrit to Italian. 'Genders' (I quote Bloomfield, *Language*, 192) 'are arbitrary classes (of nouns), each of which demands different congruence-forms in certain kinds of accompanying words.' The adjective in Sinhalese is invariable, says Dr. Wijayaratne (p. 36)—rightly, I think, though not in accordance with the canons of *Sidatsaṅgarāva*. I should therefore prefer to say that gender-categories are unknown in Sinhalese.

The opening chapter, which is somewhat apart from the main thesis, concerns the development of Sinhalese noun-stems from

their MI equivalents. Here it is considered (p. 7) that the final *-i* found in the fourth-seventh centuries A.D. in words representing MI *a*-stems may sometimes be part of the stem, though elsewhere in the book *-i* is recognized as also a nominative case-ending. The reason for regarding it as part of the stem is its occurrence in apparent compounds, such as *raji-mahavaharata* (though *bevi-ni* seems mistaken here, as the same example is quoted on p. 156 as an instance of the instrumental in *-ini*). Elsewhere, however, *-i* appears as a 'reduced form of the nom. ending *-e*' (p. 77), and as *-e* also appears 'in a few strange instances . . . with Gen. significance' (p. 104), it would perhaps be simpler to regard these so-called *i*-stems as further instances of a 'confusion of the Nom. sg. with the st. fm.'—the more so as Dr. Wijayaratne also says that 'even after the stem final *-a* was weakened and reduced to the neutral vowel *-i* or *-u*, it continued to be written in most cases as *-a*'. Certainly one need not posit extra hypothetical forms such as **kati* (for *kintā*, p. 51). *-i* is also (p. 171) considered to be a termination of the locative in three instances only, but it is not clear why all these three instances are not also regarded as stem-forms (they are in fact also mentioned under 'Dir.-Obl. in Zero', p. 152).

The chapter on Number is interesting and informative; and the rest of the book is devoted to a listing of the case-forms actually exemplified in inscriptions of the period. One may perhaps doubt whether in *saga dīni* and *ata padavaya* we have a relic of a dative case (p. 105), since those two phrases may be found much later in the same form, e.g. in Gुरुजुगोमि *ata eva* (*Amāvatura*, 1912, 22.20) and *saṅga demī* (*Dharmapradīpikāva*, 1951, 105.31). The form *samdaruyun* (p. 137—quoted as *samdaruyan* on p. 143), which Dr. Wijayaratne calls 'very unusual', finds many parallels in the recently published *Sigiri graffiti*. The suggestion that the Dir.-Obl. inanimate ending *-a* serves also to indicate the definite, as opposed to the indefinite, is ingenious but not altogether convincing.

The book is well produced, with extensive indexes, and misprints are creditably few for such a relatively complicated production. I note *annointed* three times (p. 129 twice, p. 131). A similar treatise on the early development of the verb and of other types of Sinhalese word, though it might be more difficult to compile, would be of great service; meanwhile the appearance of this volume is very welcome and the mass of digested material it contains is set out with clarity, though with a certain amount of repetition, and carefully assigned to different centuries.

C. H. B. REYNOLDS

MAURICE FREEDMAN: *Chinese family and marriage in Singapore*. (Colonial Office. Colonial Research Studies, No. 20.) 249 pp., front., 3 plates. London: H.M.S.O., 1957. £1 10s.

To-day when a foreigner, for whatever reason, desires to become acquainted with the Chinese world as far as the resources of Western languages allow, he has at his disposal a gratifying amount of material. Good textbooks and dictionaries exist to teach him Chinese, if he wishes to learn it; there are books on Chinese history, philosophy, and religion; and a growing stock of translations invites him to enjoy the pleasures of Chinese literature. Yet there is one topic, and not the least important, regarding which the inquirer would still find it impossible to satisfy his curiosity. This desert in the midst of plenty is the field of Chinese customary law. A very good illustration of this is provided by *La longue marche*. Simone de Beauvoir has clearly taken the greatest pains to become familiar with Chinese history and literature, and in spite of the fact that her political bias has turned her book into a piece of brilliant propaganda, we must concede that she has acquired an astonishing grasp of Chinese matters. Yet when she comes to discuss such a subject as the legal position of the married woman in traditional Chinese society, her sources of information fail her completely, and her description is simply a caricature.

In this unhappy state of affairs it is with relief that one picks up such a book as the present work by Dr. Maurice Freedman who is Lecturer in Anthropology in the London School of Economics. It is the result of a residence of almost two years (from January, 1949, to November, 1950) in the society which it describes, and no reader can fail to be struck by the close acquaintance with Chinese life in Singapore that the author shows on every page. In some respects, the customs which regulate the life of that community show differences from what until the other day was the living law of China, and this tendency has been no doubt encouraged by such peculiar decisions of the colonial courts as that in the Six Widows' Case. In general, however, a man familiar with the pure Chinese law will find himself at home in these southern regions, and indeed Dr. Freedman's observations, made quite independently, confirm in many points the findings of the Japanese lawyers in Formosa half a century ago.

• The book has appeared most opportunely, at a time when the importance of the Chinese communities in the future of South-East Asia has become recognized, and no serious student

of that part of the world can afford not to read it.

HENRY MCALRAVY

WILLIAM WILLETTTS: *Chinese art*. (Pelican Books, A 358, 359.) 2 vols.: xxxv, 392 pp.; vi, 393-802 pp.; 64 plates, map. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958. 15s.

The pocket-size Pelican books are designed to provide the intelligent layman with a concise, authoritative, and comprehensive survey of the subject they deal with, and it is in these terms that this book must be considered. Two things can be said at once: it is very long, and it is extremely well written. The author has been allowed the luxury of exploring in great detail certain chosen topics in the history of Chinese art—a liberty which imparts a leisurely and often highly speculative tone to the book and makes it a pleasure to read. But these advantages are bought at some cost. The author states in his introduction that he was concerned to find a way out of the dilemma which faces the historian of Chinese art, who is forced by the nature of his material either to divide up the history of, say, painting among a number of chapters each of which deals with other arts as well, or to give a separate and unrelated treatment to each art, which involves going over the same historical ground again and again. The author's ingenious solution is to take one art form as peculiarly characteristic of each epoch, preface each section with an historical introduction and thus maintain historical sequence while at the same time confining the treatment of each art form to one chapter. Thus jade is dealt with under the neolithic period, and bronze under Shang and Chou; the chapter on the Han dynasty deals with lacquer and silk; the Six Dynasties and early T'ang are given to Buddhist sculpture, middle and late T'ang to ceramics, Sung and Yüan to painting, and Ming and Ch'ing to architecture.

This bold arrangement is a refreshing change from the standard history, but its drawbacks are obvious. The Han chapter, for example, being devoted only to lacquer and silk, there is no mention of Han bronzes or sculpture, while the ceramics enthusiast will be dismayed to find that while T'ang pottery is treated at great length, the author has little to say on events before that period and nothing on what happened subsequently. Surely the main virtue in arranging the book in this way would be to make it possible to trace the historical development of each art form without interruption. Moreover the reader may well be deceived into believing

that the ceramics of the T'ang dynasty, for example, are not only highly characteristic (whereas they are extremely cosmopolitan), but also represent the climax in the development of the art in China.

While we may deplore the method, however, there is no doubt that the author has assembled a large amount of useful and interesting information, and that his examination of the art of one epoch often illuminates the whole. This is particularly true of the long section on painting, an outline of whose contents will give some idea of his general approach. Part (1), 'A preliminary appreciation', in which the Chinese and Western attitudes to painting are compared and contrasted, and the rarity of early paintings accounted for; part (2), 'The failure of traditional art criticism', devoted largely to an exposure of the inconsistencies in the traditional division of landscape painting into the Northern and Southern schools; part (3), 'The status of the artist', emphasizing the division between the academician and the *wen-jen* in Sung and Yuan times; part (4), 'Why Sung and why Yuan?', an interesting, though somewhat irrelevant, study of the attraction that the West feels for certain types of Chinese landscape painting, notably the Ma-Hsia school; part (5), 'The political and social background'; part (6), 'The materials of Chinese calligraphy and painting', detailed and factual; part (7), 'The methods of Chinese calligraphy and painting', an exploration of the Chinese attitude to nature and the psychological process whereby experience is transformed into the forms of landscape painting; part (8) 'Calligraphy: written characters'; part (9), 'Painting: the picture categories', an essay on Sung and Yuan landscape, bamboo and bird-and-flower painting, followed by a short section on perspective.

This treatment makes possible a detailed and at times penetrating analysis of certain arbitrarily selected aspects of Chinese painting. But there is no account of how it developed, no discussion of such important picture categories as figure painting, while biographical material is confined to notes on the 18 artists whose work is reproduced. With much of what the author says this reviewer finds himself in agreement. But between the philosophical profundities on the one hand and the technicalities on the other there lies what the author somewhat quaintly calls 'the neutral ground of art history' where he is much less reliable, and often given to misleading generalizations, of which one example must suffice. On pp. 582-3 he states, 'As for other categories—landscapes, flowers and birds, bamboos, vegetables and fruits—for all we know of T'ang or earlier examples

of these, they may scarcely have existed at all'. Such scepticism is quite unjustified. For not only do the Six Dynasties and T'ang wall-paintings at Tunhuang and Mai-chi-shan contain numerous examples of landscape painting, but there is abundant textual evidence, notably in chapter IV of the *Li-tai ming-hua-chi* (preface A.D. 847), that landscape as an independent art form was already emerging before the T'ang dynasty. This applies also to bamboo, while for flower painting there is the well-known case of Chang Seng-yu who early in the sixth century was painting 'flowers-in-relief' in the Indian fashion. Moreover T'ang decorative art abounds in rich floral motifs which show that there must have been a flourishing school of flower painting long before the time of Huang Ch'ian and Hsu Hsi.

The method of arrangement of the material, moreover, inevitably leads to the suggestion that what is characteristic of the phase selected for discussion is therefore true of the art in every period. On p. 807, for example, the author writes: 'Ideas connecting man and nature are innate in Chinese thought, but not until Sung times did they crystallize into a devotional cult that could be made to fit indifferently into Confucianist, Taoist or Buddhist contexts'. So far so good; but then he proceeds, 'But whatever philosophical implications it may have had, its chief votaries belonged to the urban aristocracy, and its emotional basis was the sense of spiritual claustrophobia that brought into being the Chinese town garden at about the same time.... The landscapist Ku Hsi never tires of telling how the harassed official turns to nature with childish delight, and finds therein an unfailing respite from worldly trammels'. But had the author delved a little deeper into history he would have found the seeds of this attitude already sprouting in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Taoists were steeping themselves in the magic of the hills, when emperors and wealthy men were designing gardens and heaping up miniature landscapes, when the first Wang Wei (415-43) was returning from years of wandering to paint the hills and valleys that he loved on the walls of his studio, and Tsung Ping (375-443) was pleading that painting landscapes and contemplating them was just as effective an aid to illumination as the difficult techniques of the Taoists. In Sung times this cult took a characteristically refined and sophisticated form, but its influence on landscape painting is far older than the Sung dynasty.

This book has many virtues and many defects, which offset each other in such a way as to leave the reader oddly unsatisfied. The text figures are numerous and of excellent

quality, but the photographs are inadequate: the Sung paintings, for instance, are nearly all hackneyed examples and not too well reproduced (notably plates 41 and 47). There are two copious indices, but no bibliography. Above all, the layman may well find that he has been told too much, and yet not enough. He would gladly have sacrificed some of the 120 pages devoted to Han lacquer and silk, much of which would only interest a specialist, if he could have learned something of these arts in later dynasties; he could have foregone the fascinating but irrelevant information (p. 17) that the proportion of almond-eyed people in North China is 11 to 21 per cent for the sake of a few lines on the Six Principles of Hsieh Ho or on the seventeenth century Individualists. Indeed, in its airing of long dead controversies, in its quite unselective accumulation of facts, opinions, and conjectures, this book is singularly old-fashioned. In these days of the scientific historian, perhaps, this leisurely, humanistic approach is not to be despised. It undoubtedly constitutes one of the chief attractions of the book.

MICHAEL SULLIVAN

PETER BERTON and others: *Japanese training and research in the Russian field*. [By] Peter Berton, Paul Langer, Rodger Swearingen. (School of International Relations, University of Southern California. Far Eastern and Russian Research Series, No. 1.) xiii, 266 pp. Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Southern California Press, 1956. \$4.

This work is the first of a 'Far Eastern and Russian Research Series' of studies planned by the School of International Relations of the University of Southern California, most of which are to deal with aspects of Soviet-Japanese relations and of Japanese communism. Of the present work's authors, Mr. Langer and Mr. Swearingen are already known for their history of the Japanese communist movement, *Red Flag in Japan*, published by the Harvard University Press in 1952. The present work contains a great deal of information which will be useful to specialists both in Russian and in Japanese affairs. Not only does it provide a convenient and comprehensive account of Japanese institutions and publications concerned with Russia and the Soviet Union, but at times it throws light on such broader subjects as the relations between government and universities in Japan, and the impact of Russian culture and Soviet policies on the Asian intelligentsia.

Of all Asian countries Japan had perhaps the greatest need, since the mid nineteenth century, to understand the Russian neighbour, and at the same time was best equipped to do so by the relatively high general level of education and receptivity to foreign examples. The authors begin with a brief survey of the first cultural contacts between the countries. This period was marked by such picturesque figures as the Russian priest Nikolai, who arrived in 1861 as chaplain to the Russian Consulate in Hakodate, founded a language school, converted some Japanese to Orthodoxy, and remained in Japan as a bishop after the war of 1904. Another was the refugee samurai Tachibana Kosei, who escaped to Russia in 1859, took the name Vladimir Iosifovich Yamatov, and later became Professor of Japanese at St. Petersburg university. The authors trace the growth of the study of Russian literature in Japan, especially at Waseda university, the interest taken by the Foreign Ministry and the Imperial General Staff, and the role of institutions sponsored by the South Manchurian Railway. After the Bolshevik Revolution, the large number of Russian exiles in Manchuria, especially in Harbin, were a further factor helping the growth of these studies. With the Japanese conquest of Manchuria, the emphasis on political and military intelligence increased. Considerable library resources and numbers of trained specialists were available in Harbin and Dairen, but the Soviet occupation in 1945 brought destruction or confiscation of books and deportation of personnel. In the authors' opinion, the total effort put into Russian studies in pre-1945 Japan 'must be ranked very high, probably second after Germany among the nations of the world'.

Since 1945 interest in Russia has increased, but the quality of teaching and output appears extremely variable. Russian literature makes a wide appeal, and Waseda university remains the main centre for its study. The emphasis is however understandably on classical literature, and works of Soviet 'socialist realism' arouse little interest. In the study of law, economics, and foreign policy there is a striking divorce between academic and governmental institutions. In the former, Marxist influence is predominant, and the subjects are studied from the point of view of theoretical doctrine rather than practical performance. The authors also note that Japanese experts on Russian subjects hardly ever know any other European language than Russian, have little if any knowledge of European or American literature on Russia, and dismiss it *a priori* as biased.

H. SETON-WATSON

YALE CANDEE MAXON: *Control of Japanese foreign policy: a study of civil-military rivalry, 1930-1945*. (University of California Publications in Political Science, Vol. 5.) vii, 286 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Cambridge University Press. 45s.)

RICHARD STORRY: *The double patriots: a study of Japanese nationalism*. ix, 335 pp. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 25s.

In the widest sense, both these books are concerned with a single theme: political developments in Japan underlying her successive aggressive moves in Manchuria, China, South East Asia, and the Pacific in the period 1930-45. However, each selects a different aspect of the problem for detailed treatment and handles its material in a quite different way. Dr. Storry's concern is with the ultranationalist groups, especially the patriotic societies, and the ways in which they were able to bring pressure to bear on those publicly responsible for the formulation of national policy. His method, apart from a preliminary chapter surveying modern Japanese nationalism, is that of the narrative, dealing in turn with such topics as the Manchurian Incident of 1931, the assassinations of 1932, the factional struggles within the Army in 1933-5, the February Affair of 1936, and so on. Indeed, so rigidly is the chronological sequence observed that the occasional brief passages of analysis, useful though they are, are not enough to remove a certain impression of formlessness. The book is full of valuable information, but the reader is too often left to seek for himself its proper application. Some pruning of detail concerning the less important organizations treated would have given point to the discussion of the rest, especially had the separate chapters dealt with rather longer spans of time.

By contrast, Mr. Maxon is primarily interested in analysis, his viewpoint being as much that of the political scientist as that of the historian. He begins by discussing the historical role of the military in Japanese society and the institutional framework devised in and after the Meiji period, with special reference to the position of the Army and Navy in modern government. Thereafter he turns to an account of the increase in military—particularly Army—influence on national policy after 1930. In this, the main section of his work, he traces the attempts to find an effective co-ordinating machinery between civil and military policies, attempts

which were only successful when the Army achieved a dominating position and was therefore able to impose its own decisions on the Cabinet. However, perhaps the chief value of this section lies in its detailed treatment of Army politics and administration. It brings out the varied nature of Army objectives and the complex relationships between different groups and factions, which make it difficult to determine where control of Army policy itself rested at any given moment. The parts played by the War Minister and Chief of Staff, commanders-in-chief in the field and their staff officers, by the bureau chiefs and junior officers in the General Staff, all these are subjects which throw considerable light on events of the period.

On some points, both books are in general agreement. For example, it is clear that in matters of foreign policy one important distinction between the Army's Control Faction (Tōsei-ha) and Imperial Way Faction (Kōdō-ha) was the latter's preoccupation with the danger from Russia and the former's greater emphasis on China. On the other hand, as Mr. Maxon points out, once the attack on China was launched, considerations of Army prestige made it difficult for any group to turn back, however reluctant it might be to continue. Similarly, the same kind of consideration made it impossible to admit the existence of insubordination within the Army and thus inhibited efforts to stamp out the growing practice of *gekokuujō*, i.e. control by subordinates of their nominal superiors. This practice was made effective in extreme cases by the threat of assassination, that is, by the activities of some of the organizations with which Dr. Storry deals. On the other hand, the threat of force does not provide the whole answer. As Dr. Storry observes in conclusion, 'of greater importance was the curious moral pressure that could be exercised, almost unfailingly, by the agitators of the Right wing'. Mr. Maxon makes very much the same point when he says that 'the principle of "restoring discipline by giving ground" was widely applied between 1930 and 1944 both in the Army and in the civil government'. This is the central problem in the study of Japanese politics during the period; and despite the important contributions to an understanding of it which are made in these two books, it remains still to be resolved. Probably the canvas needs to be wider. Phenomena of this kind occur at other times in Japanese history: in the mid-nineteenth century, for example, when the middle samurai of the Meiji Restoration movement established control over the decisions of their feudal superiors. In a different sense, the problem involves the sociologist as well as the historian, in that it

can be considered as part of the study of group relationships which are not exclusively political. Much needs to be done from both points of view before one can identify with any certainty the nature and location of authority in Japanese society, whether of the past or of the present.

W. G. BRASLEY

G. H. LUCE and PE MAUNG TIN (ed.): *Inscriptions of Burma. Portfolio IV. Down to 702 B.E. (1340 A.D.).—Portfolio V. 703–726 B.E. (1341–1364 A.D.).* (University of Rangoon Oriental Studies Publication No. 5, No. 6.) 63 pp., plates 346–462; 38 pp., plates 463–609. Oxford: University Press, 1956. £16 10s. each.

Students of the Burmese language and of the history of Burma welcome the publication of two more portfolios of Burma inscriptions. Portfolio I was published in 1933 and reviewed in *JRAS* in 1935. Portfolios II and III were published in 1939 and reviewed in *JRAS* in 1941. The University of Rangoon decided that two more portfolios should be published, to complete its primary task of placing on permanent record all the extant original documents, dating from before the foundation of Ava (A.D. 1365).

The editors, Professors G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, who were also responsible for Portfolios I, II, and III, had to work in abnormal conditions caused by the Japanese war and the unrest which followed it.

The plates reproduce photographs of rubbings, taken from inscriptions which were cut on stone slabs and pillars and of some ink inscriptions.

The editors had before them at least eight previous publications dealing with the inscriptions of Burma, but unfortunately some of these are more an obstacle than a help, since they contain a conglomeration of dated original as well as copied and faked inscriptions. In A.D. 1793 King Bodawpaya had inscriptions brought to Amarapura from all parts of Burma. He had them copied on to fresh stones, many of them imperfectly, and then had the inscription stones returned to their original sites. Many of these were reset in the wrong place and not a few never reached their destination. A number of inscriptions had been put up long after the events they were intended to commemorate, and many more stones are now in fragments. Locating the provenance of the inscriptions, tracing the missing stones, sorting out the genuine from the false, and piecing together those which had been broken, called for great skill and

assiduity. In their formidable task the editors received much assistance from expert 'rubbers' and photographers.

These two portfolios are more than a continuation of Portfolio III; they also supplement the first three portfolios. They include dated Burmese inscriptions (plates 390–547, 582–93, of which plate 542 contains the earliest piece of Burmese poetry on record) following on from Portfolio III. They make available dated Burmese inscriptions (plates 364–89, 571–81) additional to the main series given in the earlier portfolios. There are inscriptions in Sanskrit (plates 346–53), Pyu (plates 354–7, 363, 555, and 568–70), and Mon (plates 358–64, 548–54) as well as the Myazedi or Kubyaukkyi inscription with its four faces in Pali, Mon, Pyu, and Burmese (plates 361–64). There are also a Chinese inscription (plate 556), an unidentified inscription (plate 355b), several ink inscriptions (e.g. plates 367a, b, and 368a, b), and undated or doubtfully dated fragments of inscriptions and inscriptions (plates 557–67) belonging probably to the pre-Ava period.

The inscriptions are arranged as far as possible in chronological order, but the sequence is sometimes broken by the inclusion of new discoveries. Evidently the editors were anxious to complete their task by the publication of these two portfolios. More inscriptions of the pre-Ava period have, however, been discovered since 1956, and the estampages are being studied by Professor Luce.

As was to be expected of these two editors, Portfolio IV has a preface which is full of information valuable to scholars and laymen alike. It deals, among other things, with the types of stone used for carving the inscriptions, and there is a useful 'Note on the collection of original inscription formerly at the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura'. This is followed by 'Addenda et corrigenda to indexes of Portfolios I, II and III'; fully annotated 'Indexes of Portfolios IV and V', and a note on the 'Actual size of the inscribed parts of the inscription stones'.

Apart from some errors in the printing of Burmese in the preliminary pages, the reviewer cannot do better than echo the editors' acknowledgment that 'the Oxford University Press has done its best to maintain the quality, not merely of its print and paper, but also of the fine workmanship which is its hall-mark'.

There still remain the unedited estampages of inscriptions with dates from A.D. 1365 onwards. These, in some of which are embedded the earliest Burmese poetry, are also of great literary, linguistic, and historical value. May we expect to see the publication of further portfolios of inscriptions in the not too distant future?

HLA PE

KRISTOF GLAMANN: *Dutch-Asiatic trade, 1620-1740*. xi, 334 pp. Copenhagen: Danish Science Press; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. D. kr. 35.

This pioneer attempt by a Research Fellow of the University of Copenhagen at writing the commercial history of the Dutch East India Company over a large period of its existence is more than welcome, for it opens up a badly neglected field of study. In his preface Dr. Glamann expresses surprise that no such work has previously been undertaken, since commerce was the basis of the Company, its founders were merchants, it never lost its commercial character, and dividends were the final aim of its activities. As it is, one is grateful that this extremely difficult task has been undertaken by someone able to deal with the subject in a spirit of complete detachment, and also with such zeal that he has pursued his quest not only in the archives of The Hague, but also in those of London, Antwerp, Paris, and Nantes, not to mention Stockholm and Copenhagen. The result is a work that is encyclopaedic in the information that it provides, yet never lacking on the score of interpretation. The forest is dense, but the author cannot be accused of failing to see the wood for the trees, and he has much to say that is illuminating. Nevertheless the factual feast he provides takes a good deal of absorbing, in the first place because of the heavy helpings of statistical information included—there are 51 statistical tables in the text, and many pages of appendices—and in the second place because of the deficiencies of the English translation. There are times when the meaning is obscure or the argument difficult to follow; and, to make matters worse, the author frequently quotes passages from Dutch original sources, which are left untranslated. Moreover, the index is hopelessly inadequate, being merely a register of proper names. It is regrettable that a book of this quality and importance should be published in such a form. Nevertheless, with patience and perseverance these difficulties can be surmounted and a rich harvest gathered from the book.

I now mention some of its features which I have found of particular interest. After an introductory chapter comes a most useful one on 'Factory Nederland', dealing with imports and exports, the make-up of East Indian cargoes returning to the home country, what happened when the fleets returned, the purchases and auction sales of East Indian goods, the equipment of ships going to the East, and an analysis of working expenses. This is followed by a chapter on 'the most important exports of Nederland', i.e. bullion and money, in which Dr. Glamann uses his

original sources to throw welcome light upon a most complicated and difficult subject. Then come separate chapters on each of the main articles of import, pepper, spices, raw silk, piece-goods, sugar, Japanese copper, coffee, and tea. The final chapter deals with the vexed question of profit and loss. The Company, he tells us, never achieved a central book-keeping which included the whole of the concern. There were annual balance sheets for all the six 'chambers' in the Netherlands, while those of the Asian establishments were kept at Batavia. A total balance was obtained by comparing the balance sheets of the two areas. But there was no capital account and no profit and loss account. In the Dutch ledgers there was an account for the total costs of the equipment of ships for the East. This was compared with the account for the total sales of the 'returns' of the year and the difference shown as profit or loss. But these balances showed nothing under 'assets' of the value of the establishment in the East or of the ships, goods and cash on the high seas, and under 'liabilities' made no mention of share capital.

Dr. Glamann disposes of the myth of the stable character of the Dutch East Indian trade; his study of invoices shows that during his period there were considerable changes in the relative importance of various articles of import. Thus between 1620 and 1700 while the invoice value of pepper declined from 56.45% to 11.23% and that of spices from 17.55% to 11.73%, that of textiles rose from 16.06% to 54.70%, and in the meantime new commodities such as sugar, tea, coffee, and saltpetre, absent from the 1620 lists, are found in those of 1700. 'Next to the introduction of Indian cottons to the European market', he writes, 'the import of coffee and tea was the most important contribution of goods from the East in modern times.' In the case of both beverages, however, the Dutch Company made a late start. The first coffee to make its appearance at the Dutch public sales in Amsterdam was Mocha coffee in 1661-2. He quotes Valentijn's statement in 1726 that it was the English who taught the Dutch to drink coffee and that 40 years earlier it was a practically unknown drink in the Netherlands. Its increasing popularity in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century caused its cultivation, hitherto limited to the Yemen and Abyssinia, to spread in a very short time to Java, the Isle de Bourbon, the West Indies, Surinam, and Brazil.

In the case of tea the Dutch Company only began to enter the trade seriously from the year 1729. For a long time it had been content to purchase its tea from Chinese junks coming to Batavia. But this tea was too dear and of an inferior quality to the tea that Europeans

could obtain by direct trade to China, and the increasing English traffic to China after 1700 coupled with the plans of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to open direct trade with China, caused the Dutch to send their first expedition to Canton. Seeing, however, that the most marketable commodities in China were bullion and specie, and the market in China for Indonesian pepper and Malayan tin was limited, the development of this trade presented stiff problems, unsolved in 1740, when Dr. Glamann's study ends, and with the English still the greatest importers of tea to Europe. Incidentally, how the latter solved the financial problem in that bullionist age has been well described by Professor Holden Furber in his valuable *John Company at Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

As would naturally be expected, Dr. Glamann's study throws much light upon the Dutch monopoly system. During the last decades of the seventeenth century, he tells us, the Company achieved such control over the spice trade both in Asia and in Europe that it could control prices completely. One of its methods, as is well known, was to limit production by destroying trees. Dr. Glamann relates how in 1710 it was learnt 'with grief' in the Netherlands that there had been an exceptionally large clove harvest in the island of Amboyna; the resulting destruction of 150,000 young clove trees, he tells us, caused a great drop in the next harvest to the 'undisguised satisfaction' of the Heeren XVII, the Company's supreme executive committee. In the case of pepper, however, notwithstanding all their efforts to drive European competitors out of the trade, the Dutch were unsuccessful. The English, French, and Danish East India companies imported considerable amounts to Europe, and Dr. Glamann describes as a 'symptomatic *cri de coeur*' the Seventeen's complaint to Batavia in 1736 that the English alone imported as much pepper to Europe as Batavia received annually from all its pepper districts in the Archipelago. Regarding the monopoly system itself he warns us not to overestimate its effects, for while the 'buy cheap, sell dear' method is very conspicuous when one studies the production system of the Company in Indonesia and Ceylon, the Dutch dealt in many commodities not protected by monopoly. Thus they were losing ground in the textile trade in the eighteenth century against English and French competition, as well as that of the Ostend Company. And although the English Parliament in 1700, pressed by the wool and silk weavers, forbade the import of wrought silks of the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies, and of all kinds of calicoes, the English Company's trade in these com-

modities continued to grow, notably because of its excellent re-export business. Indeed a large proportion of its textiles went regularly to Holland. Even more important, however, than European competition as a limiting factor to Dutch commercial expansion in the East was the competition of Asian traders. At the end of the seventeenth century, writes Dr. Glamann, the Dutch were suffering more from their competition than from that of European traders, serious though it was. 'There is a long way to go', he comments, 'before we have arrived at a sufficient understanding of the character of the Asiatic trade and economy during this period.' This is indeed the case; and it presents a formidable challenge to the historian of to-day.

D. G. E. HALL

PAUL SCHEBESTA: *Die Negrito Asiens.*

II. Band: Ethnographie der Negrito.
 2. Halbband: *Religion und Mythologie.* (*Die Pygmäenvölker der Erde, II. Reihe.*) (Studia Instituti Anthropos, Vol. 13.) xiv, 336 pp., front., 16 plates.
 Wien-Mödling: St.-Gabriel-Verlag, 1957. Sch. 220.

The book under review is the final volume of the author's comprehensive work on the Negritos of Asia. Few anthropologists can match Father Schebesta's conscientiousness in publishing full and detailed accounts of the ethnographic data gathered in a long life of fieldwork in two continents. The present work is evidence not only of his skill and meticulous care in collecting ethnographic facts, but also of his soberness and systematic procedure in their interpretation. The Negrito races have in past years been the subject of much speculation, and the primitiveness of their material culture and economy has led some anthropologists to consider them as representative of primeval patterns of culture in a general way. Particularly Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, who played an important part in organizing and encouraging ethnographic research among Negritos and African pygmies, saw in these small splinter groups examples of archaic humanity and in their religion a reflection of the earliest religious concepts.

Father Schebesta makes it quite clear that he does not subscribe to Schmidt's excessive idealization of the Negritos nor to his view of the pristine 'purity' of their religion. Instead he gives us a most detailed evaluation of all the available data on the religion of the Semangs, elucidating his own observations by the work of W. William Skeat, Ivor H. N. Evans, and H. Vaughan Stevens, and vice

versa. The picture of Semang religion which emerges from this comparison and reinterpretation of the entire body of ethnographic facts is one of astonishing complexity. Father Schebesta himself was surprised to find in the religion of a population of primitive food-gatherers many concepts and beliefs which are clearly of Hindu origin. In his opinion these foreign elements cannot be explained merely by the Semangs' contact with their Senoi and Jakud'n neighbours nor even by a transmission through Malays. For the contact with Malays is much too recent to account for the incorporation of Hindu elements into Semang mythology. He is content to leave unsolved the question of the exact channels through which Hindu concepts reached the Semang, but his convincing exposition of their character leaves us in no doubt that Schmidt's appraisal of Semang religion is in many respects no longer tenable.

The book contains a wealth of ethnographic and mythological detail, and the discrepancy between the Semangs' exceedingly simple ecology and their most complex and rich religious and spiritual heritage poses an intriguing anthropological problem. It is difficult to account for this discrepancy without invoking processes of cultural transmission, even though the exact manner in which ideas shared by other populations spread to the Semangs may not be traceable. A view which certainly has to be abandoned is the assumption that a primitive archaic economic pattern must necessarily be accompanied by religious concepts of comparable simplicity.

While the greater part of the book deals with the Semangs there are also useful chapters on the religion of the Aetas of the Philippines and on that of the Andamanese. The author believes that the latter's much vaunted isolation only lasted for some centuries, for L. Cipriani's excavations provide proof of cultural influences from the mainland in comparatively recent times.

The three geographically widely separate Negrito groups of South East Asia nevertheless share certain distinctive religious concepts, and Father Schebesta implies—but does not explicitly state—that these common features may be aspects of what one might describe as a common South East Asian Negrito religion. Whether this Negrito religion is sufficiently different from the religions of more advanced races of South East Asia to be considered a separate entity is a problem which still awaits fuller treatment. It is fortunate, however, that at a time when the Negritos had still retained a good deal of their cultural identity scholars such as Radcliffe-Brown, W. William Skeat, Ivor H. N. Evans, H. Vaughan Stevens, and last but not least

Father Schebesta himself undertook the basic ethnographic work on which all comparative studies will always have to rely.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

J. D. FAGE: *An atlas of African history*. 64 pp. [London]: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1958. 30s.

This atlas contains 62 maps covering the history of Africa from the seventh century A.D. to the present day. Where necessary a few lines of explanatory text are added to the maps. Professor Fage has produced an excellent pioneer work which will be found most useful by teachers and students of African history. The continent is treated partly as a whole and partly by regional maps, and the basis is not only material derived from European and other outside sources, but from African traditional sources as well. Naturally European documentary sources still tend to preponderate, but African material is already present in much greater force than would have been possible even 15 years ago. A rough proportional estimate of the sources available can be gained from the fact that (excluding 15 maps of the whole continent) north, north-west, and west Africa are allotted 26 maps, and the rest of the continent only 21 regional maps. This estimate is of course not wholly accurate, for south, south-east, and north-east Africa are in fact much better documented than this allotment of maps might suggest, and areas like Ethiopia could have been covered in much greater detail. One must not underestimate, however, the difficulties which face anyone who tries to compile such an atlas single-handed; they are obviously much greater than when a team is at work. Professor Fage's hope expressed in his foreword, that the atlas is 'better than no atlas at all', is certainly fulfilled, and it provides something that has been badly needed for a long time.

Nevertheless, there are certain points to which particular attention should be drawn. Map 19, for instance, 'North-east Africa, xixth to xviii centuries', is (or should be) the most important of the five maps of north-east Africa. But (a) the boundary of Ethiopia in the sixteenth century is shown as only about half its real size; (b) 'Damut' is put south of the Abai, and though it was there up to the mid-sixteenth century, in the latter part of the century it shifted north of the Abai; (c) the Muslim states of southern Ethiopia are important enough to have had a separate or at least a larger map (cf. *Antiquity*, xxix, 116, 1955); (d) Gondar became the capital in 1636, not 1660; and (e) while the main Galla migration lines are correct enough, the line

shown to the west through 'Damut' is purely imaginary. Map 20 could have been larger, to include all the Bantu groups from the Great Lakes to the east coast. Map 19 could then have been larger also, with fuller (and perhaps more accurate) treatment of Ethiopia. Moreover, there is no mention of the Luhya group (Bantu Kavirondo) on either of these two maps, although it has been known since at least 1883. On map 20 it would have been helpful to have added 'Unyanyembe' as the name by which the Tabora district was formerly known. Indeed, the inclusion of other names now disused which occur in the explorers' books would have been a useful feature.

The arrangement of these maps must have been a matter of some difficulty, and on the whole it has been skilfully done. But one is struck by the number of blank half-pages, especially pp. 32, 33, where map 31, if it had been on p. 33 and map 32 on p. 32, could have been larger and more easily understood. Again, the blank half-pages on pp. 40, 41, and 44 might have been avoided by transposing the order of some of the maps, and a larger map 34 (European exploration) might then have been possible; surely maps 39 and 40 could have been combined. Map 34 should, I think, have included some of the earlier explorers like Alvares in the sixteenth century; and certain of the later ones like Krapf and Rebmann, Cecchi, and Teleki were of sufficient historical importance to have justified inclusion.

In some of the maps, e.g. 19, 31, there is an excess of dark shading which tends to obscure the detail; and in all, the coast might have been shown to better advantage by a slightly thicker line.

While it is easy enough to criticize in this way—and from having myself had to compile distribution maps of East Africa for teaching purposes I know the difficulties only too well—it is right in a review to point out blemishes which can be removed later, for this *Atlas* will, I am sure, require more than one edition. The next edition should contain also a larger map of the ethnic groups, giving some idea of the distribution of the main tribes and tribal groups as they are to-day, since these are the starting-point of the history of the African peoples.

The merits of the *Atlas* as it stands, however, are many. The maps themselves are beautifully and clearly drawn, and the short historical notes are admirably concise and informative. When wishing for more, one is perhaps inclined to forget that this is an atlas and not a history of Africa. In the matter of spelling Professor Fage has wisely made no attempt to standardize geographical and tribal names,

though it is pleasant to see Wagadugu no longer masquerading as Ouagadougou; but Adwa figures as both Adowa and Adawa. The book ends with a short list of sources, and an index of proper names.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

ISAAC O. DELANQ: *Atúmò ede Yorùbá*. lxxviii, 209 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 12s. 6d.

This modest volume, which is dedicated to Ègbè Omọ Oduduwa, the Yoruba nationalist society, contains a short grammar and dictionary of Yoruba written in Yoruba. The author, who had some years ago compiled a first draft of the dictionary, came to London in 1956 with a grant from the British Council to get help and advice at the School of Oriental and African Studies. He particularly acknowledges in the foreword the help given to him by Mr. J. Carnochan. During this period the dictionary was largely rewritten and the grammar added, since it was found necessary to explain the system of parts of speech to which the words in the dictionary were assigned.

It is not altogether clear how the selection of words for inclusion in the dictionary was made. A short bibliography is given on p. xi of books from which words and examples have been culled. These include the current Yoruba-English dictionary (C.M.S., Lagos, second edition, 1937, and O.U.P., 1950), but not all words found in this are taken over. For example, *ẹ̀p̀p̀n* 'testicle' and *abiyá* 'armpit' do not occur as items, though the words for other equally intimate parts of the body do. *abiyá*, however, occurs in an explanation—not by any means an isolated example of a rather irritating piece of carelessness. The explanations of the items are necessarily brief. Occasionally a short illustrative sentence is added, composed either by the author or taken from one of the listed texts. In some cases no explanation is given but only a short sentence in which the item, usually phonæsthetic in character, occurs. Presumably in these cases an explanation would take up too much space. As the procedure here adopted merely records the existence of the items one wishes the author had cast his net wider and included more of such words.

For the non-Yoruba this dictionary is certainly in one respect a big improvement on the C.M.S. dictionary in that the tones of items are much more systematically indicated. Unfortunately ambiguity still remains in the case of syllables containing a long vowel (indicated in Yoruba by writing a tilde over the vowel). Here it looks as if the author had at one time thought of indicating the tones by

the obvious device of writing a double vowel. For *ògùn* 'medicine' he gives the pronunciation *òdògùn* and for *ògùn* 'sweat' the pronunciation *òdògùn*. Unfortunately he did not pursue this idea very far and we get *òrìn* 'sun' [*òdòrìn*] and *òrìn* 'smell' [*òdòrìn*] with the pronunciations unindicated.

The grammatical section is to be welcomed as the first attempt by a Yoruba to write a grammar of the language based on its forms and structures instead of on a slavish imitation of traditional English grammar. The treatment is very condensed and controversial points are only briefly discussed.

Some careless omissions and inconsistencies have been noted, particularly in the section dealing with the conjugation of the verb, pp. xxiii-lxiii. (It is to be noted that in the grammar a good deal of English is used in conjunction with and in explanation of the Yoruba.) One Tense of the Imperative—the *má iwa* ('do not come yet') form—has been omitted and also the whole series of Subjunctive forms after *kí*—*kí ng wá*, *kí ng má wá*, *kí ng má iwa*, *kí ng má iwa*, etc., through all the Persons. In the Perfect Negative (Tense 22) he uses the form *kòí*, as in *ng kòí iwa* without mentioning the fact that many Yorubas would write *ng kò iwa* and that many others would insert *tí* as *ng kò tí iwa* or *ng kò tì iwa* or *ng kò ití iwa* or *ng kò í tì iwa*. In the Past and Perfect Habitual (Tenses 13 and 14) he is unaware of or ignores the fact that the more northern Yoruba, as exemplified e.g. in the Yoruba of Mr. E. L. Lasebikan, commonly use one-syllable pronouns with these forms. The section on Particles (p. lxvii) is very confused. The Particle *bó* (which has a negative meaning like 'is not') causes difficulty and confused and contradictory statements are made about it. *wó* 'which?' is listed as a Particle though it should be included among the Adjectives according to the author's classification and is actually so described in the dictionary! On the other hand the dictionary describes the independent form *éwó* 'which one?' as an Adverb, which it certainly is not whatever else it is!

Judged by the standards of Western scholarship this book certainly has its defects, but it is a useful addition to the library of the Yoruba student and is furthermore interesting as a by-product of current Yoruba nationalist feeling.

E. C. ROWLANDS

Studies in linguistic analysis. Special volume of the Philological Society. vii, 205 pp., 5 plates. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957. 70s.

Of the nine contributions to this volume,

seven are by past or present members of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics of the School of Oriental and African Studies, and of these all but one (Professor J. R. Firth's 'A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-1955') are phonological studies of individual languages. Nevertheless, there is no uniformity of treatment.

R. H. Robins ('Vowel nasality in Sundanese') argues convincingly in favour of treating nasality as a prosodic unit. In Sundanese a nasal consonant is regularly followed by nasal vowels in the same and successive syllables so far as no supraglottal consonant intervenes. Vowel nasality would be tied entirely to the phonological environment were it not for an infix which, though itself obligatorily non-nasal, does not serve to interrupt the succession of nasal vocalic segments. It would seem to follow that vowel nasality is here non-automatic. But, as Mr. Robins says, it would be an offence against descriptive economy to set up nasal vowels in opposition to oral vowels just in order to meet this isolated case. His solution is to regard the grammatical environment as a conditioning feature in phonology. Of course it should go without saying that a linguist committed to the less economic phonological system would not operate with this at the grammatical level, but would give a set of simple rules for transposition into the 'morpho-phonemic' form suitable as a basis for grammatical statements.

When grammatical structure is allowed as a conditioning feature in phonology it is surely desirable that it should also be reflected in the linguist's phonological transcription. Otherwise the phonetic interpretation of the forms is ambiguous. F. R. Palmer ('Gemination in Tigrinya') renders his paper unduly difficult to read by not respecting this principle of non-ambiguity. For instance, the similar transcriptions *manaku* (plural of *manka*) and *hasaku* (plural of *hasuka*) are to be read respectively, *manaku* and *hasaxu*. So whenever such forms are cited in isolation one is forced to refer back to the grammatical section in order to understand what is meant. However, the general position seems fairly clear. Historically, the form *manaku* (and analogous forms) are due to the analogy of the singular: the plosive *k* would be automatic after the preceding consonant in *manka*. Where the third-place consonant is intervocalic in the singular also, as with plural *hasaxu* to singular *hasuka*, there is no occasion for analogy. In other words, plurals of the type *manaku* have in common that the consonant in third position has the characteristics which are

normally associated with an immediately preceding consonant. We could therefore set up a feature of 'pre-closure' and distinguish such forms as *manaku* by using a symbol for this feature before the third-place consonant. This symbol would of course be open to other interpretations; the important thing is that the forms be recognized as distinct. This does not involve greater complexity of statement, at least if one allows, with Mr. Palmer, extensive overlapping between the exponents of the different units.

That similar *phonetic* forms should be given different *phonological* interpretations, according to grammatical structure, leads of course to no ambiguity, and the analyses in the paper of J. Carnochan ('Gemination in Hausa'), who allows such a relation, seem unobjectionable. American linguists will be certain to hold that these analyses are morpho-phonemic rather than phonological, but it is possible to regard this distinction as an unnecessary multiplication of levels.

Professor W. S. Allen ('Aspiration in the Hārauti nominal') sets up different phonological systems for different positions in the word. Though he goes far towards making plausible his approach so far as the language in question is concerned, it is difficult to see how the analysis can be justified by purely theoretical considerations. Professor Allen reinterprets Priscian: 'quidam addunt etiam ordinem, sed pars est potestatis literarum' in phonematic terms. Yet obviously different systems cannot be set up for every conceivable order (e.g. 'three places removed from an initial plosive'); the appropriate order-types must be carefully selected, and this of course is what Professor Allen does. But since a theory cannot entail in advance a definite number of order-types, it cannot even entail that any at all should be distinguished. Strongly as the reviewer disagrees with the common American view that there must necessarily be cross-identification between phones in one position and similar phones in another, he does not see why there should not be systems for which this is in fact always feasible.

Professor Firth's 'A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-1955' covers a wide range of topics, and some of the sections will not make easy reading for those unfamiliar with the details of his approach as published elsewhere. The notion of 'congruence between levels' is, however, well illustrated in several of the papers referred to, as well as in T. F. Mitchell's 'Long consonants in phonology and phonetics' and R. K. Sprigg's 'Junction in spoken Burmese'. M. A. K. Halliday's 'Some aspects of systematic description and comparison in

grammatical analysis' is in the main an application of some of Professor Firth's views to Modern Pekingese and Cantonese.

In his very clear and incisive paper ('Zero in linguistic description') W. Haas concludes that 'for zero-elements to be distinguished from "nothing", two conditions need to be satisfied: (1) the distinctive omission of overt forms, and (2) overt alternants to this operation'. The reviewer would like to add two further conditions: (i) that the distinctive omission be less frequent than the insertion of the overt form, and (2) that the overt alternants be collectively more frequent than the zero-alternant. But he would not require that *all* these conditions should be satisfied simultaneously. Mr. Haas is very severe on those who set up a zero-morph for such plurals as *sheep*. Yet just because this type of plural is rare, linguists are disinclined to allow an exception to the rule that every noun with a normal distributional range has a distinct plural. It is for this reason they set up a zero-morph for plural *sheep*, distinct from the mere absence of an inflectional morph in the singular. By this device the 'zero-plurals' are assimilated to the majority-type. Whatever one may think of this procedure, it is certainly less absurd here than it would be if these plurals constituted more than a small minority. Nor perhaps are any of the linguists' zero-elements quite as absurd as Mr. Haas implies by the remark: 'If some men in civilian clothes are soldiers, this is no reason for suggesting that they wear zero-uniforms'. Soldiers in civilian clothes presumably do not have just the same sort of functions as their fellows in uniform; whereas the point of setting up a zero-element is always to stress its similarity of function to the overt elements.

Taken as a whole, this volume is welcome evidence of the range and profitability of 'unorthodox' analysis as practised in England. That we have here the beginnings of a new orthodoxy is fortunately improbable. The demand for a single type of analysis, applicable by all linguists to all languages, is an unhealthy one. Professor Allen says of his own contribution: 'An economy on the "axe des simultanéités" would then involve the reverse on the "axe des successivités"'; one cannot have the best of both, and the choice depends upon one's theory. And the first concern of the present approach is the economical statement of the syntagmatic relations'. The theories will continue to differ, and hence we shall continue to have descriptions in which special importance is attached to one or the other form of economy. The current orthodoxy has linearity and monosystemics as its primary economies. These are abandoned by most contributors to this volume, often for plausible

reasons so far as concerns their particular material: the result is an economy in the number of levels and in the inventory at the phonematic level. Yet whatever the advantages, it would be vain to pretend that the analyses offered are in every way superior to the conventional ones. Something must always be sacrificed, and to sacrifice linearity is in itself no more meritorious than to sacrifice the conformity of levels. The slightly aggressive manner in which the analyses now usual (especially in America) are sometimes denounced is perhaps excusable in view of the manner in which these analyses were themselves proposed, and in which they are still maintained. Nevertheless it should be made clear that the weakest point of orthodox theory is not in the form of the analysis but rather in its claim to orthodoxy. It might be an exaggeration to say that none of the descriptive theories is intrinsically superior to any other, and that all depends on the material. But it is surely not an exaggeration to say that any theory applied with due flexibility is better than any other applied by rule of thumb. American linguists of the 'linear' school have been known to depart from their principle when circumstances demanded; recently, for example, Eric Hamp (*IJAL*, xxiv, 3, 1958, 239-40) has proposed a prosodic interpretation of nasality for a language whose system bears some analogy to that described here by Mr. Robins. When such concessions come to be more readily made, it may turn out that it matters far less than is commonly supposed, which theory is chosen as starting-point. Meanwhile the present variety of methods is only to be welcomed.

C. E. BAZELL

WILHELM SCHMIDT: *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*. Bd. xi. *Die asiatischen Hirtenvölker. Die primär-sekundären Hirtenvölker der Jakuten und der Sojoten-Kargassen sowie der Jenisseier und die Synthese der benachbarten Nicht-Hirtenvölker.*—Bd. xii. *Synthese der Religionen der asiatischen und der afrikanischen Hirtenvölker.* Hrg. von Fritz Bornemann. xxvii, 734 pp.; xl, 960 pp. Münster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954-5. DM. 50, 67.50.

The last two volumes of *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* complete a work, the publication of which extended over nearly half a century. For it was in 1908 that the late Professor Wilhelm Schmidt began the publication of

its first part as a series of articles in his newly founded journal *Archivum*. This first part, republished in a revised edition in 1926, was largely a critical analysis of the various then current theories about the religion of early and contemporary primitive man. The author supported his own view which later became known as the hypothesis of 'Urmontotheismus', with a substantial amount of ethnographic documentation, drawn mainly from Australia, and as throughout the years volume followed upon volume, the presentation and analysis of ethnographic data on the religion of selected groups of people gradually occupied an increasingly large space. As an encyclopaedia on the religion of food-gatherers and pastoral nomads the work will probably never be surpassed, and no one writing on primitive religion and mythology will ever be able to dispense with the wealth of data collected in its pages. In that respect the presentation of material from not easily accessible Russian sources will be particularly welcome to Western anthropologists.

The greater part of Bd. xi is based on such Russian sources and the description and analysis of the religion of the Siberian tribes of Yakuts, Soyots, Kargaseians, and Yeniseians provides a great deal of material with which few anthropologists outside Russia are familiar. Together with Bd. ix and x (the latter reviewed in *BSOA*, xvii, 1, 1955, 180 f.) it represents as full a picture of the religion of Central and north Asian nomadic peoples as has ever been produced or indeed is likely to be produced in the foreseeable future. Schmidt views the religion of the various tribes as a composite whole, consisting of a large number of elements, which he believes to have originated in different cultural milieus. He sets himself the task of tracing the distribution and mutual interactions of these elements and one of the recurrent themes of the book is the opposition between the sky-god of the 'pure' pastoral nomads and an earth deity stemming from agricultural civilisations of southern affinities.

Among the Yeniseians, for instance, this earth deity is the cause of darkness, cold, pestilence, and all evils, and is permanently opposed to the benevolent sky-god. Those who help the sky-god in his struggle against the earth-goddess are the shamans, and shamans play an important rôle in the religion of all the populations dealt with in Bd. xi. The author's analysis of their functions and their relations to the various mythological concepts is one of the most detailed and comprehensive accounts of Siberian shamanism in anthropological literature.

In Bd. xii, which is devoted to a 'synthesis of the religions of the Asian and African

pastoral peoples' the author reviews once more the creation-myths of a wide range of north and Central Asian peoples, and discovers in them many parallels to creation-myths occurring among American Indians. Particularly the motif of diving for earth in the primeval ocean is of very wide distribution, and Schmidt believes the myths containing this motif to be of immense age.

In a later chapter he tabulates the principal attributes of the supreme deity as he finds them reflected in the various creation myths, and concludes that the basic creation myth of the first pastoral civilizations must have originated not later than about 10,000 B.C. (p. 357). He arrives at this date by arguing that the older creation-myths, from which it is derived, must have spread from north-east Asia to America in the time between 15,000 and 10,000 B.C. While one may readily agree with the view that some of the myths found among north and Central Asian tribes may be of very great antiquity, it is difficult to follow Professor Schmidt in such a dating for which there can never be any archaeological evidence. The difficulties increase when we come to part 3, which contains the final comparison of the religions of the Central Asian pastoral people with those of the African pastoralists. This comparison is based in the assumption that Central Asia is the original homeland of pastoral civilizations, and that African pastoralism is a secondary development which originated under the impact of Asian pastoral peoples. Schmidt never abandoned his old thesis that reindeer and horse were domesticated earlier than cattle, and that in Central Asia a *Hirtenkultur* grew directly out of the earlier foodgathering pattern of life. This thesis, on which much of Schmidt's *Kulturkreislehre* was based, cannot stand up to present-day archaeological knowledge and its final rebuttal came from among Schmidt's own students and co-workers of the Vienna school, who proved the comparatively recent date of Central Asian pastoral nomadism. Whereas the parallels between the religions of Asian and African pastoralists remain nevertheless interesting, their interpretation as results of direct influence of the earlier Central Asian on the later African pastoral civilizations can no longer be considered valid. The author suggests in one place (p. 772) that 'it is definitely possible that African (and other) pastoral people may have formed and developed certain aspects of their religion as a result of their specific nature as pastoralists (*aus ihrer eigenen Hirten-Sonderart heraus*)', and in view of the untenability of the hypothesis of direct cultural transmission from Central Asian to African pastoralists we will have to fall back on this suggestion if we are to

explain some of the striking similarities between religious concepts found among Asian and among African pastoral peoples.

But even though one of Schmidt's most cherished theories—namely that concerning the direct development of the Asian *Hirtenkultur* from an earlier pristine *Urkultur*—had to be abandoned in the light of new discoveries and some of the conclusions reached in the final volume must hence be regarded with caution, the *Ursprung der Gottesidee* will nevertheless remain for many years a standard work invaluable to all anthropologists and scholars concerned with the history of religion.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

MIROEA ELIADE: *Patterns in comparative religion*. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. xv, 484 pp. London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958. 25s.

Comparative religion is a loose term, being applicable equally to such studies of advanced mystical thought as Rudolf Otto's *Westöstliche Mystik* and to the recording of the rites, myths, and beliefs of 'primitives'. Professor Eliade's latest work belongs to neither of these classes. *Patterns of comparative religion* is, as the title implies, an attempt to trace definite trends in all primitive religion; it is only secondarily concerned with 'higher' religions.

Religion, Professor Eliade maintains, is man's reaction to the 'sacred', and he therefore finds himself at the outset obliged to define what he means by that word. On p. 1 he defines it as 'the opposite of the profane'—which advances us little. As we read on, however, it becomes plain that by the sacred he understands that which is ultimately 'real'. 'A sacred thing, whatever its form and substance, is sacred because it reveals or shares in ultimate reality' (p. 158). What Professor Eliade means by 'real' is perhaps best illustrated by the following words: 'For the modern they [sexuality and nutrition] are simply physiological acts, whereas for primitive man they are sacraments, ceremonies by means of which he communicated with the force which stood for Life itself. . . . This force and this life are simply expressions of ultimate reality, and such elementary actions for the primitive become a rite which will assist man to approach reality, to, as it were, wedge himself into Being, by setting himself free from merely automatic actions (without sense or meaning), from change, from the profane, from nothingness' (pp. 31-2).

The insurmountable difficulty which faces any writer on primitive religion is his inability *qua* modern *homo sapiens* to make himself feel and see as a primitive feels and sees. Yet if

the attempt is not made, we are left with a meaningless collection of incomprehensible and grotesque facts. Professor Eliade makes the attempt whole-heartedly, for he has 'lived' religion as few others who write on this subject have. Yet, though it may be conceded that religion is primarily an 'approach to reality' away from an 'unreal' world, an approach to existence 'in an absolute manner' (p. 459), that is, an existence that transcends time, is it not far more likely that primitive man originally made no distinction between 'real' and 'unreal', 'sacred' and 'profane' and that the two domains only became separated with the emergence of a rational consciousness? Professor Eliade seems to admit this himself in that he contends that nothing is sacred in itself, but only becomes so as a result of a 'choice'.

This book is a work of constructive imagination—and nothing pejorative is meant by this. Like all such works scholars will find plenty to quarrel with in certain of the author's interpretations. Not all would agree that Anāhita is a 'lunar being' (p. 159) unless it is accepted that the moon and water are necessarily and always connected. Again, are the Maruts really the 'wandering souls of the dead' (p. 87)? Such criticism in detail could, of course, be made *ad infinitum*. The fact remains that this is an imaginative synthesis of the phenomena of primitive religion which no student can afford to disregard.

Miss Rosemary Sheed is to be congratulated on her excellent translation. There are the usual misprints which one has come to expect in translations from Oriental languages.

R. C. ZAEHNER

WERNER BURMEISTER (ed.): *Democratic institutions in the world today. Published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs.* (The Library of World Affairs, No. 38.) x, 157 pp. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1958. 17s. 6d.

The essays brought together here were lectures delivered at a course organized by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies in the University of London. The course, so the dust-cover tells us, was organized in conjunction with the National Peace Council and had the grand aim of encouraging 'the partnership of the free nations for the furtherance of the common purpose of democracy'. Nevertheless, the contributions are of solid worth.

It so happens that the parts of the book which will most interest readers of this journal are the most important as well as the most sizeable: four of the six essays are

by scholars of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Professor Bernard Lewis on the Islamic Middle East, Dr. Roland Oliver on Africa, and Dr. Hugh Tinker, two essays on Asia and on India and China. This is not to disparage the contributions of Richard Pear on the U.S.A. and the editor on Western Europe which are indeed able and interesting, but which cover more familiar ground and are included presumably as providing points of reference and comparison. It was indeed a good idea to include these for there is a tendency among some writers to speak of the deficiencies and diseases of democratic institutions in politically 'underdeveloped' areas in ignorance of the extent to which these are to be found in the actual working of many older established democracies of the West. From this point of view, the omission of Britain from the survey is unfortunate, perhaps suggesting that in our political system, which is so often the model, problems have disappeared.

Professor Lewis's essay has to tell a tale of failure—failure, that is, of the attempt to apply Western democratic ways to the Islamic Middle East. 'This great experiment has obviously failed.... The plebiscitary elections and controlled chambers... may have precedents and parallels in Europe, but their emergence marks a defeat of the European liberal tradition.' The experience was too sudden and superficial—partly because the imperialism encountered by the Middle East was 'an imperialism of interference without responsibility, which would neither create nor permit stable and orderly government'. To this substantial point, Professor Lewis adds another: 'the political traditions and experience of Islam are almost entirely autocratic'. In this connexion, however, he distinguishes between political and social democracy, insisting that aspects of the latter do indeed find a place in Islamic experience and tradition. He even permits himself the hope that on this basis some new kind of democracy may in time emerge. The final note is doubt: "the question is", as Alice remarked, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things".

The essay on Africa has a different task, for in that continent there is not yet success or failure; one 'can do little more than examine the foundations of democracy that have been laid', for 'it is too early to measure with any certainty the nature of the African response'. Nevertheless, the tone of Dr. Oliver's analysis is optimistic. It is interesting that the main ground for optimism is that 'Africa south of the Sahara, pagan Africa, has gone under.... The new Africa... is an Africa which has, to a very large extent indeed, identified itself with Western values'. In other words, the in-

indigenous tradition, still a stumbling block to Western democracy in the Middle East, has here disappeared. Of course, there are the difficulties of the multi-racial societies which Dr. Oliver discusses.

What, then, of Asia? The fact that Dr. Tinker was given a double allotment of space may indicate a justifiable belief in the crucial character of the Asian experience. In outline, it is unlike that of the other two areas: it has (in South Asia, at least) had that thorough Western Imperial rule which the Middle East missed, but its own traditions have not simply 'gone under' as have those of much of Africa. So much may be reasonably clear. But this leaves questions unanswered: what precisely then has been the extent of the Western impact in, say, South Asia? And what precisely is the political bearing of such indigenous tradition as survives?

The answers are not easily accessible and are

unlikely to be simple. (Dr. Tinker would perhaps—as the present reviewer would certainly—dispute the implied simplicity of the answer which Dr. Oliver appears to suggest in an incidental comparison: 'the West has been able . . . to sow in Africa seeds of western religious and moral values to which Asia . . . [has] been largely impervious'.) Moreover, more intensive study of the growing political life of Asian countries is needed before we can begin to be sure of our assessments. In the first essay Dr. Tinker considers the extent and manner of the penetration of Western political ideas and behaviour; in the second, he contrasts the Indian and Chinese paths. In both there is much that illumines, and their publication should be a help to the constructive consideration of such information about Asian political ways as becomes available.

W. H. MORRIS-JONES

SHORT NOTICES

B. SCHINDLER (ed.): *Gaster centenary publication*. viii, 40 pp., front. London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd. for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1958. 10s. 6d.

In 1958 the President and members of the Royal Asiatic Society, in conjunction with other learned societies, paid tribute to the memory of Haham Dr. Moses Gaster, once its Vice-President, on the centenary of the birth of that versatile and distinguished scholar. In this volume are printed the addresses given on that occasion, together with a bibliography of Dr. Gaster's books and articles. The range of these addresses testifies vividly to the wide catholicity of Dr. Gaster's interests and the depth and energy of his scholarship. Professor E. Robertson discusses—as he is best qualified to do among orientalists of to-day—the famous Samaritan Torah scroll of Abisha'. Dr. Gaster assigned it to the first century: most scholars regard it as written considerably later. Professor Robertson, in a spirited defence of Dr. Gaster's views, alludes to two new factors which will go far to resolving the argument. Photographs of the scroll taken independently by American and Spanish scholars will soon make the text of the scroll available for general study. In the second place, the alleged discovery of 'Samaritan' fragments at Qumran will, suggests Robertson, open the way to a comparative analysis of the development of the script.

The address by Professor A. Graur, on behalf of the Academy of the Roumanian People's Republic, demonstrates the importance of Dr. Gaster's pioneering work in a very different field, that of Roumanian

linguistics. These researches have had influence upon the present-day system of Roumanian spelling; and Gaster's *Chrestomatie Romana* is still a recognized textbook. Gaster's considerable contribution as folklorist is discussed by Miss S. R. Burstein, and Dr. B. Schindler offers some personal reminiscences of Gaster as scholar and friend. Gaster's successor as Haham of the Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London, Dr. S. Gaon, praises his work in the study of Jewish liturgy. It is a pity that Dr. Gaon should have marred his tribute by the statement that Gaster was 'the man who with Herzl laid the foundation of modern Zionism'; the memory of a pious scholar has no need of such extravagances.

The bibliography of Dr. Gaster's literary works has been prepared by Dr. Schindler and revised by his son, Mr. Vivian Gaster

J. B. SEGAL

EMMANUEL-KARIM DELLY: *La théologie d'Elie bar-Sénaya : étude et traduction de ses Entretiens*. (Studia Urbaniana, 1.) [ii], 95 pp. Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana de Propaganda Fide, 1957.

Elias bar Shinaya, metropolitan of Nisibis, was an outstanding figure of the early eleventh century. A senior Nestorian ecclesiastic of his time, he denounced vigorously and in public the simony which had brought Isho'yahb IV to the patriarchal throne. It is, however, by the versatility of his writings, in both Syriac and Arabic, that he is best remembered, for he won distinction as theologian, chronographer, and grammarian. The diction of his Syriac

is polished, and his thought clear. Among his most important works are the *Conversations*, which claim to be a record of Elias's exposition of Nestorian doctrine and of his views on matters as diverse as astrology and rhetoric at his meetings with the Vizier al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Maghribī in about 1026. They were composed in Arabic; and they are notable for the tolerance of their argument and the logic with which complex dogma is presented.

Father Delly informs us that he has prepared a French translation of the *Conversations* and of Elias's well-known letter on the Unity of God and the Hypostases, accompanied by a copious introduction on Elias himself, a textual apparatus, and an analysis of theological doctrines and of Islamo-Christian disputations of this period. His work is to appear in two volumes. In the volume under review he gives us—inexplicably—their table of contents, and even their pagination—inexplicably, because this volume is no more than a small extract from the larger work. We have here a translation and an analysis of the first two *Conversations* and the letter. Even within this restricted scope, the book is disappointing. Father Delly's treatment of Nestorian dogma consists largely of excerpts from the translation from Elias's work at the end of the book, and these passages from Elias have gained nothing by being torn from their context and embedded in Father Delly's somewhat banal analysis. There is no textual apparatus, and the reader is at a loss to understand the references to a 'Melkite recension' and to various manuscripts. It is unfortunate that the author should have produced this inadequate study in book form. There is material here for a competent article; but most readers (including the present reviewer) would have preferred to await the appearance of Father Delly's larger work in two volumes on a subject that should arouse considerable interest.

J. B. SEGAL

HANS WEHR (ed.): *Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsamen Geschichten, mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten von A. von Bulmerincq*. (Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 18.) xix, 516, [ii] pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1956. DM. 32.

This collection of tales has long been recognized as closely related to the *Thousand and one nights*, and Professor Wehr opens his preface with a discussion on its place in this type of literature in Arabic and other neighbouring oriental languages. The summary of the bibliography of the oriental tale with which the introduction is documented is

convenient for immediate reference. The actual MS of the *Ḥikāyat* in Constantinople seems to fall within the period 700–50 H., the first half of the fourteenth century A.D., but internal evidence seems to show that the historical references cannot be dated later than the tenth century A.D. Professor Wehr does not, however, concur in the view that this book is that of al-Djāhshiyārī the author of *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* though it does not seem to the reviewer that a scholar would scrupulously refrain from composing a work of a popular genre, even if he were to disclaim authorship.

The stories are set in Arabia, Bahrain, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, but it is in the latter country that Professor Wehr considers the final redaction to have been made. The style is a mixture of classical and colloquial Arabic, though it differs as for example, between the story of al-Mikdād wa-l-Maiyāsah and that of al-Kasān. There is in the story of al-Mikdād an attempt at the heroic style, but the verse not unlike the 'Antar romance is not really Arabian. Perhaps one might compare the general style to that of the modern educated Arabian in its mixture of the literary and spoken languages. The orthography reflects the spoken word in that we find the interchange of *šād/sin*, of *dād/ḡā'*, and of *tā'/tā'*, while a list of characteristically colloquial forms is to be found on pp. xv–xix. The stories are prefaced by a formal opening and of course the usual Islamic endings.

On one issue alone must Professor Wehr's edition be taken to task, and that is for lack of a glossary or index to the Arabic text which would have made it so much easier to consult.

R. B. SERJEANT

Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part III. Pahlavi inscriptions. London: Lund Humphries & Co., Ltd.

Vol. II. *Private inscriptions of the classical period. Plates. Portfolio I: plates i–xxiv. The inscription of Sar-Māshad, edited by W. B. Henning.* [viii] pp., 24 plates, 1955. 22s. 6d.

Vol. II. *Private inscriptions of the classical period. Plates. Portfolio II: plates xxv–xlvi. The inscription of Naqš-e Rostam. (1–48), edited by W. B. Henning.* [viii] pp., 24 plates, 1957. 22s. 6d.

Vol. IV, *Ostraca, and Vol. V, Papyri. Plates. Portfolio I: plates i–xxiv. Ostraca and papyri, edited by J. de Menasce.* [x] pp., 24 plates, 1957. 22s. 6d.

In August 1954 a resolution was carried at

the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge expressing 'deep appreciation of the generous help accorded by His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran and his Government to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*'. The first-fruits of the munificence recorded in the resolution are three portfolios of plates.

Two of these are devoted respectively to two copies, one carved in the rock at Sar-Mašhad near Kazerun, the other at Naqš-i Rostam, of a long inscription dictated by the Zoroastrian high priest Kartir, the founder of the Sasanian state church. The publication of the Naqš-i Rostam copy will be completed in a portfolio to be issued later. The plates show photographs of latex impressions of the inscriptions, which at Sar-Mašhad had to be taken by a man who was hanging from the rock in a sack and had to be pushed with long poles towards the face of the inscription. In such circumstances it is only to be expected that the impression would suffer in places. As, moreover, both the Sar-Mašhad and the Naqš-i Rostam inscriptions are badly damaged, some of the plates do not hold out hope of easy decipherment. On the other hand, the first part of the long text agrees with the inscription Kartir had had carved on the Ka'be-yi Zardušt, the end with his inscription at Naqš-i Rostam. In all, therefore, three copies are available, in a varying state of preservation, of part of the text, and two copies of the remainder. It should therefore be possible to restore much of this important record, but the task is exacting. A foretaste of the surprise the text has in store for archaeologists and historians is provided by Professor Henning's discovery, communicated in the introduction to the Naqš-i Rostam portfolio, that Kartir refers to the Ka'be-yi Zardušt as 'this foundation-house'. From this description the editor infers that the Ka'be is likely to be identical with the famous 'Stronghold of the Scriptures' in which, according to the *Dēnkart*, a copy of the Avesta had been deposited.

The third portfolio contains material defined by Father de Menasce as 'written in non-calligraphic Pahlavi cursive script'. This is shown in 12 plates reproducing 198 ostraca and one earthen plate inscribed on both sides, and 12 plates devoted to 59 fragments of papyri. With the exception of one papyrus all this material had so far remained unpublished. Most of the ostraca were collected near Varamin, seven come from Nishapur, one from Susa, and one possibly from Nippur. One ostrakon of the Nishapur set is in an unidentified language. The papyri, like those published by O. Hansen from the Berlin collection in *APAW*, 1937, were all found in

Egypt. The plates in the present volume reproduce fragments that have been located in collections other than those in Berlin, Vienna, Heidelberg, and Leningrad. The editor anticipates that it will take some years to complete the decipherment of this difficult new material.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

Dumbarton Oaks Papers. No. 11. ix, 277 pp., 44 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 60s.)

Scholars of many nations have reason to be grateful for the gracious welcome and ideal working conditions so freely provided by the trustees of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Old Georgetown, Washington. The volumes of occasional papers issued by Dumbarton Oaks since 1941 have won a high reputation for their impeccable scholarship and their splendid presentation. The latest volume measures up well to its predecessors and contains several items of interest to orientalists. Outstanding among these is the illustrated description by Andrew Alföldi and Erica Cruikshank of 'A Sassanian silver phalera in Dumbarton Oaks': this phalera, which evidently adorned the bridle of a seventh century Persian knight, was no doubt brought to Byzantium as booty, made into a drinking cup and authenticated as commercial silver by being stamped with control marks. In 'Architectural notes on a trip through Cilicia', George H. Forsyth describes with photographs a group of churches and related monuments of the age of Justinian. 'The will of a provincial magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)', translated with commentary by Speros Vryonis, Jr., is important for the insight it gives into the life of a Byzantine magnate living in the western marchlands of Georgia which were annexed by the Greeks in the eleventh century. Byzantine art is represented in Paul A. Underwood's second preliminary report on the restoration of the frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute, 1955, and Marvin C. Ross's paper on 'A Byzantine gold medallion at Dumbarton Oaks' (both with fine illustrations). In 'Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: a study in ecclesiastical relations', Dimitri Obolensky examines the methods by which the court and patriarchate in Constantinople controlled the appointment of the Metropolitans of Kiev, and the extent of their concessions to Russian national susceptibilities. Ihor Ševčenko maintains that Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anta-Zealot' discourse was in reality not directed against the revolutionary

'Zealots' of fourteenth century Thessalonica, but against abuses committed by the Byzantine imperial officials. Harry A. Wolfson discusses the philosophical implications of the theology of Cyril of Jerusalem.

D. M. LANG

Bibliography of recent Soviet source material on Soviet Central Asia and the borderlands. No. 1, 1957.—[No. 2, 1957.] Cover-title, ii, 27 pp.; cover-title, ii, 47 pp. London: Central Asian Research Centre, 1957-8. 5s. each.

These are the first two fascicules of a bibliographical survey which is to appear twice-yearly as a supplement to the *Central Asian Review*, which is edited by Geoffrey Wheeler of the Central Asian Research Centre and David Footman of St. Antony's College, Oxford. In addition to books, a large number of inaccessible journals and serial publications have been combed through, with rewarding results. The subjects covered by this bibliography include agriculture and forestry, archaeology, architecture, the borderlands (i.e. Afghanistan, India, Persia), economics, education and scholarship, history, industry, irrigation, linguistics, literature and fine arts, natural sciences, politics, transport and travel. The coverage is remarkably complete. Each entry is provided with a brief factual description. One could have done with a definition of the term 'feudal-bai attitude' (No. 1, p. 3): no doubt this refers to deplorable habits of mind prevalent under the old *beys* and *amirs* in benighted pre-Russian times.

D. M. LANG

HANS ROBERT ROEMER (tr.): *Šams al-Husn: eine Chronik vom Tode Timurs bis zum Jahre 1409, von Tāğ as-Salmānī. Persischer Text in Faksimile (Hs. Lālā Isma'īl Efendi 304).* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Bd. VIII.) [v], 151, [176], [i] pp., 2 plates. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1956. DM. 42.

In making available this work in facsimile and translation Dr. Roemer has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the sources for the Timurid period. The *Šams al-husn* starts with a description of the victory celebrations held after Timūr's return in 807/1404 from his victorious expedition to Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor and of the preparations made for an expedition to

the East. The main part of the chronicle is devoted to a description of the struggle for power among Timūr's successors in the years 807-11/1405-9, a critical period in the development of the Timurid empire. Not a great deal appears to be known about the author, Tāğ as-Salmānī. As Dr. Roemer points out, he is mentioned in the *Gulistan-i hunar* as the originator of the writing known as *ta'liq*; and from the *Šams al-husn* we learn that he came to Timūr's court at Samarqand in 800/1397 and was at the court of Shāhrukh in 812/1410. These facts, coupled with the literary style of the work and the inclusion of quotations from court correspondence, lead Dr. Roemer to the conclusion that Tāğ as-Salmānī held a high post in the chancery of Shāhrukh. The style of the chronicle is highly ornate, not to say turgid, and the factual information it contains is submerged under a torrent of rhetoric. Dr. Roemer has, wisely, not attempted a close translation of the original but given a paraphrase of its factual matter. As he himself points out, however, the borderline between historical reporting and rhetorical embroidery is not always easy to draw; the critical reader in case of doubt can refer to the original. Meanwhile readers will be grateful to Dr. Roemer for having produced a readable and workmanlike translation of this valuable text.

A. K. S. L.

GÜLŞEHİRİ: *Man'ıkaci-tayr. Tıpkıbasım. Önsözü yazan Ağâh-Sırrı Levend.* (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından, Sayı 166.) 32, 298, [ii] pp. + crata slip. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957. Lira 17.5.

This work, which was completed in the year A.H. 717, is one of the most considerable products of the earlier Old Ottoman literature. Though based on the celebrated Persian poem of Ferīdu'd-dīn 'At'fār it is far from being a close translation. It has both literary and linguistic importance, and indeed during the 40 years which have elapsed since it was first mentioned by Köprülü high claims have been made on its behalf. It is a great blessing that it has now been made accessible to us all in this facsimile edition.

The text reproduces the MS in the possession of the well-known bookseller Raif Yellenci. It is sparingly vowelled, and from its general appearance seems (to me) to be not earlier than the seventeenth century; but the facsimile is very clear and readable. It occupies 298 pages. It is preceded by an introduction by Ağâh-Sırrı Levend, the General Secretary of the Dil Kurumu, which extends to 28 pages. The scholar has devoted

many years to the study of Turkish literary history, especially of the earlier periods. His remarks are always helpful; but one could wish he had given more information about the existing MSS.

C. S. M.

KARL FRIEDRICH GELDNER (tr.): *Der Rig-veda Vierter Teil. Namen- und Sachregister zur Übersetzung, dazu Nachträge und Verbesserungen. Aus dem Nachlass des Übersetzers hrsg., geordnet und ergänzt von Johannes Nobel.* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 36.) vii, 271 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press, etc., 1957. 40s.

This index-volume to Geldner's translation of the Rig-veda (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 33-5) offers much more than its title might suggest. Both indices are in fact indices of topics, each main entry being followed not only by references to the text, but also by succinct indications of what is said about the deity, person, or thing in the passages in question. The book thus promises to be a most valuable tool for future research in Vedic religion and civilization.

LOUIS RENO: *Études védiques et pāṇinienes. Tom. I-IV.* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série in-8°, Fasc. 1, 2, 4, 6.) [iv], 133 pp.; [iv], 153 pp.; [iv], 135 pp.; [iv], 138 pp. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958.

This collection of essays and studies by Professor Renou, of fundamental importance in both fields, has now reached a point where it may be useful to list the contents of the series up to the present.

Tom. I contains three R̥gvedic essays, on 'Les pouvoirs de la parole', 'Le problème de l'ellipse', and 'L'hypercaractérisation dans le R̥gveda'; and also 'Les parties en prose de l'Ātharvaveda'; 'Remarques sur le Chāndogya-Upaniṣad'; 'Les nipātana-sūtra de Pāṇini et questions diverses' (viz. the use in the sūtras of the terms *bhāṣyam*, *chandasī*, *iti*; word-order and verbal forms; the *adhikāra-sūtras*; *nityam*; *striyam*).

Tom. II: 'La composition du dixième maṇḍala'; 'Les refrains dans le R̥gveda'; 'Études sur quelques hymnes spéculatifs' (RV and AV); 'Études sur quelques mots védiques' (brief notes on *jukā*, *tristā*, *ari*); 'Préposition et préverbe dans le R̥gveda';

'La grammaire prākṛite de Trivikramadeva'; 'Le Paribhāṣenduśekhara'.

Tom. III: the hymns to Uṣas in the R̥gveda (translation and notes); 'Faits de langue propres au *Paippalāda-Ātharvaveda*'; 'Le *Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa*'; 'Kaccāyana et le *Kātantra*'.

Tom. IV: the hymns to the Viśvedevāh in the R̥gveda (notes).

G. H. BHATT (ed.): *The Vālmiki-Rāmāyana: critical edition. Vol. I, Bālakāṇḍa, Fasc. 1* [ch. 1-10]. xxxiv, 80 pp., 4 plates. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1958.

We have here the first-fruits of a plan, undertaken in 1951 by the University of Baroda, to produce a critical edition of the *Rāmāyana* in a style similar to that of the Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The critical notes present the readings of 37 manuscripts, selected from a total of 86 collated by Professor Bhatt and his assistants. The presentation of the evidence of all the available recensions will be most welcome, and it is to be hoped that the printing will make steady progress.

LILLIANE SILBURN (ed. and tr.): *Le Paramārthasāra: texte sanskrit édité et traduit.* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série in-8°, Fasc. 5.) 105 pp. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957.

This text is a summary in 105 *āryā* verses of the metaphysics of Kashmir Śaivism by the well-known tenth century author Abhinavagupta. Of almost no philosophic interest, the work is nevertheless of some importance as a religious manifestation, and presents a convenient summary of the main tenets of the school. The editor has accompanied her translation with a running commentary based on the commentary of Yogarāja, and has added a lengthy introductory essay on Abhinavagupta.

ERNST WALDSCHMIDT (ed.): *Das Catuṣ-pariṣatsūtra: eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde. Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins, auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften. Teil I: der Sanskrit-Text im handschriftlichen Befund.— Teil II: Textbearbeitung: Vorgang*

1-21. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1952, Nr. 2; Jahrg. 1956, Nr. 1.) 67 pp.; 69-217 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952, 1957. DM. 10.80, 19.50.

DIETER SCHLINGLOFF (ed.): *Chandovicī, Texte zur Sanskritmetrik*. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 36; Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, v.) 72 pp., 8 plates. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958.

The publication of the *Catuparīkṣāsūtra* is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivāda, and gives us the version preserved in that school of the traditions of the beginning of the Buddha's mission, starting from the time of his enlightenment. The title of the work is contained in the final colophon of one of the fragments in the form *Catuparīkṣāsūtra*, and the text is cited in the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* (ed. Lévi, p. 161), where the spelling is *Catuparīkṣāsūtra*. It might have been better to retain either *-parīkṣa-* or *-parīkṣa-* in the title. The edition follows the same pattern as that of other Buddhist texts previously published by Professor Waldschmidt: the first part contains a meticulous transcription of the fragments, and the remainder gives as full as possible a restoration of the Sanskrit text on the basis of the fragments, with the assistance of the parallel versions in the Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese *Vinayas*, which are printed in columns (the Chinese in German translation) alongside the Sanskrit. At the time of writing, the concluding part, containing the latter half of the restored text, had not yet been published.

Professor Waldschmidt has earned our further gratitude by initiating a new series under his own general editorship for the publication of the Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia, the first volume of which was published in 1955, and the fifth volume of which, edited by Dr. Schlingloff, is noticed here. The *Chandovicī* is one of the most interesting of non-Buddhist Sanskrit texts which has come to us from Central Asia. Until now nothing has been known of it except the name; but the name has long been familiar as that of a work on metrics mentioned in the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin. There is no reason to doubt that this is the text to which Daṇḍin referred. In spite of the badly broken state of the manuscript, Dr. Schlingloff has extracted from it

a great deal of useful information, and the value of the publication is enhanced by excellent photographs of the manuscript.

J. B.

NILS SIMONSSON: *Indo-tibetische Studien: die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*. 1. 291 pp. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB., 1957. Sw. kr. 25.

The origin of this work is a hitherto unknown fragment of an archaic Tibetan translation of the *Saddharmapundarīka*, discovered in Khotan by Sven Hedin's expedition in 1933, and now preserved in the National Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm. The fragment contains 268 stanzas, as well as portions of the prose parts of the text, and 84 stanzas are studied in detail in the present volume. In each case, the Sanskrit text and the later Tibetan version from the Kanjur are given for comparison, and for 31 stanzas a further Tibetan version from a Tun-huang fragment is added. The conclusion is reached that the canonical Kanjur version resulted from a radical revision of the older translation. One of the most striking features of the earlier version is the mechanical equivalence of *pāda* to *pāda* between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan, a rule which is only rarely infringed. This results at times in syntactically unusual word-order for Tibetan, and the revised version remedies this by allowing much greater freedom within the stanza.

The second chapter undertakes a similar study of 14 verses and some prose passages from a Tun-huang Tibetan fragment of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, compared with the Sanskrit and the later Tibetan versions edited by J. Nobel (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra . . . die tibetischen Übersetzungen*, Leiden-Stuttgart, 1944).

The concluding part of the book discusses fully questions of dating, and gives the text and translation of the introduction to the Tibetan *Madhyamapathī* (previously translated in part by L. Ferrari, *Arthavinīśaya*, Roma, 1944), a most interesting document in which are set forth the principles to be followed by Tibetan translators of Sanskrit texts.

This book is thus a work of the greatest importance for the study of the developments of the Tibetan methods of handling the problems of translating from Sanskrit, and consequently of importance in assisting us to assess the testimony of the Tibetan translations in general.

J. B.

JOHANNES REINOUD ABRAHAM LOMAN
(ed. and tr.): *The Padma-prābhṛta-
kam: an ancient bhāṣa assigned to
Sūdraka*. 83 pp. + errata slip.
Amsterdam: De Driehoek, [c1956].

This work is the first of a collection of four ancient *bhāṣas* first published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastry in 1922 under the title *Caturbhāṣi*. Up till this time only very late specimens of this type of drama had been known, but when these four texts were published it was at once clear to the discerning reader that here was something much more ancient and that these four works were to be classed with the earlier productions of classical Sanskrit drama. In this respect attention was drawn to their importance by F. W. Thomas (*JRAS*, Centenary supplement, 1924, 123 ff.; *JRAS*, 1924, 47 ff.) and by S. K. De (*JRAS*, 1926, 63 ff.). Later (*JRAS*, 1946, 46 ff.) I collected the historical references in the *Pādātāḍitaka* in order to show that they indicated a date early in the fifth century A.D. for that work. Style and language suggest that all four works belong roughly to the same period, and as regards the work under review, whatever may be thought about the historicity of *Sūdraka*, there is nothing against its being contemporary with the *Mṛcchakatika*.

The *editio princeps*, though very competently done, was based on a single manuscript and printed on very inferior paper. It has long been inaccessible except in a few libraries and the time for re-editing these works is overdue. Consequently the present edition, with translation, of the first *bhāṣa* in the collection is very welcome. It is to be hoped that the editor will proceed to tackle the other works in the collection, and publish a revised text of them all, preferably in Devanagari script for the benefit of Indian readers.

The editor was able to obtain some additional manuscript material, though not very much nor very complete, and on the basis of this to constitute a critical apparatus. The critical text which he has constituted on the basis of this is not, however, free from blemishes and the same can be said of the translation. One could easily produce a considerable list of instances where his text can be improved on the basis of the available material, and these include cases where verses have been left unmetrical or where a better reading is available in the *editio princeps*. The translation also could be improved in many places, and the number of misprints is larger than should have been allowed. Not unexpectedly one discerns the hand of a novice, but performance improves with practice, and it is to

be hoped that Dr. Loman will continue with his work on this subject.

T. BURROW

J. GONDA: *Some observations on the relations between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda a propos of the phrase sīmuh sahasaḥ*. (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, I.) [iv], 107 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. 18s.)

Vedic scholars, especially critics of K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda übersetzt* (I, 1951), will find this concise but rather discursive study of much interest; but it is of greater importance to the historian of Indian thought and to the anthropologist. Copious illustration of the early Aryans' expressions of their belief in 'power-substantives' will be certain to stimulate responses in both spheres. Few will now doubt but that *sīmuh sahasaḥ* applied to Agni means 'son (i.e. representative) of the power-substance Might' instead of 'product of friction', and that too despite Professor Gonda's verging upon self-contradiction on p. 24. We are taken on a tour of the power-substances, and incidentally given helpful information on *ṛta-*, *aditi-* (which is translated 'freedom', etc.), *āgas* ('sin', 'disease'), *rūpa-* ('manifestation', 'representation'), and other key expressions of Vedic sociological as well as religious vocabulary. It seems to this reviewer that the stage is now set for a thorough comparison of the scope of *tejas*, *ojas*, *sahas*, *śarvas*, *varcas*, *tapas*, *yāśas*, and the rest (see p. 93). The essay contains shrewd remarks on primitive but constant Indian ideas (e.g. the function of flattery, the belief in an obligation to confer benefits on demand) and is adorned with comparisons with Semitic and other foreign usages and with the Book of Common Prayer.

Granted Professor Gonda's assertions regarding the use of the instrumental in many contexts, in RV. 8, 48, 5 (p. 22) *sahasā* may strike many as still capable of referring to the kindler's possession of the quality which characterizes the kindled. And though the human body manifests divine energy (p. 23) is there not room for the possibility that the divine is itself (prior to revelation) in part a projection of human energy? On p. 98 for 'holy' read *hōti*, and for 'explication' *passim* 'explanation'.

J. D. M. D.

J. C. HEESTERMAN: *The ancient Indian royal consecration: the rājasiya described according to the Yajus texts and annotated* [sic]. (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, II.) viii, 235 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £2.)

This is a considerable and laudable achievement, though, despite his vigorous endeavour to expound the *rājasiya* in the interests of historians of religion and cultural anthropologists, the author has not quite avoided the unduly solemn tone conventionally associated with studies of these ceremonies. Under his very thorough scrutiny of the Black Yajus rituals details which previously defied explanation have become, or have very nearly become, rational. This is a model of modern Vedic research, and it is to be hoped that it will inspire many to take up once again the 'classics' of pre-historic India. That they made sense even as late as the eighth to tenth centuries is demonstrated by the claims made by South Indian kings (doubted by historians but now abundantly justified by Dr. Heesterman's thesis) to have performed *dozens* of *śvamedhas*, etc.

Of course Indian kings had plenty of consecrations besides the *rājasiya*, but the thesis put forward here is applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to a wide range of them. The king is viewed in these texts as a 'common sacrificer', but the need for his abstinence and patience throughout the complicated ritual was far from trivial. '... the *rājasiya* seems to be an abridgment of what originally must have been an unremitting series of yearly ceremonies with the object of regenerating the universe. The king took a central place in it. The universe had yearly to be recreated and so had the king who, like the common *śrauta* sacrificer, incorporated the cosmos. . . . In the cyclic conception of the world, the cosmogony-consecration must be repeated over and over again.' Some of this reconstruction will be challenged, in particular the 'regular recreation' theory. But it remains beyond doubt that the king had to be 'consecrated' in fertility rites in order to be a proper king, and his special powers had to be replenished by repeated experiences catalogued in the *dharmaśāstra*. Whether the *daśapeya* was a ceremony celebrating the 'marriage-like bond between king and people' may also be doubted. The *viś* admire his actual and magical potency (on his benefits from soma, some would disagree with the theory on p. 193), and they nourish him with the food they produce. The many excursions on topics

such as the significance of numbers, hair-cutting, baths such as the *avabhr̥tha*, the *dakṣinā*, and dice, are useful beyond their immediate context. It is to be hoped that a study of the origins of kingship in India (on similarly comparative lines) will follow.

J. D. M. D.

FRITZ KERN: *Āśoka, Kaiser und Missionar*. Hrsg. von Willibald Kiefel. 208 pp., 4 plates, map [on front end-paper]. Bern: Francke Verlag, [1956]. Sw. fr. 14.

The draft of this book was found in the papers of the late Professor Kern after his death, and it has been edited by Professor Willibald Kiefel and given to the world 'genau so, wie er es . . . hinterlassen hat' (p. 9). It consists of two parts, the first a study of *Āśoka* based chiefly on his inscriptions, which are translated and commented on at length, and the second, strangely entitled '*Āśoka's Platz in der Weltgeschichte*', a survey of the religious history of India down to the time of the earlier Upaniṣads. The two sections are virtually independent, and the editor reasonably surmises that it was the author's intention to add a third section, linking them together and returning the reader to the main theme of the book. Though the editor has no doubt done rightly in publishing Professor Kern's words exactly as he wrote them, it is unfortunate that he did not add a bibliography, for the notes contain many bibliographical abbreviations which are not explained, and may cause difficulty to students not thoroughly acquainted with the subject. Many of the interpretations suggested in the book are highly speculative, and are not likely to win general acceptance.

A. L. BASHAM

M. H. VAN DER VALK: *Conservatism in modern Chinese family law*. (Studia et Documenta ad Lira Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia, Vol. IV.) [v], 90 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956. Guilders 13.50.

The period from the last years of the Manchu dynasty down to the promulgation of the Marriage Law by the People's Government in 1950 saw many attempts by judicial decision and by legislation to regulate the family life of the Chinese people. Professor van der Valk has an intimate acquaintance with all the relevant literature in Chinese and in this book analyses the development of the law regarding marriage and divorce. The work is useful for those interested in the social policy of Chinese governments in modern

times, although it must be admitted that until the Communist régime such regulations had almost no practical effect.

The Communists make great play of the fact that they have introduced the principle of registration into the law of marriage, but it is too soon to know how rigorously this innovation will be enforced. The experience of the Japanese courts which have been gradually led to extend more and more recognition to unregistered customary marriage suggests that many awkward problems may soon be confronting the Chinese authorities.

H. MCA.

ALFONSA FERRARI (ed. and tr.): *mK'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of central Tibet. Completed and edited by Luciano Petech, with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson.* (Serie Orientale Roma, xvi.) xxiii, 202 pp., 53 photos., 3 maps. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 4500.

The guide itself is a short work, 37 pages in this edition, by a Rñin ma pa monk who died in 1892, based not only on literary sources but also on long personal experience of travel in central Tibet. Mkhjen brtse, to use Professor Petech's abbreviation of his luxuriant name, yields to his senior contemporary Baron Baedeker in detail and intimacy, but there is no doubt about his practical intention to smooth the paths of pilgrims nor of his general reliability. Professor Petech points out that his sectarian background accounts for the omission of some important Dge lugs pa establishments, but as most of these are comparatively modern the work does not lose much of interest by that.

This edition leaves nothing to be desired. Besides the text, based on two xylographs and a manuscript and followed by an English translation, we are offered an introduction, three maps, 53 photographs, full indices, and 714 antiquarian and topographical notes. These latter are mainly the work of Professor Petech and Mr. Richardson, whose names guarantee their quality. Their contributions to the whole work and that of the late Miss Ferrari are carefully distinguished in Professor Petech's preface.

The ordinary student of Tibetan, who may perhaps feel no consuming interest in the subject matter of this book, will none the less be glad to possess a piece of business-like, modern Tibetan prose, carefully and attractively edited; and its indices make it a valuable work of reference for geographical points.

D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

HEINRICH F. J. JUNKER: *Koreanische Studien.* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1953, Nr. 5.) 127 pp., 4 plates. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955. DM. 14.50.

The studies are 'Transliteration and transcription', 'Korean phonetics', 'Sino-Korean', 'Western foreign words in Korean transcription', and 'On the system of the Korean sounds'. All five are concerned in various ways with Korean speech sounds, but they add little to what has already been published, often in less specialized works, in Korean, Japanese, and English.

Professor Junker is an Indo-Europeanist writing for Indo-Europeanists, not an Orientalist writing for Orientalists, and the sources on which he has drawn for Korean are among the least satisfactory of those available. It would have been more profitable, in the 1950's, to have ignored the publications of the Société des Missions Étrangères of the 1880's, to have reviewed the works of Americans such as Martin and Lukoff, rather than those of Hodge and Underwood, and of Japanese such as Ogura and Koono, rather than those of Obata, and some reference might have been made to the work of Koreans, at least to those of Yi Sung-Nyong and Yi Hün-Sung. It is true that these studies do show some advance on those of Eokardt and Ramstedt, but their works were, after all, comprehensive grammars, the one a practical course in the language, and the other a description with a slightly historical bias, and neither were intended as treatises on the phonetics of Korean.

The majority of the facts given in these studies are correct, but there are not a few misprints and other errors, the terminology used in the descriptions seems often inappropriate for Korean, and the treatment is in general confused in purpose. Two more romanizations are added to the long list of romanizations already in use. A review of Korean history which is thrown in with the study of Sino-Korean is hardly above the level of a magazine article in content. The study of Western words in Korean is simple almost to the point of amateurishness. The indexes contain no reference at all to subject matter, and it is very difficult to see how they could be an effective means of reference to the work.

However, the work should perhaps be judged in the setting of the present state of Korean studies in Europe, and not according to the higher standards which have been set in Korea,

Japan, and America, and as a work of Indo-European philology, rather than a linguistic study of Korean.

W. B. SKILLEND

JOHN YOUNG: *The location of Yamatai: a case study in Japanese historiography, 720-1945*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, No. 2, 1957.) 205 pp., 4 facsim. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. \$3.50.

The problem of the location of what the *Wei History* refers to as Yamatai, whether it was in northern Kyūshū or in the area later known as Yamato, is one of the more important unresolved questions in early Japanese history. This monograph sets out the conflicting theories on the subject urged by Japanese historians from the earliest times until 1945, ranging from the attempts to decide the issue by textual and phonetic analysis of the appropriate passages in the *Wei chih* and other Chinese accounts, to modern studies incorporating the results of archaeological research. The author does not try to put forward views of his own, but he does at least provide a useful recapitulation of the most important material on the subject (though sometimes the summaries are so brief as to be cryptic). At the same time he makes of this an exercise in historiography. He provides a skeleton history of historical writing in Japan and treats work on the Yamatai problem as an index to certain characteristics of Japanese historical writing generally. Since theories about Yamatai are closely linked with those concerning the origins of the Japanese state and hence the position of the Emperor, the result is to emphasize the political influences at work on Japanese historians in different periods. This is not the whole story, of course, but it is useful to have it documented in this way. Unfortunately the book is marred by a fairly large number of misprints, many of them in the spelling of Japanese names.

W. G. BRASLEY

F. C. JONES: *Hokkaido: its present state of development and future prospects*. viii, 146 pp., 2 maps [on endpapers]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1958. 21s.

This study of the economic importance of Japan's northernmost island begins with a brief survey of its history and geography, then treats in turn recent development plans,

agriculture, forestry, fisheries, mining and industry, each chapter being amply supplied with statistical tables. The result is to contradict several popular beliefs about Hokkaidō. It is not correct, Dr. Jones points out, to regard the island as virtually unsettled and unexploited: its population has grown considerably since the middle of the nineteenth century and there is little good arable land still to be developed. Indeed, its natural disadvantages of terrain and climate make it impossible for Hokkaidō to offer any real help in overcoming Japan's population problem in terms of farming. Dairy farming is the only important field of likely increase. On the other hand, considerable scope still exists for the growth of industry there. The large coal reserves, especially, will grow in importance as those in Kyūshū dwindle and become difficult to work, making it desirable (and economically profitable) to exploit the Hokkaidō fields more fully. The iron and steel industry, similarly, might well be encouraged with good results. The difficulty, as Japanese planners have already found, is to provide the large capital investment needed; but if this can be overcome, the economic development of Hokkaidō might make a valuable contribution to the solution of Japan's economic problems.

W. G. BRASLEY

JOHN BROWN MASON and H. CARROLL PARISH: *Thailand bibliography*. (Bibliographic Series, No. 4.) vii, 247 pp. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Libraries. Department of Reference and Bibliography, 1958.

Additional collections of bibliographical material on Thailand are always to be welcomed, and this one, with some 2,300 references, covers many branches of Thai studies, from history and linguistics to the natural sciences.

Since most of the relevant bibliographies have been consulted, this volume includes much valuable work but it cannot be relied on as being fully comprehensive. This is particularly so in the case of more recent publications though there are entries dated as recently as September 1957. In some subjects, linguistics and current affairs for example, there are regrettable omissions. A few of the works published on the Lao, the Shan, and other Tai peoples outside Thailand are included.

There are annotations to many entries, and, though perhaps this is not the fault of the compilers, some of these are far from accurate. The annotation to the entry of Prince Dhani

Nivat's *The nang*, which is a study of the Siamese shadow play, reads: 'Subject is the Thai motion picture industry' (p. 31). Opinions are sometimes bizarre. The comment on an article by L. P. Briggs is: 'Band of American missionaries was main factor in progress of Thailand toward the West. Anna Leonowens was part of British propaganda system in key position in charge of Rama IV's secret correspondence' (p. 132).

Except for listing dictionaries, grammars, etc., in a special section, the compilers have contented themselves with making a simple division into books and pamphlets, and periodical articles, each arranged alphabetically by author. This is quite inadequate.

It is a pity that so much trivial and evanescent writing has been included. When important works are omitted the inclusion of trivia is an inexcusable waste of space, print, and time.

E. H. S. SIMMONDS

A. E. COOPE: *A guide to Malay conversation. Revised and enlarged fourth edition.* [vi], vi, 132 pp. Singapore: Marican & Sons, 1958.

This book, written by a Malayan Civil Servant who retired many years ago, is aimed at conveying a feeling for the language. It does not pretend to present either a scientific approach to teaching or a scientific analysis of the language. Nevertheless, since it was first published in 1946, it has been of great help to many a European who has realized how pedestrian his Malay was and has wished to be able to talk to the *kampong* people on equal terms. One may perhaps question whether the year after Independence is a suitable time for a new edition of a book dedicated to the theme: 'there is essentially only one Malay—a rich racy allusive language of peasants'. Even if the word 'Malay' is here read in the restricted sense of the Peninsular colloquial language, the above statement is no longer true. Malay is now the national language of the Federation of Malaya and is being deliberately adapted to the needs of an advanced civilization. It is now more important for the average non-Malay to learn the colloquial form of this national language than to learn the more picturesque speech of peasants.

E. C. G. B.

State of the Union: economic, financial and statistical year-book for the Union of South Africa, 1958. 452, 7 pp. Cape Town: Culemborg Publishers, [1958].

An unusually lucid survey of facts and trends

in the Union of South Africa, this year-book covers such topics as constitution and government, election results since 1910, foreign policy, Defence Force, archives, broadcasting, important legislation of recent years, the various categories of population, Christianity, South African ways of life, immigration, status of foreigners, Bantu reserves, Bantu in industry, legal protection of Bantu workers, housing of Bantu, education, mineral riches and mining, agriculture, fruit farming, wine industry, the Land Bank, forestry, water conservation, railways, airways, harbours, road system and transport, national finance, monetary policy, foreign trade, the Union's African markets, Reserve Bank, the National Finance Corporation, national income, foreign investment, generation of capital, financial institutions, Stock Exchange, State activities assisting and affecting industry, the Government as industrial entrepreneur, industrial legislation, lists of employers' organizations, manufacturing and private industry, commerce, and special sections on South West Africa, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland.

The book is an invaluable source of information on progress and development in the Union and has many valuable analyses of trends affecting the present and future development of the country. It contains the kind of information that is—and, no doubt, must be—lacking in the official Union year-book published by the Government Printer.

R. W.

G. BRIAN STAPLETON: *The wealth of Nigeria.* xii, 228 pp., map [on endpapers]. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 16s.

This little book by one who is Lecturer in Economics at the Nigerian College of Technology, Ibadan Branch, is not designed for economic specialists nor yet for university students of economics; it is rather a popular essay in the economic or human geography of Nigeria, an essay which necessarily overlaps several important disciplines. And yet it says much for the quality of Mr. Stapleton's work, that professional economists and those who have under their control the expansion of the Nigerian economy will find this a complete and valuable abridgment of the political, social, geographical, and economic facts which will determine the pace and pattern of Nigerian development. There has up to now been a dearth of works (even of those which are much more ambitious and technical in character) dealing with the economic geography, not only of Nigeria, but of many other tropical dependencies as well. In short, this book does satisfy a need.

At the same time the author will get across to the audience that one presumes he is addressing (the intelligent layman, whether in Nigeria or elsewhere) the basic facts about the agricultural, mineral, and other resources of this vast area of Africa. The lucid style and apt presentation will ensure that even the layman can approach this usually forbidding subject with confidence. On the basis of the facts as so clearly presented, the reader may see for himself what is possible and what is impossible for Nigerian industrial and other expansion in the years to come. In performing this valuable service of putting the essential information at the disposal of the reader, the author may help to correct some over-optimistic estimates of the rate at which the Nigerian economy can expand and hence raise the standard of living of the Nigerian people. It is natural that Nigerians are impatient to see their country as industrialized, and hence as rich, as the wealthy countries of the West; but there is apparently little prospect of the development of heavy industry (iron and steel production, aircraft and shipbuilding, engineering, and so on). It is likely, therefore, that for some time to come Nigerian industry will be largely confined to the processing of home products; it follows that economic development will proceed at a more modest rate, and that there will be no startling over-night change from a predominantly agricultural to an industrial economy.

As the author claims, he has the true interests of Nigeria at heart. These interests will be better served by his 'sober, objective' survey of the problems of economic development than by fine words which ignore the hard facts. The author has made a real contribution to the understanding of Nigeria and its economy.

A. N. ALLOTT

FREDA WOLFSON (comp.): *Pageant of Ghana*. (West African History Series.) xvi, 266 pp., col. front., 8 plates. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.

J. D. HARGREAVES: *A life of Sir Samuel Lewis*. (West African History Series.) xii, 112 pp., front., plate. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 6s.

These are the first two volumes in a new series, which is sponsored by West African Newspapers, Ltd., and which is being issued under the general editorship of Professor G. S. Graham of the University of London. Miss Wolfson's book is a compilation of extracts from written records and books dealing with

the Gold Coast, from the date of its earliest discovery by the Portuguese in 1471 to the present day. She draws freely on the writings of traders, missionaries, journalists, government servants, and anthropologists in building up a picture of life on the Gold Coast at different times in its chequered history. Although the choice of items for selection is sometimes idiosyncratic, as in any anthology, the resultant mixture provides an eminently rewarding book for dipping into rather than reading continuously. The West Africanist will doubtless keep *Pageant of Ghana* for his bedside table, whilst recommending it to those who are completely unfamiliar with West Africa as a means of acquiring a certain historical background in a hurry.

Mr. Hargreaves's life of the noted citizen of Sierra Leone, Sir Samuel Lewis, is altogether a more scholarly, though much shorter, work. Lewis was an outstanding figure in Victorian Freetown—a prominent lawyer, a leading politician, and a humanitarian who did much for the advancement of his fellow peoples of the Colony and Protectorate. Lewis also found time to play a most active part in the affairs of the local Wesleyan Church. He was a great enough man to court unpopularity, as by accepting briefs in unpopular causes. His life, from 1843 to 1903, neatly spans the period when modern Sierra Leone was being created by the gradual establishment of British rule over the Protectorate, by the development of the Legislative Council (in which Lewis shone as an unofficial member for over 21 years), and by the setting up of the Freetown municipality. In all of these developments Lewis was a prime mover. Altogether the people of modern Sierra Leone have much to be thankful for to their First Citizen of the preceding century; and the choice of his life as the first one to be commemorated (out of all West Africa's distinguished public servants) in the present series was a happy one.

A. N. ALLOTT

DJAMBATAN: *A world on the move: a history of colonialism and nationalism in Asia and North Africa from the turn of the century to the Bandung Conference, with 675 illustrations*. 264 pp. [including photos.]. Amsterdam: Djambatan, [1957]. Guilders 22.50.

This book contains a magnificent collection of black and white photographs of people, scenes, and events in Asia and North Africa, for the most part during the last 60 years. There are over 200 large quarto pages of these photographs, supplemented by an introductory text from the pens of Professors Romein

and Wertheim of Amsterdam, and by a chronological table, which together make up another 60 pages. Attention is devoted in roughly equal proportions to the background of Asian civilizations and the period before 1914, the two World Wars and the inter-war years, and events after 1945.

As a piece of reporting *A world on the move* is of uneven merit. This may be because the text, the photographs, and their captions have each been the work of different editors. The result is not a history of colonialism and nationalism, but largely a description of the social impact of the West on Asia, of enmity between Westerners and Asians, and of current social and economic problems. The scope of the book is epitomized by a passage in the text which speaks of Asian resistance to the West and its evolution 'from antipathy for the foreigner into nationalism, and from an agrarian and philosophical aversion to technology into an awareness of Asian social problems and the necessity for social and economic renaissance'. Within the limits of this theme there is much that is good. The wide coverage of all Asia in one narrative, and the juxtaposition of photographs from Morocco, the Hejaz, Java, and Japan, serve to remind us of the universality of many problems, and may suggest new ideas to those whose attention is usually focused on more limited fields. But attempts to make a meaningful pattern amongst the photographs and the inevitable demands of compression in the narrative have caused connexions to be overdrawn or implied where they may not exist, and there are many doubtful generalizations. In some cases this criticism may rest on a historian's love of fussing over trifles, or merely on the prejudice of a Western reviewer. But in many instances it does not. On the same page as enforced land reforms in Russian Asia and nationalist revolts in the Spanish Philippines and Netherlands India are mentioned, we are told that the kings of Siam were 'obliged' to modernize their administration and limit feudal power (p. 80). There is not space to mention that these kings in fact took the lead in educating

their people in the need for reform, and often forced it upon unwilling or apathetic subjects. The simultaneous treatment of postwar events in Malaya and Vietnam leads to statements that, like the French, 'the flower of the British army' was 'cut down in endless guerilla warfare', and that the British clung on to Malaya 'with great difficulty and pain' (pp. 173, 184). We are not told why, having won their guerilla war (if it was theirs, and not that of the Malayan security forces), they promptly gave up control to an independent government. The desire to weave fact and photograph into a logical pattern of cause and effect leads to far too much weight being attributed to the part played by events in Indonesia in determining British policy in India after 1945 (p. 173). The treatment of Indian politics is altogether too sketchy, so that the grant of independence is represented as a sudden development, and attributed to secondary factors. The Government of India Act is mentioned in passing as 'a political reform' (p. 131), with no hint that it represented an attempt to work out a plan for self-government. There are photographs of Cripps with Gandhi and Nehru, but no mention of the Cripps missions. There is, however, very full treatment of Chinese and Japanese affairs in the same period.

But if as an attempt to report the recent past *A world on the move* has its defects, it seems to this reviewer to possess much greater worth on a different level, as a contemporary social document. To include three different photographs of coolies dragging a road roller may strike a Western reader as a tiresome reiteration of the fact that Asia provides cheap labour. It ought also to bring home to him the strength of Asian resentment at the way in which that labour has been used by Western enterprise. The real value of this book lies in the clear picture it will give to Western students of the way Asians think and feel about 'colonialism', and the way in which their view of modern history colours all their contemporary ideas.

C. D. COWAN

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- VĀSUDEVŚARAṆ AŚRAVĀL : *Kādambarī (ek sāmśkṛtīk adhyayan)*. (Vidyābhavan Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Granthamālā, 14.) [iii], x, xvii, 404 pp. Vārāṇasī : Caukhamba Vidyābhavan, 1958. Rs. 13.75.
- SHERALI ALIDINA (comp.) : *Speeches of His Highness Prince Farim Aga Khan, Imam-e-Zaman*. [iv], 74 pp. Karachi : The Ismailia Association Pakistan, 1958.
- ROBERT AUSTERLITZ : *Ob-Ugrio metrics : the metrical structure of Ostyak and Vogul folk-poetry*. (FF Communications, Vol. LXX₂, No. 174.) 128 pp. Helsinki : Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1958. Fmk. 600.
- ARONIE J. BAHM : *Tao teh king, by Lao Tzu, interpreted as nature and intelligence*. 127 pp. New York : Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., [1958]. \$0.85.
- THEODORE BESTERMAN (comp.) : *A survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present : Arthur Upham Pope, editor, Phyllis Ackerman, assistant editor. Index volume*. [v], 136 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 35s.
- VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA (ed.) : *Nāgānanda [of Śrīharṣadeva]*. (Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 281, Issue No. 1574.) xiii, 258 pp. Calcutta : Asiatic Society, 1957. Rs. 15.
- UGO BIANCHI : *Il dualismo religioso : saggio storico ed etnologico*. 215 pp. + addenda slip. Roma : 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1958.
- UGO BIANCHI : *Zamān i Ōhrmazd : lo zoroastrismo nelle sue origini e nella sua essenza*. (Storia e Scienza delle Religioni.) 263 pp. Torino, Roma, etc. : Società Editrice Internazionale, 1958. L. 800.
- Bibliography of recent Soviet source material on Soviet Central Asia and the borderlands*. No. 1, 1957.—[No. 2, 1957.] Cover-title, ii, 27 pp. ; cover-title, ii, 47 pp. London : Central Asian Research Centre, 1957-8. 5s. each.
- BETTY BOUTHOU : *Le Vieux de la Montagne. Cinquième édition*. 309 pp. [Paris] : Gallimard, [1958]. Fr. 800.
- RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN, Jr., and FRANK P. ALBRIGHT : *Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia*. (Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, Vol. II.) xvii, 315 pp. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press, [1958]. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £4.)
- L. CADIÈRE : *Syntaxe de la langue vietnamienne*. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XLII.) xxvii, 208 pp. Paris : École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1958.
- G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI and others : *Un editto bilingue greco-arabico di Aśoka : la prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan. Testo, traduzione e note a cura di G. Pugliese Carratelli e di G. Levi della Vida, con prefazione di G. Tuoni e introduzione di U. Scerrato*. (Serie Orientale Roma, XXI.) vii, 35 pp., 2 plates. Roma : Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 500.
- SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA : *Early history of north India from the fall of the Mauryas to the death of Harṣa, c. 200 B.C.—A.D. 550*. xx, 317 pp., map. Calcutta : Progressive Publishers, 1958. Rs. 16, 30s.
- RAMAPRASAD CHAUDHURI and DEVAPRASAD GUHA (ed.) : *Sūttasaṅgaha*. (Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 282, Issue No. 1575.) xviii, 348, ii pp. Calcutta : Asiatic Society, 1957. Rs. 15.

- RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY : *History of Bihar*. [ii], viii, [406] pp., 26 plates, table. Patna, etc. : Smt. Shanti Devi, 1958. Rs. 12.50. (Agents : Motilal Banarsidass, Patna.)
- RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY : *Select inscriptions of Bihar*. [iii], [iv], [65], 138 pp. Patna : Smt. Shanti Devi, 1958. Rs. 10.50. (Obtainable from Motilal Banarsidass, Patna.)
- BJÖRN COLLINDER : *Survey of the Uralic languages*. xxii, 539 pp. Stockholm : Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957. Sw. kr. 68.
- CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA : *The development of the Kharoṣṭhī script*. xvi, 469 pp. Calcutta : K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958. Rs. 40, 75s.
- [SHEILA], Lady DAVID : *Illustrated catalogue of Ch'ing enamelled wares in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. Section 2*. xvi, 40 pp., col. front., 16 plates. [London] : School of Oriental and African Studies, 1958. 15s.
- ÉMILE DERMENGHEM : *Muhammad and the Islamic tradition. Translated from the French by Jean M. Watt*. (Men of Wisdom.) 191 pp., map [on inside of front cover]. New York : Harper & Brothers ; London : Longmans, [1958]. 6s.
- J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT : *Hindu law past and present ; being an account of the controversy which preceded the enactment of the Hindu Code, the text of the Code as enacted, and some comments thereon*. xx, 408 pp. Calcutta : A. Mukherjee & Co., Private Ltd., 1957. Rs. 12.
- Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. No. 11. ix, 277 pp., 44 plates. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 60s.)
- GEORGES DUMÉZIL : *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*. (Collection Latomus, Vol. xxxi.) 122 pp. Bruxelles (Berchem) : Latomus : Revue d'Études Latines, 1958. Bel. fr. 200.
- OTTO EISSFELDT : *Enno Littmann † am 4. Mai 1958. Gedenkrede bei der Akademischen Gedächtnisfeier in Tübingen am 15. Juli 1958*. (Tübinger Universitätsreden, 5.) 28 pp., front. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958. DM. 2.40.
- G. B. ENDACOTT : *A history of Hong Kong*. xiii, 322 pp., 6 plates, 2 maps. London : Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- MUHARREM ERGİN : *Dede Korkut kitabı. 1. Giriş—metin—faksimile*. (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından, Sayı 169.) xix, 253, 97, 154, [viii] pp. Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958. Lira 25.
- W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ : *Tibetan yoga and secret doctrines, or Seven books of wisdom of the great path, according to the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. Arranged and edited with introductions and annotations to serve as a commentary. Second edition*. xlii, 389 pp., front., 8 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 42s.
- DANIEL J. FINN : *Archaeological finds on Lamma Island (船灣洲) near Hong Kong*. Edited by T. F. Ryan. (Ricci Publications.) ix, 278 pp., 65 plates. Hong Kong : Ricci Hall, University of Hong Kong, 1958. HK \$20, 25s.
- HANS H. FRANKEL (comp.) : *Catalogue of translations from the Chinese dynastic histories for the period 220–960*. (East Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California. Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, Supplement No. 1.) [iii], 295 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1957. \$4.50. (English agents : Cambridge University Press. 34s.)

- MAURICE FREEDMAN: *Lineage organization in southeastern China*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 18.) ix, 151 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1958. 25s.
- D. C. GANGULY (ed.): *Select documents of the British period of Indian history (in the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta)*. [ii], x, 251 pp. Calcutta: The Trustees of the Victoria Memorial, 1958. Rs. 15.
- KRISTOF GLAMANN: *Dutch-Asiatic trade, 1620-1740*. xi, 334 pp. Copenhagen: Danish Science Press; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. D. kr. 35.
- J. M. GULLICK: *Indigenous political systems of western Malaya*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 17.) vii, 151 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1958. 25s.
- GÜLŞEHRİ: *Manşûrî-ı tayr. Tıpkıbasım. Önsözü yazan Ağâh Sırrı Levend* (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından, Sayı 166.) 32, 298, [ii] pp. + errata slip. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957. Lira 17.5.
- GEORGE L. HARRIS and others: *Jordan: its people, its society, its culture*. [By nine authors.] (Survey of World Cultures.) [x], 246 pp. New Haven: HRAF Press, [1958].
- E. K. HAWKINS: *Road transport in Nigeria: a study of African enterprise*. viii, 101 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, [1958]. 15s.
- P. M. HOLT: *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898: a study of its origins, development and overthrow*. ix, 264 pp., 4 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 35s.
- S. H. HOOKE (ed.): *Myth, ritual, and kingship: essays on the theory and practice of kingship in the ancient Near East and in Israel*. xi, 308 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 35s.
- HERIBERT HORST: *Timür und Högü 'Alî: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Safawiden*. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrg. 1958, Nr. 2.) 29 pp., 12 plates. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, [1958]. DM. 5.40.
- G. HULSTAERT: *Dictionnaire lomongo-français, A-J*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 16, Tom. 1.) xxxi, 917 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1957.
- G. HULSTAERT: *Proverbes Mongo*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 15.) 828 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1958.
- NOBUTAKA IKE: *Japanese politics: an introductory survey*. xiv, 300, ix pp. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958. 25s.
- INDIA. NATIONAL ARCHIVES: *Index to the Foreign & Political Department records. Vol. 1. 1756-1780*. xii, 548 pp. Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India, 1957. Rs. 15, 23s. 6d.
- RUTH JONES (comp.): *West Africa: general, ethnography/sociology, linguistics*. (Africa Bibliography Series.) [i], v, 116 leaves. London: International African Institute, 1958. £3 15s.
- LUDWIG KOHL-LARSEN (tr.): *Das Elefantenspiel: Mythen, Riesen- und Stammes-
*Volks*erzählungen der Tindiga*. (Das Gesicht der Völker.) 233 pp. Kassel: Erich Röth-Verlag, [c1956]. DM. 4.80.

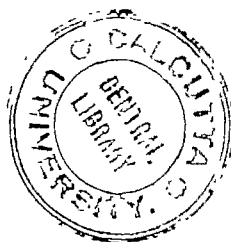
- LUDWIG KOHL-LARSEN (tr.): *Das Zauberhorn: Märchen und Tiergeschichten der Tindiga*. (Das Gesicht der Völker.) 162 pp. Kassel: Erich Röth-Verlag, [c1956]. DM. 3.80.
- JORG KRAEMER and HELMUT GÄTJE: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, auf Grund der Sammlungen von August Fischer, Theodor Nöldeke, Hermann Reckendorf und anderer Quellen hrsg. durch die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. 1. Lief.* Cover-title, xxiii, 40 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957 [pub. 1958]. DM. 9.
- EBERHARD KUHN: *Syrisch-arabischer Sprachführer*. [vii], 147 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 8.80.
- H. E. LAMBERT: *Chi-Jomvu and Ki-Ngare, sub-dialects of the Mombasa area*. (Studies in Swahili Dialect, III.) [1], 119 pp. Kampala: East African Swahili Committee, Makerere College, 1958.
- WOLF LESLAU: *Ethiopic and South Arabic contributions to the Hebrew lexicon*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. xx.) [vii], 76 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. \$1.75.
- LIU MAU-TSAI: *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*. (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 10.) 2 vols.: [viii], 484 pp.; [v], 485-831 pp., map, table. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 60.
- LAURENCE LOCKHART: *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*. xiii, 584 pp., 10 plates, map. Cambridge: University Press, 1958. 70s.
- JOHANNES REINOUD ABRAHAM LOMAN (ed. and tr.): *The Padmaprabhṛtakam: an ancient bhāṣya assigned to Śūdraka*. 83 pp. + errata slip. Amsterdam: De Driehoek, [c1956].
- D. L. R. LORIMER: *The Wakhi language*. 2 vols. [Mimeographed.] London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1958. £6 6s., \$20.
- JOHN BROWN MASON and H. CARROLL PARISH: *Thailand bibliography*. (Bibliographic Series, No. 4.) vii, 247 pp. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Libraries. Department of Reference and Bibliography, 1958.
- PHILIP MASON: *The birth of a dilemma: the conquest and settlement of Rhodesia. Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations*. xi, 366 pp., front., 10 plates, map. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- R. O. MEISEZAHN: *Bemerkungen zu tibetischen Handschriften des 17.-19. Jahrhunderts, ergänzt durch die mikroskopische Untersuchung im Institut für Cellulosechemie der Technischen Hochschule Darmstadt*. [Offprint from *Papier Geschichte*, Jahrg. 8, Nr. 2, 1958.] pp. 17-28.
- JOHN MIDDLETON and DAVID TAIT (ed.): *Tribes without rulers: studies in African segmentary systems*. xi, 234 pp. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958. 28s.
- LENNOX A. MILLS: *Malaya: a political and economic appraisal*. xi, 234 pp. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Oxford University Press, [1958]. 30s.
- V. MINORSKY: *The Chester Beatty Library: a catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures*. xxxvii, 147 pp., front., 42 plates. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., 1958.
- GYULA MORAVCSIK: *Byzantinoturcica. 1. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker. Zweite durchgearbeitete Auflage*. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Griechisch-Römische Altertumskunde. Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd. 10.) xxviii, 609 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. DM. 77.

- KENNETH W. MORGAN (ed.): *Islam—the straight path: Islam interpreted by Muslims*. x, 453 pp., map [on endpapers]. New York: The Ronald Press Co., [1958]. \$6.
- KURT MUNZEL: *Ägyptisch-arabischer Sprachführer*. [iv], 212 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 14.
- JOSEPH NIEDHAM: *Chinese astronomy and the Jesuit mission: an encounter of cultures*. (China Society Occasional Papers, No. 10.) [iv], 27 pp. London: China Society, 1958. 6s.
- Nehoi' l-feradis. 1. *Tıpkıbasım. Önsözü yazan János Eckmann*. (T.D.K. Tıpkıbasımlar Dizisi, 35.) [ii], xiv, 444 pp. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956. Lira 20.
- PAUL NGOI and E. BOELAERT (ed. and tr.): *Lianya-verho'en. 1. Ekso-versie*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 17.) 244 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1957.
- FAUSTA NOWOTNY: *Eine durch Miniaturen erläuterte Doctrina myetica aus Srinagar*. (Indo-Iranian Monographs, Vol. III.) 67 pp., 2 plates. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £1.)
- D. V. PERROTT: *Jifunze Kiingereza: Teach yourself English for Swahili-speaking people*. (The Teach Yourself Books.) xii, 188 pp. London: English Universities Press Ltd., 1958. 7s. 6d.
- LUCIANO PETECH: *Medieval history of Nepal (c. 750–1482)*. (Serie Orientale Roma, x. Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture, 3.) xi, 238 pp., table. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 5000.
- The Political Quarterly*. Vol. 29, No. 3. [Special number—The passing of colonialism.] pp. 209–316. London: Stevens and Sons Ltd., 1958. 7s. 6d.
- Puisi Melayu: sha'ir, pantun, s'loka dan lain-lain: An anthology of Malay poetry*. (Kesusasteraan Melayu, Rampai-rampai II: Longmans' Malay Studies Series (Literature).) viii, 119 pp. + errata slip. London, etc.: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. 5s.
- BAIJ NATH PURI: *India in the time of Patañjali*. [iii], xvii, 260, 27 pp., 7 plates, map. Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, [1958]. Rs. 20.
- Rajasthan-Bharati*. Vol. v, No. 3–4. [Dr. Luigi Pio Tessitori number.] Paging various. Bikaner: Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute, 1957.
- LOUIS RENOU: *Études védiques et pāninéennes. Tom. IV*. (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série in-8°, Fasc. 6.) [iv], 138 pp. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958.
- B. W. ROBINSON: *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian paintings in the Bodleian Library*. xxv, 219 pp., col. front., 40 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 55s.
- FRANZ ROSENTHAL (tr.): *Ibn Khaldūn: The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history*. (Bollingen Series, XLIII.) 3 vols.: cxv, 481 pp., front., 3 plates; xiv, 463 pp., front., 8 plates; xi, 603 pp., front., 3 plates, diagr. [in end-pocket]. New York: Pantheon Books, [1958]. \$18.50.
- WERNER RÜDENBERG: *Chinesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. Dritte erweiterte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage von Hans O. H. Stange. 2. Lief.* Cover-title, 193–384 pp. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 26.

- JOSEF FRANZ SCHÜTTE : *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan. 1. Bd. : Von der Ernennung zum Visitor bis zum ersten Abschied von Japan (1573-1582). II. Teil : Die Lösung (1580-1582).* xxvi, 591 pp., front., 17 plates. Roma : Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958. L. 7500.
- H. N. SINHA (ed.) : *Fort William—India House correspondence and other contemporary papers relating thereto (public series). Vol. II : 1757-1759.* (Indian Records Series.) lii, 512 pp., front., 11 plates, 2 maps, fig. Delhi : Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India, 1957. Rs. 19, 29s. 6d.
- PERCIVAL SPEAR : *India, Pakistan, and the West. Third edition.* (The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, 211.) 256 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 7s. 6d.
- TH. STOHERBATSKY : *Buddhist logic.* (Indo-Iranian Reprints, iv.) 2 vols. : [i], xii, 560 pp. ; [ii], vii, 469 pp. 's-Gravenhage : Mouton & Co., 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £6 17s.)
- JEAN STEINMANN : *Saint John the Baptist and the desert tradition. Translated from the French by Michael Boyes.* (Men of Wisdom.) 191 pp., map [on inside of front cover]. New York : Harper and Brothers ; London : Longmans, [1958]. 6s.
- IRENE B. TAEUBER : *The population of Japan.* xx, 461 pp. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £6.)
- ALFRED TETENS : *Among the savages of the south seas : memoirs of Micronesia, 1862-1868. Translated from the German by Florence Mann Spoehr.* xxxvi, 107 pp., 8 plates. Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press ; London : Oxford University Press, 1958. 25s.
- ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE : *East to west : a journey round the world.* xii, 243 pp., map. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 21s.
- AMALES TRIPATHI : *Trade and finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833.* xiii, 289 pp. + errata slip. Bombay, etc. : Orient Longmans, 1956. Rs. 20.
- RYUSAKU TSUNODA and others (comp.) : *Sources of the Japanese tradition. Compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene.* (Records of Civilization : Sources and Studies, No. LIV. Introduction to Oriental Civilizations.) xxvi, 928 pp. New York : Columbia University Press ; London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 60s.
- TÜRK DİL KURUMU : *xiii. yüzyıldan günümüze kadar kitaplardan toplanmış tanıklarıyla tarama sözlüğü, iv.* (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından, Sayı 167.) xv, 923 pp. Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957. Lira 20.
- Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten.* 1953-7. (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından.) 5 vols. Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1953-7. Lira 8 (1953-5) and 10 (1956-7) each.
- HANS WEHR (ed.) : *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Dritte, unveränderte Auflage.* xi, 986 pp. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 57.
- TINGSSEN S. WEI : *Yayoi culture—the first Chinese culture in Japan. Reprinted from Chinese Culture Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1958.* Cover-title, 27, 4 pp., 28 plates, 2 maps, table. Taipei, Taiwan : The Chinese Cultural Research Institute, [1958].
- GOTTHOLD WEIL : *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren.* [iv], 134 pp. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 14.

- W. H. WHITELEY (ed. and tr.): *Utenzi wa vita vya Maji-Maji*, by Abdul Karim bin Jamaliddini. *Historical introduction by Miss Margaret Bates. Supplement to the East African Swahili Committee Journal*, No. 27, June 1957. 72 pp. [Kampala: East African Swahili Committee, Makerere College, 1958.]
- DONALD N. WILBER: *Iran past and present. Fourth edition.* xi, 312 pp., 12 plates. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 40s.)
- E. B. WORTHINGTON: *Science in the development of Africa: a review of the contribution of physical and biological knowledge south of the Sahara.* xix, 462 pp. + errata slip, 10 plates, 15 maps. [London]: Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara and Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara, [1958]. 30s.
- YIGAL YADIN and others: *Hazor I: an account of the first season of excavations, 1955.* By Yigael Yadin, Yohanan Aharoni, Ruth Amiran, Trude Dothan, Immanuel Dunayevsky, Jean Perrot. (The James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor.) xxiv, 160 pp., front., 184 plates. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, [1958]. (Distributed in G.B., British Commonwealth, and Europe by Oxford University Press. £8 8s.)
- W. PERCEVAL YETTS: 'West' and 'east' and the Chou dynasty. [With a memoir of the author and a list of his published work relating to Chinese studies.] (China Society Occasional Papers, No. 11.) [iii], 16 pp., front. London: China Society, 1958. 6s.
- ERWIN VON ZACH (tr.): *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsüan.* Edited by Ilse Martin Fang. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, xviii.) 2 vols.: xxxvi, 605 pp.; [iv], 607-1114 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £5.)
- R. C. ZAEHNER: *At sundry times: an essay in the comparison of religions.* 230 pp. London: Faber and Faber, 1958. 21s.
- ANANIASZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI: *Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak de l'époque de l'État Mamelouk: Bulgat al-muštāq fī lughat al-Turk wa-l-Qiṣṣāq. 1-ère partie. Le nom.* (Prace Orientalistyczne, Tom VII.) xxiii, 63, [i], 16, [i] pp., 28 plates. Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1958.

BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXII: PART 2

1959

Published by
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

CONTENTS

ARTICLES	PAGE
D. S. RICE : The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript	207
P. M. HOLT : The exalted lineage of Rīd̲wān Bey : some observations on a seventeenth-century Mamluk genealogy	221
D. N. MACKENZIE : A standard Pashto	231
PADMANABH S. JAINI : The Sautrāntika theory of <i>bīja</i>	236
F. R. ALLCHIN : Poor men's <i>thālis</i> : a Decan potter's technique	250
G. B. DOWNER : Derivation by tone-change in Classical Chinese	258
A. C. GRAHAM : The dialogue between Yang Ju 楊朱 and Chyntzzy 禽子	291
GERARD CLAUSON : The ḥP'ags-pa alphabet	300
A. D. H. BIVAR : Arabic documents of Northern Nigeria	324

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

A. S. TRITTON : Siege of Constantinople, A.D. 714-16	350
A. S. TRITTON : <i>Ma'ārij al-quds</i>	353
D. N. MACKENZIE : 'The language of the Medians'	354
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT : Sōmēśvara and the Kāḍava ; Ciñcila : three corrections	356

REVIEWS

Wolf Leslau : <i>The verb in Harari (South Ethiopic)</i> . By F. R. PALMER	359
Heinz Kronasser : <i>Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen</i> . By JENS HOLT	359
S. H. Hooke (ed.) : <i>Myth, ritual, and kingship : essays on the theory and practice of kingship in the ancient Near East and in Israel</i> . By C. J. GADE	361
Farid Jabre : <i>La notorié de la ma'rifa chez Ghazali</i> . By F. RAHMĀN	362
John Walker : <i>A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad coins</i> . [<i>A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum, Vol. II.</i>] By D. M. LANG	364
Ugo Bianchi : <i>Zamān i Ohrmazd : lo zoroastrismo nelle sue origini e nella sua essenza</i> . By R. C. ZAEHNER	366
Peter Kaverbu : <i>Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen</i> . By D. M. LANG	367
Kita Tschenkéli : <i>Einführung in die georgische Sprache</i> . By D. M. LANG	368
V. Minorsky : <i>A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries</i> . By D. M. LANG	369
George Vernadsky : <i>The origins of Russia</i> . By D. M. LANG	371
H. W. Bailey (ed.) : <i>Indo-Scythian studies ; being Khotanese texts, Vol. III.</i> By M. J. DEBSEN	371
Punyavijayajī (ed.) : <i>Angavijjā</i> . By R. WILLIAMS	372
Shantaram Bhalechandra Deo : <i>History of Jaina monachism from inscriptions and literature</i> . By R. WILLIAMS	373
Edward Conze : <i>Buddhist meditation</i> . By D. FRIEDMAN	374
Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi : <i>An introduction to the study of Indian history</i> . By F. R. ALLCHIN	374
A. K. Narain : <i>The Indo-Greeks</i> . By F. R. ALLCHIN	376
Giuseppe Tucci : <i>Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal</i> . By D. L. SNEELGROVE	377
Luigiano Petech : <i>Medieval history of Nepal</i> . By D. L. SNEELGROVE	378
Hans H. Frankel (comp.) : <i>Catalogue of translations from the Chinese dynastic histories for the period 220-960</i> . By MICHAEL LOEWEN	378
Burton Watson : <i>Sau-ma Ch'ien, grand historian of China</i> . By E. G. PULLEYBLANK	379
Liu Mau-Tsai : <i>Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Turken (T'u-kue)</i> . By E. G. PULLEYBLANK	381

	PAGE
Erwin von Zach (tr.): <i>Die Chinesische Anthologie</i> . By ARTHUR WALEY	383
Cornelius Osgood: <i>Blue-and-white Chinese porcelain</i> . By JOHN AYERS	384
C. J. Dunn and S. Yanada: <i>Teach yourself Japanese</i> . By E. B. CEADEL	385
Josef Franz Schütte: <i>Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan</i> . I. Bd., II. Teil. By O. R. BOXER	386
Charles David Sheldon: <i>The rise of the merchant class in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868</i> . By W. G. BEASLEY	388
Irene B. Taeuber: <i>The population of Japan</i> . By SHIGETO TSURU	389
G. William Skinner: <i>Chinese society in Thailand: an analytical history</i> .—G. William Skinner: <i>Leadership and power in the Chinese community of Thailand</i> . By E. H. S. SIMMONDS	390
A. B. Griswold: <i>Dated Buddha images of northern Siam</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	392
H. R. van Heekeren: <i>The Stone Age of Indonesia</i> .—H. R. van Heekeren: <i>The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	394
Benjamin E. Thomas: <i>Trade routes of Algeria and the Sahara</i> . By D. H. JONES	395
E. W. Bovill: <i>The golden trade of the Moors</i> . By D. H. JONES	395
K. G. Davies: <i>The Royal African Company</i> . By D. H. JONES	396
C. Edward Hopen: <i>The pastoral Fulbe family in Guandu</i> . By D. W. ARNOTT	397
A. H. M. Kirk-Greene: <i>Adamawa past and present</i> . By D. W. ARNOTT	398
J. Desmond Clark and Sonia Cole (ed.): <i>Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, Livingstone, 1955</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	400
E. O. James: <i>Prehistoric religion: a study in prehistoric archaeology</i> . By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	400

SHORT NOTICES

Otto Eissfeldt: <i>Enno Littmann</i> . By C. J. GADD	402
Eric F. F. Bishop and Mohamed Kaddal (tr.): <i>Chrestomathia Baidawiana</i> . 'The light of inspiration and secret of interpretation'. By W. 'ARAFAT	402
William Popper (tr.): <i>History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A.D. Parts III, IV</i> .—William Popper: <i>Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382-1468 A.D. (continued)</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	402
Ibn Khaldūn: <i>Histoire des Berbères. Nouvelle édition. Tome quatrième</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Ambrosio Huici Miranda: <i>Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las invasiones africanas</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Ambrosio Huici Miranda: <i>Historia política del imperio almohade. II</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
J. Alazard and others: <i>Initiation à l'Algérie</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Mustafā 'Awaḍ al-Karīm (ed.): <i>Ibn Dihya: al-Muṭrib fī ash'ār ahl al-maghrib</i> . By J. F. P. HOPKINS	403
Sir Godfrey Fisher: <i>Barbary legend: war, trade and piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830</i> . By V. J. PARRY	404
Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur, Jr.: <i>The Young Turks</i> . By V. J. PARRY	404
<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> . No. 12. By D. M. LANG	404
Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Sukumar Sen: <i>A Middle Indo-Aryan reader. Revised edition</i> . By Sushul Kumar De (ed.): <i>The Megha-dūta of Kālidāsa</i>	405
Walter Ruben: <i>Kālidāsa: the human meaning of his works</i>	405
S. Subrahmanya Sastri (ed.): <i>The Vedānta Kaumudī of Rāmādvayāchārya</i>	406
Surendranath Dasgupta: <i>A history of Indian philosophy. Vol. V</i>	406
Walter Ruben (tr.): <i>Beginn der Philosophie in Indien. Aus den Veden</i>	407
Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: <i>The evolution of India</i> . By KENNETH BALLHATCHET	407
R. D. Choksey (ed.): <i>Select documents from the Ratnagiri Collector's files (Peshwa Daftar)</i> . By KENNETH BALLHATCHET	407
G. C. Mendis (ed.): <i>The Colebrooke-Cameron papers</i> . By KENNETH BALLHATCHET	408
D. T. Devendra: <i>Classical Sinhalese sculpture, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000</i> . By F. R. ALLCHIN	408
Lionel Giles: <i>Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum</i> . By E. G. PULLYBLANK	409
Laurence G. Thompson (tr.): <i>Ta t'ung shu: the one-world philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei</i> . By JOHN GRAY	409
Chao Kuo-chun: <i>Agrarian policies of mainland China: a documentary study (1949-1956)</i> . By JOHN GRAY	410
<i>Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie</i> , 1	410
Nobutaka Ike: <i>Japanese politics: an introductory survey</i>	410
Puisi Melayu: <i>sha'ir, pantun, sōlōka dan lain-lain</i>	411
O. G. S. Crawford (ed.): <i>Ethiopian itineraries circa 1400-1524</i>	411

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Editorial Board

Professor J. Brough, M.A., D.LITT.
(Chairman)

Professor M. Guthrie, PH.D., B.Sc., A.R.S.M.

Miss E. J. A. Henderson, B.A.

Professor W. B. Henning, DR.PHIL., F.B.A.

Professor B. Lewis, B.A., PH.D.

J. D. Pearson, Esq., M.A.

Professor C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D.

Professor W. Simon, DR.PHIL., D.LIT., F.B.A.

Editorial Secretary: Miss D. M. Johnson, M.A.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1. Articles, Notes and Communications, and Notices of Books should be submitted in typescript.

Offprints of articles, from Volume XIV onwards, may be purchased from the Editorial Secretary. (A list of offprints available for sale may be obtained from the Editorial Secretary.)

All communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to the Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

THE OLDEST ILLUSTRATED ARABIC MANUSCRIPT

By D. S. RICE

(PLATES I-VIII)

*For Professor Ernst Kühnel these leaves
dropped from the bouquet of his Festschrift.*

THERE is good reason to believe that manuscripts in almost every branch of Arabic literature were illustrated at an early date, but the oldest fully illustrated texts available to-day date only from the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. For earlier evidence of illustrations in Arabic prose works we must turn to literary sources and to some precious paper fragments which have been saved from destruction by the exceptionally dry climate of the Nile Valley.

The texts of scientific works have, at all times, required illustrations for their proper understanding. Some of these, reduced to bare essentials, are hardly more than diagrams and of no artistic value¹; others which often include human figures and architectural settings (in no way essential for the comprehension of the text) rank among the finest products of Islamic book art.² The oldest scientific illustrations known at present are those of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfi's 'Treatise on the fixed stars' (*kitāb ṣunwar al-kawākib al-thābita*). One early MS of this work in Leningrad is dated 396/1005-6 and 402/1011 and was copied from Šūfi's holograph completed in 355/965 and dedicated to the Buwayhid 'Aḍud al-daula.³ Another MS of the same work was copied by the author's son and is now in the Bodleian Library. It is dated 400/1009-10.⁴ By Šūfi's own admission, the illustrations he used were copied from a celestial globe and he also knew of the illustrated astronomical treatise of 'Uṭārid ibn Muḥammad of which no copy seems to have survived.⁵

¹ Such diagrams are found in works ranging from treatises on speech (*tafwīd*) to ophthalmology, from manuals on the art of war (*furūsiya*) to automata. An excellent article by K. Weitzmann, 'The Greek sources of Islamic scientific illustrations', in *Archaeologica orientalia, in memoriam E. Herzfeld*, ed. G. C. Miles, New York, 1952, 247, shows how e.g. in the ninth-century translation of Heron's *Mechanics* 'drawings of the Greek model were copied with no change in the character of the design'. For other examples cf. M. Meyerhof, *The book of the ten treatises on the eye ascribed to Hunayn ibn Ishāq*, Cairo, 1928, also A. Taymur and Z. Ḥasan, *al-taṣwīr 'ind al-'arab*, Cairo, 1942, p. 35.

² One of the most remarkable manuscripts in this group is the dispersed Dioscurides of 1224 in which some of the miniatures verge on genre painting; cf. H. Buchthal, 'Early Islamic miniatures from Baghdad', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, v, 1942, 19 ff.

³ V. Rosen, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, St. Petersburg, 1877, p. 118, no. 185; H. C. F. Schiellerup, *Description des étoiles fixes par Abd al Rahman al Sufti*, St. Petersburg, 1874; K. Holter, 'Die Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig), lrv, 1937, p. 3, no. 1; H. Buchthal, O. Kurz, and R. Ettinghausen, 'Supplementary notes', *Ars Islamica*, vii, 1940, 148.

⁴ MS Marsh 144, to be added to Holter's list.

⁵ cf. S. M. Stern, art. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umar al-Šūfi', *EI*, new ed., i, Fasc. 2, 1954, 86 f. On 'Uṭārid b. Muḥammad see Ibn al-Qifā'i, *ta'rīkh al-hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leiden, 1891, p. 251; Ibn al-Nadīm, *fihris*t, p. 278.

Early historical works were also adorned with illustrations. In 303/915 Mas'ūdī saw in the house of a notable of *Iṣṭākhr* a precious manuscript containing the description of the Sasanian kings and their achievements. This large volume was embellished with portraits of 25 kings and two queens. The portraits were lifelike and painted after the images which had been stored in the Persian archives at the death of each sovereign. Mas'ūdī describes the first and last of the 27 miniatures in some detail and adds that the book was an *ad hoc* compilation (containing material not grouped in other Persian works known to him) and based on documents discovered in the Persian archives in the middle of Jumādā II A.H. 113/June-July A.D. 731. This *Tableau de l'empire sasanide* had been translated from Persian into Arabic by order of the Umayyad caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Gold, silver, and ground copper were used for the illuminations and the leaves of the manuscript, which were probably of parchment, were tinted purple.¹ The volume admired by Mas'ūdī at *Iṣṭākhr* may have been written in Persian, but as this was by his own admission compiled after the Islamic conquest and translated into Arabic for the caliph it may be inferred that the Arabic translation was also adorned with portrait-miniatures. That Hishām had no qualms about representations of the human form is well proved by the floor-frescoes which decorate the palace built for him in the Syrian desert. One of these frescoes is of unmistakable Sasanian inspiration.²

Sometimes we know of the intention to illustrate a text only by inference. Thus a passage in Ibn al-Nadīm's *fihrist*, compiled in the tenth century, reads: 'and it was said that the idol of Mūltān was shaped like this'.³ Following this statement one expects an illustration and in one MS of the *fihrist* there is, in fact, a blank space of three lines which proves beyond doubt that the original had an illustration or a space reserved for one.⁴

In manuscripts belonging to the field of belles-lettres (*adab*) illustrations were added only partly for their didactic quality but above all in order to enhance the value of the work. In the introduction which he prefixed to his rendering of the Indian Fables of Bidpai (*Katīla wa Dimna*) Ibn al-Muqaffa' (ob. 142/759) wrote: 'He who peruses this book should know that its intention is fourfold. Firstly it was put into the mouths of dumb animals so that light-hearted youths might flock to read it and that their hearts be captivated by the rare ruses of the animals. Secondly, it was intended to show the images (*khaṣāṣāt*) of the animals in varieties of paints and colours (*aṣṣāgh, alwān*) so as to delight the hearts of princes, increase their pleasure, and also the degree of care which they would bestow on the work. Thirdly, it was intended that the book be such that both kings and common folk should not cease to

¹ Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wal-ishrāf*, Cairo, 1938, pp. 92 ff.; cf. also A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1944, 67 f.

² D. Schlumberger, 'Deux fresques omeyyades', *Syria*, xxv, 1948, esp. pl. A.

³ *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leiden, 1871, I, p. 347, وقيل ان الصنم الذي بالمولتان هذه صورته.

⁴ In the Leiden MS a space of three lines is reserved after the words هذه صورته. In other MSS the text is unbroken; cf. *ibid.*, II, p. 182.

acquire it; that it might be repeatedly copied and re-created in the course of time thus giving work to the painter (*muṣawwir*) and copyist (*nāsikh*). The fourth purpose of the work concerns the philosophers in particular (i.e. the apologues put into the mouths of animals).¹

Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Katīla wa Dimna* is a free adaptation of the Sanskrit Mirror of Princes known as the *Pancatāñtra*² and is based on a sixth-century Pehlevi version of that work. In the Arabic introduction from which the above quotation is culled, Ibn al-Muqaffa leaves us in no doubt that the original Arabic *Katīla wa Dimna*, at least, if not its models, was fully illustrated in the eighth century. Nor was there a shortage of models. It had long been realized 'that the fable was an effective means for impressing a moral on the minds of the young inclined to pay little attention to dry moral admonitions, and that it could be made even more so by the addition of pictures'.³ The hope of Ibn Muqaffa that the addition of illustrations would increase the popularity of his work was amply justified. There exists hardly any other Islamic book which has come down to us in so many fine illustrated copies—none, however, is older than the thirteenth century,⁴ and we must rely on some pitifully small fragments in trying to visualize the aspect of an early illustrated Arabic *adab* manuscript. I propose to return elsewhere to the subject of the original cycle of the *Katīla wa Dimna* illustrations.

The earliest of these fragments come from the Fayyūm and are now in the Archduke Rainer Collection of Papyri in the National Library in Vienna. As early as 1885 Frimmel called attention to their importance, but it was not until 1929 that a selection was published by A. Grohmann.⁵

He reproduced the oldest of the fragments in colour and gave the following description (see here pl. Ib-c). 'PER Inv. Chart Ar. 25612 . . . 16 × 14·5 cm. represents the remains of the last quire folded in the middle of a paper manuscript which had perhaps miniatures throughout. The right leaf shows in *recto* the remains of four lines in Arabic, which are probably in the same hand as the rest of the text but written rather more hastily. In *verso* are twelve lines continued in four lines on the left leaf, the reverse of which is empty. Below as an end vignette is a tree in strong bright colours with vermilion fruits between two low hills sloping down in three stages, which like the branches and the trunk are painted a dull green edged a dull yellow. The coarse wavy lines which fill the separate stages as ornaments remind Frimmel of the conventional hills in illuminated manuscripts of Spanish provenance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.⁶ Below this picture there was originally the colophon

¹ *Katīla wa Dimna*, ed. S. de Sacy, Paris, 1816, p. 58.

² cf. C. Brockelmann, art. '*Katīla wa-Dimna*', *EI*, II, 1927, 694 ff.; H. Buchthal, 'Indian fables in Islamic art', *JRAS*, 1941, 317-24.

³ A. Goldschmidt, *An early manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and related manuscripts*, Princeton, 1947, p. 2.

⁴ cf. Holter, op. cit., nos. 19 ff., also H. Buchthal, '"Hellenistic" miniatures in early Islamic manuscripts', *Ars Islamica*, VII, 1940, 123, 133.

⁵ A. Grohmann and Th. Arnold, *The Islamic book*, Munich, 1929, p. 23, and colour-plate I.

⁶ The same fallacy is repeated by D. Dhringer, *The illuminated book*, London, 1958, 205.

of the writer as the conclusion of the manuscript, of which there only survives the beginning *hādha 'l-kitāb* and the illegible word of the second line. The vigorous, educated hand of the text written throughout in dark brown ink the contents of which can unfortunately no longer be ascertained, points to the third century A.H., ninth century A.D.' Further down Grohmann adds: 'It is not possible in the case of the fragment just described to make out a connection between text and picture'.¹

It is my intention to show that such a connexion can be established and that, while it may not be possible to identify precisely the work to which the fragment belongs, it is not impossible to indicate the class of literature to which it should be ascribed.²

The fragment which we are about to examine in some detail represents the remains of the first and last leaf of a quire. In order to stress that the four lines on the *recto* of the last leaf are in no way the continuation of the twelve lines on the *verso* of the first leaf I have left a gap between them in the photographs reproduced on pl. Ib-c. In this gap between the two leaves we must imagine all the lost leaves of the quire. On the *recto* of the first folio reproduced here for the first time (pl. Ia) one can in fact see (as Grohmann stated) 'the remains of four lines', but these occupy the centre of the page and only part of its width, a clear indication that they were the title of the work or a sub-heading. That this is so will be seen clearly if we turn to the opening line on the *verso* of fo. 1 (pl. Ib). The fragment in the right-hand top corner should be shifted to the left closer to the upper edge of the long piece. The text can then be easily completed:

[بسم الله] [الرحمن الرحيم]

the traditional opening of every Islamic work—the *basmala*. The *verso* of the last leaf is blank, conclusive proof that our manuscript was only of pamphlet length. Several words in the twelve lines of script which fill the *verso* of fo. 1 (pl. Ib) can be made out but not enough to determine the type of literature to which the opuscle belongs. The four lines on the *recto* of the last folio, however, are more informative. These I propose to read:

..... 1
2 [حتى] فرق
3 الموت بينهم
4 فهذا قبرهم رحمهم الله

¹ Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic book*, 24.

² In 1955 I was able to examine and photograph this fragment in Vienna. My thanks are due to Dr. Franz Unterkircher, Director of the Manuscript Collection, for the facilities extended to me.

³ The fourth line is very carelessly written. The letters *حم* were first omitted in *رحمهم*, then written over the *هم*. But the characteristic features of the last syllable are to be seen in the preceding line in the word *بينهم*. Similar, too, are the triangular heads of *fā* and *qāf* in the fourth line and the same letters in *farrāqa* in line 2. A photograph taken in ultra-violet light showed all the writing with equal intensity and the same ink appears to have been used throughout.

which can be translated ' . . . until death did them part. This is their tomb. May Allah have mercy upon them '. This reading immediately establishes the connexion between text and picture which we are seeking. The miniature does not represent, as Grohmann and Frimmel believed, ' two low hills sloping down in three stages . . . ' reminiscent of ' conventional hills in illuminated manuscripts of Spanish provenance ' but two quite ordinary Muslim tombs such as can still currently be seen all over the Near East.

The tombs depicted in the miniature—like their modern counterparts of which I reproduce a few on pl. VIII—consist of three tiers and are provided with headstones (*shāhid*, pl. *shawāhid*). In the miniature we are shown side views of the narrow sides of each tomb with one headstone only.

By their very nature, burial customs are among the most persistent and the least given to change. It is thus not surprising to find in a manuscript of the ninth–tenth century pictures of tombs so like their modern counterparts. Nor is the survival confined to the Islamic period. Travelling in 1922 in the border region between Palestine and Egypt, the R.P. Savignac remarked ' tout le monde fut frappé de la ressemblance que les tombes chrétiennes des cimetières byzantins de Khalasa, Reheiba, Sebaita etc. présentent avec les tombes musulmanes de nos jours. Sur beaucoup de ces vieilles tombes on voit encore dressées à la tête et au pieds du défunt les deux stèles caractéristiques des cimetières musulmans '.¹ All over the Near East and North Africa regional shapes of tombs survive with great tenacity. The masonry-built tomb in two or three tiers whitewashed and decorated with blue and red ornaments occurs frequently in Syria and Egypt. It is a pair of such tombs that we see depicted on the last leaf of the Vienna fragment.

The closing words of the text which precede the miniature ' until death did them part ' immediately bring to mind the many early Arabic love-stories in which the heroic lovers are united only in their graves and which constitute a whole *genre* of Arabic literature.²

One such story is that of the 'Udhrite lovers 'Urwa and 'Afra. 'Urwa, an orphan brought up by his uncle, falls in love with his cousin and playmate 'Afra. After many tribulations she is promised to him in marriage, but during one of 'Urwa's absences his uncle marries 'Afra to a stranger from Syria. On his return, 'Urwa is told that his betrothed had died suddenly and is shown a faked tomb. He spends his days mourning her untimely death until a slave girl enlightens him and he sets out to visit 'Afra in Syria. He sees her again but returns to his native land and soon dies of a broken heart. Upon hearing of his death 'Afra seeks permission from her husband to visit the tomb. There she dies and is buried by 'Urwa's side.³ According to another version⁴ 'Urwa is spared the torment of the faked grave but recognizes one of 'Afra's camels

¹ R. P. Savignac, ' La région d'ain Qadeis ', *Revue Biblique*, xxxi, 1922, 74.

² cf. *fihrist*, p. 306.

³ Al-Isfahānī, *k. al-aghānī*, Būlāq, 1285, xx, pp. 152–8.

⁴ Ibn Qutaiba, *k. al-shu'ar wal-shu'ara'*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1902, pp. 394–9.

in a caravan bound for Syria. He is stricken by illness which no medical skill can cure. The story ends again with the inevitable death of the two lovers. Ja'far b. Ahmad al-Sarrāj (417/1026-500/1106) who compiled a collection of love stories entitled 'The hecatombs of lovers' (*maṣāri'-l-'ushshāq*) relates the story of 'Afra and 'Urwa according to the second version¹ and adds an interesting detail: 'Ma'adh b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣan'ānī related: "I left Mekka for Ṣan'ā. When we were only five hours distant from the latter city I noticed that people were leaving their litters and mounting their horses. I inquired where they were going and they replied that they wished to see the tomb of 'Afra and 'Urwa. Thereupon I myself alighted from my litter, mounted my donkey, and joined them. Thus I reached two tombs which were touching one another and from each there had sprung a tree. When these trees had reached the height of a man they intertwined and people said: 'they were joined by love in life as in death' ".² In another instance the same author, al-Sarrāj, adds yet another detail. 'The tree apparently was of a kind foreign to that part of the world and no-one knew its name.'³

Another love story on a similar pattern is that of 'Utba and Rayya which is narrated in the 681st night of the *Arabian nights*. 'Abdallāh ibn Ma'mar al-Qaisi makes the acquaintance of 'Utba at Medina and offers to supply the dowry which would enable him to marry Rayya. When finally, after raising many difficulties, Rayya's father agrees to the match, 'Utba is mortally wounded while he gallantly defends a caravan against brigands. He dies a day's journey from Medina. Upon hearing of his wretched end, Rayya utters some suitable verses, and throwing herself from her litter is killed on the spot. She is buried together with 'Utba. When Ma'mar visited the tomb seven years later he saw that 'a tall tree had grown over it on which were red, yellow, and green strips of stuff'. He was told that the tree was called 'tree of the betrothed' (*shajarat al-'arūsain*).⁴

Professor Grohmann, after rightly observing that the tree in our miniature has no connexion with representations of trees in other known early Islamic MSS, remarks that 'the branches come out to the right and left of the trunk in the middle at approximately equal angles with the foliage indicated by thick dots and the fruit scattered among the leaves and apparently without any connection with the tree'.⁵ Could not the short red lines (which are so unlike any fruit) be interpreted as strips of red stuff hung on a tree which is subject to special reverence? The custom is widespread even nowadays in the Near East.

¹ Ja'far b. Ahmad al-Sarrāj, *maṣāri'-l-'ushshāq*, edition of A.H., 1301, pp. 209-11.

² *ibid.*, p. 139.

³ *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴ *Alf laila wa laila*, ed. Būlāq, 1251, vol. II, pp. 166 ff.; E. W. Lane, *The thousand and one nights*, London, 1851, III, 238-42; Sir R. F. Burton, *The Book of thousand nights and a night*, London, 1843, v, 289-94.

⁵ The reader will find it useful here to refer to the colour-plate in Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic book*, see above, p. 209, n. 5.



(a) [Photo. D. S. Rice]



(b)



(c)

NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, CHART. AR. 25612



Photo. D. S. Kice

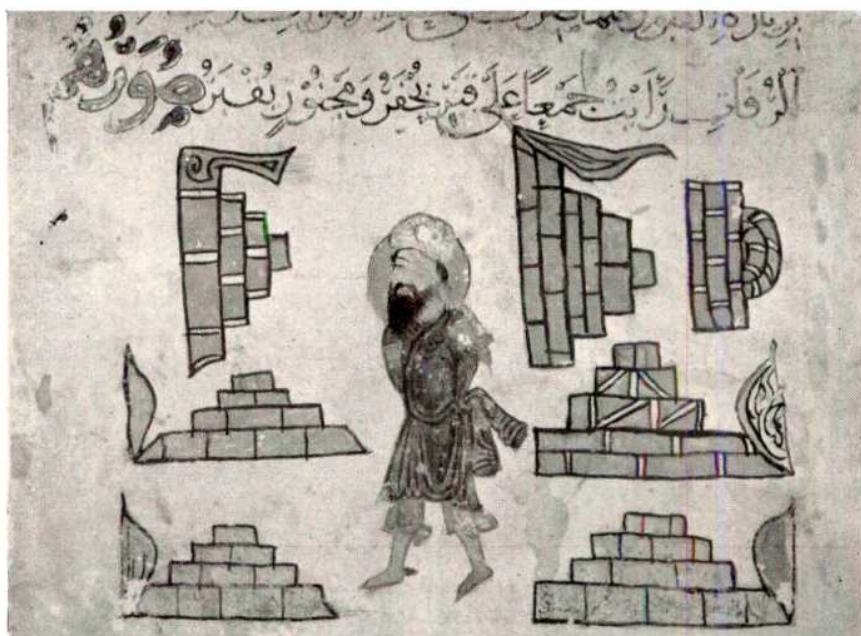
[Courtesy Leningrad Branch, I.V.A.N.]

LENINGRAD, MS S.23, FO. 65



[*Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale*]

PARIS, MS ARABE 5847, FO. 29V



(a) PARIS, MS ARABE 3929, FO. 26R

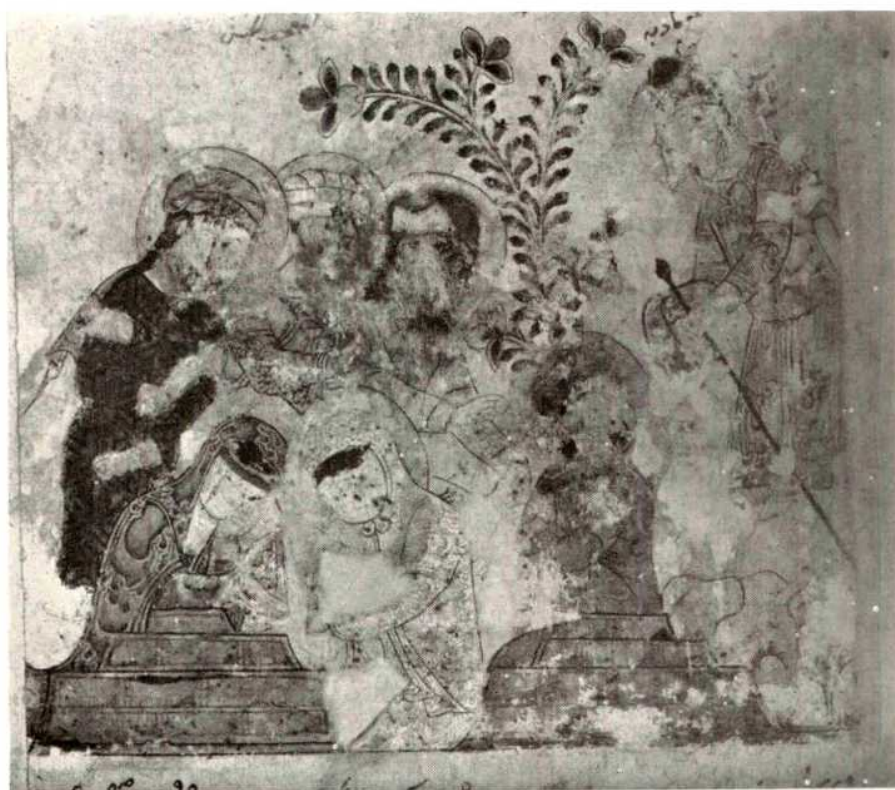


(b) DITTO, FO. 26V

[Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale]

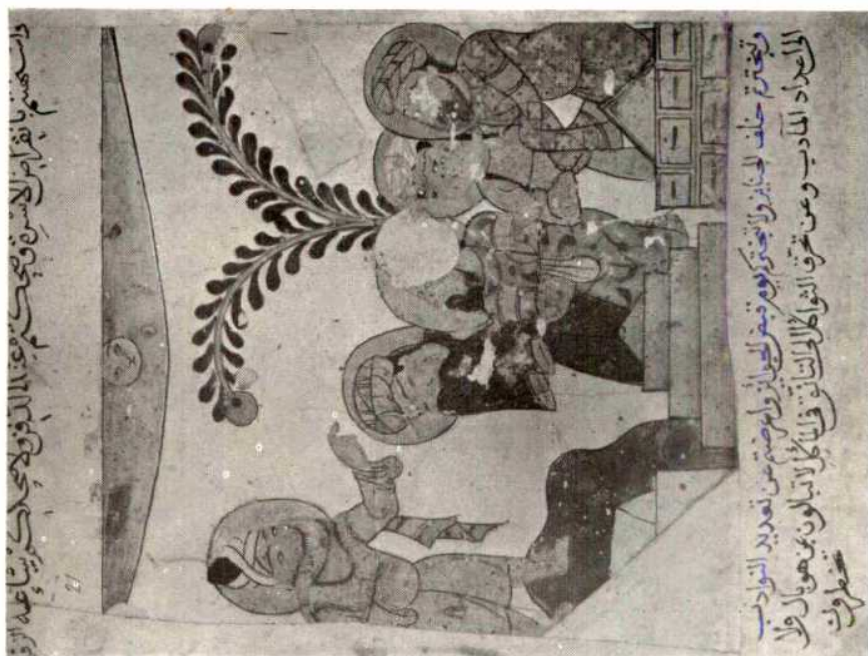


(a) LONDON, OR. 1200, FO. 29v



[Courtesy the British Museum]

(b) LONDON, OR. 9718, FO. 39r



[Courtesy the British Museum]

(b) LONDON, BM Add. 22,114, FO. 21r

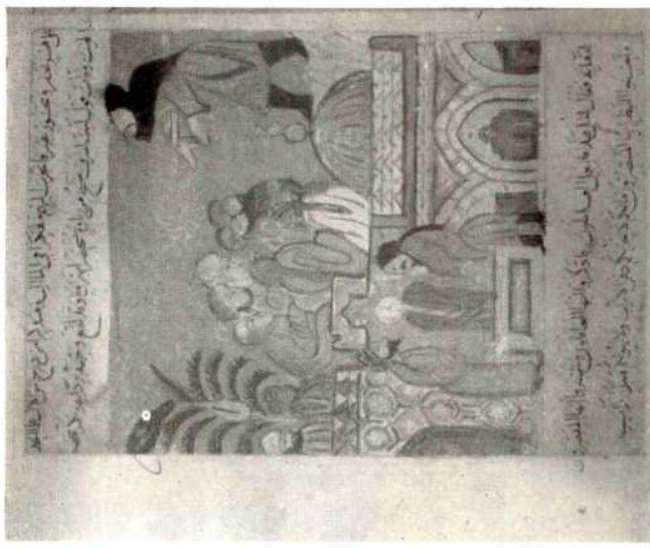


[Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale]

(a) PARIS, MS ARABE 6094, FO. 33v

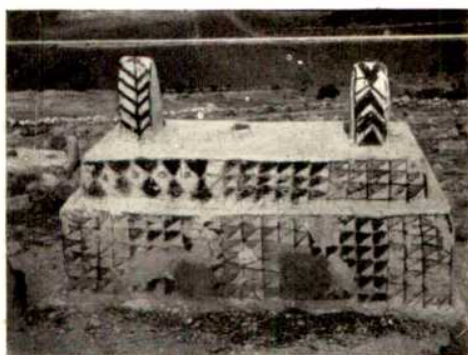


[Courtesy the Bodleian Library]
(a) OXFORD, MARSH 458, FO. 23R

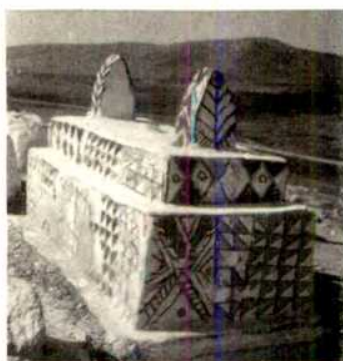


[Courtesy the John Rylands Library]
(b) MANCHESTER, ARAB. 680, FO. 32

PLATE VIII



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

[Photos, D. S. Kie:]

MODERN GRAVES : a-c PALESTINE (1935), d-f SYRIA (1937)

It is not my intention to suggest that the Vienna fragment comes from a manuscript relating the story of 'Afra and 'Urwa' or that of 'Utba and Rayya' but merely to point to the *genre* of belles-lettres to which it very likely belonged.

There exist many stories of unhappy lovers who are united only in death. In Ibn al-Nadīm's *fihris*t they are classified in the eighth book under the heading of night-entertainments (*asmār*) and fanciful tales (*khurāfāt*). In a chapter entitled 'the names of Lovers who lived before Islam and about whom compositions were written' the learned tenth-century bibliographer groups no fewer than 45 titles and among them a *kitāb* 'urwa wa 'afra.¹ In another chapter he mentions 28 later love stories, and a special chapter is devoted to 49 tales about love affairs between humans and jinns. Ibn al-Nadīm goes on to explain that this literary *genre* enjoyed such popularity under the Abbasids and especially during the reign of al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32) that booksellers were fabricating and faking up stories to meet the constant demands of their customers.²

It is to this period—the peak of the popularity of *asmār* and *khurāfāt*—that our undated fragment belongs on palaeographic grounds.

Professor Grohmann referred for comparison to B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, Cairo, 1905, pl. 41, and E. Tisserand, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Bonn, 1914, pl. 55. The first of these references is to a donation-notice on a parchment Qur'ān dated 216/831; the second to a Christian MS in the Vatican which Cardinal Tisserand dates to the ninth century, but which does not possess a dated colophon. A closer resemblance may be noted between our fragment and a Leningrad MS written in 279/892.³ A sample of the script has been reproduced by Fleischer.⁴ Further useful comparisons may be made with the Chicago fragment of the *Arabian nights* published by Professor N. Abbott.⁵ All these point to the latter half of the ninth or the early years of the tenth century as the probable date of the Vienna fragment.

What of the miniature which is doubtless contemporary with the text? Mourning scenes and funeral processions occur with some frequency in the repertoire of early Islamic miniature painters. By contrast, representations of tombs and cemeteries are, to my knowledge, rather rare. An exception to this statement, however, is provided by the miniatures illustrating the eleventh *Maqāma*—the *Maqāma* of Sāwah—in 'Ḥarīrī's Assemblies'. The group of

¹ *Fihris*t, ed. Flügel, p. 306.

² *ibid.*, p. 308.

³ cf. K. Wetzmann, 'An early Copto-Arabic miniature in Leningrad', *Ars Islamica*, x, 1953, p. 120, fig. 1.

⁴ A sample of the script was reproduced by H. L. Fleischer, 'Beschreibung der von Prof. Tischendorf im Jahre 1853 aus dem Morgenlande zurückgebrachten christlich-arabischen Handschriften', *ZDMG*, viii, 1857, who correctly dated it before the portion of the MS bearing the colophon turned up, *ZDMG*, xv, 1861, 385.

⁵ N. Abbott, 'A ninth century fragment of the "Thousand Nights"', *JNES*, viii, 1949, esp. pl. XVI and pp. 129 ff. The MS cannot be later than 286/879. See also G. Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe*, Paris, 1958, pl. 4 (New Testament dated A.D. 902).

eleven illustrated MSS of the *Maqāmāt* at present known offers us an almost unique opportunity to observe changes in iconography and style by comparing extensive cycles of miniatures executed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The text in rhymed prose is a *tour de force* of linguistic brilliance. Its undisguised didactic purpose is obvious: to enable the student to memorize a rich and difficult vocabulary of rare words. *Such a text requires no illustration!* The 'story' or collection of 50 episodes is a mere pretext for the masterly display of lexicographical knowledge. If anything, the illustrations are so many distractions to the reader from the original purpose of the work. There is every reason to assume that the manuscripts copied in Ḥarīrī's lifetime were *not* illustrated. It is particularly fortunate that at least two of the 700-odd copies signed by Ḥarīrī in person (d. 516/1122) have survived to this day. They are dated 513/1119¹ and 514/1120² respectively. Neither these contemporary manuscripts nor a third, copied by Ḥarīrī's grandson and dated 557/1162,³ nor scores of other early copies, have illustrations. Miniatures seem to have been added only after the *Maqāmāt* had attained the peak of their popularity and it still remains to be determined to what extent these illustrations were influenced by another widely popular work—the fables of *Kaṭīla wa Dimna*.

Basically, however, the *Maqāmāt* illustrations adhere so closely to the text that models for the whole cycle could hardly have been available. It is but right and proper that the originality of the miniatures should match that of the two chief characters in the book. That ubiquitous, eloquent, versatile scoundrel, Abū Zaid, and the learned, righteous narrator al-Ḥārith ibn Hammām (who disapproves of Abū Zaid's morals but is enthralled by his verbal pyrotechnics) are both true-to-life personages. It is not surprising to find that many of the illustrations give us some welcome glimpses of everyday life in the Islamic East and include some *genre* pictures of the highest quality.

Elsewhere, I have had occasion to draw comparisons between the illustrations for the twelfth *Maqāma* which depict a gay party in a Damascene tavern.⁴ For the eleventh *Maqāma* we have an even more extensive series of illustrations which, among many interesting iconographic and stylistic data, provide us with useful comparative material for contemporary shapes of Islamic tombs. The narrator, al-Ḥārith ibn Hammām, relates: 'I was aware of hardness of heart while I sojourned at Sāweh. So I betook myself to the Tradition handed down, that its cure is by visiting the tombs. And when I had reached the mansion of the dead, the storehouse of mouldering remains, I saw an assemblage over

¹ H. Ritter, 'Autographs in Turkish libraries', *Oriens*, vi, 1953, 69. The MS in the University Library, Istanbul.

² cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supp., i, 487.

³ Or. 2790; see for further references Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the BM*, London, 1894, 636.

⁴ D. S. Rice, 'Deacon or drink: some paintings of Samarra re-examined', *Arabica*, v, 1958, esp. pp. 29 ff. and pls. VI-VIII.

a grave that had been dug, and a corpse that was being buried. So I drew aside to them meditating on the end of man, and calling to mind those of my people who were gone. And when they had sepulchred the dead, and the crying of alas! was over, an old man stood forth on high, from a hillock, leaning on a staff. And he had veiled his face with his cloak, and disguised his form for craftiness . . .¹ The stranger delivers a moving oration, exhorting the people gathered in the cemetery to think of the life hereafter and remember their departed friends. Then, having concluded his speech, the stranger bares a bandaged arm (bandaged for fraud not fracture) and passes a purse around which is soon filled with the alms of his audience. But al-Ḥārith recognizes the eloquent preacher to be none other than Abū Zaid in person.

Of the eleven manuscripts with illustrations two have no miniatures for the eleventh *Maqāma*. These are the Vienna MS dated 734/1334² and a MS in the British Museum, Add. 7293. In the former some folios are missing and in the latter spaces were left by the scribe on fo. 56v and fo. 60v but no miniatures were painted in the blanks.

In the plates which accompany this article, the miniatures have been arranged in what I provisionally believe to be their chronological sequence.

1. Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, MS S. 23, fo. 65 (pl. II)
undated [HOLTER no. 32].³
2. Paris, BN, arabe 5847, fo. 29v (pl. III)
(Schefer Ḥāriri) dated 634/1237 [HOLTER no. 31].
3. Paris, BN, arabe 3929, fo. 26r (pl. IVa)
fo. 26v (pl. IVb)
undated [HOLTER no. 18].
4. London, BM, Or. 1200, fo. 29v (pl. Va)
dated 654/1256 [HOLTER no. 34].
5. London, BM, Or. 9718, fo. 39r (pl. Vb)
before 709/1310.
6. Paris, BN, arabe 6094, fo. 33v (pl. VIa)
often dated 619/1222 [HOLTER no. 25].
7. London, BM, Add. 22,114, fo. 21r (pl. VIb)
undated [HOLTER no. 35].
8. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 458, fo. 23r (pl. VIIa)
dated 737/1337 [HOLTER no. 77].
9. Manchester, John Rylands Library, arab. 680, fo. 32 (pl. VIIb).

This list requires some comment. Only three of the manuscripts have proper colophons. These are the 'Schefer' Ḥāriri (No. 2) dated A.D. 1237; one of the three MSS in the British Museum (No. 4), which has suffered very

¹ Th. Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Ḥāriri*, London, 1876, I, 164.

² cf. K. Holter, *Die Galen-Handschrift und die Maqāmen des Ḥāriri der Wiener Nationalbibliothek*, Wien, 1937, 20.

³ Reference is made in each instance to Holter's handlist and the supplement to it, see above, p. 207, n. 3.

badly from re-painting,¹ dated A.D. 1256; and the Mamlūk MS in Oxford of A.D. 1337 (No. 8).

The scribe of another MS in the BM collection (No. 5) is known to us² but the MS cannot be dated with great accuracy because he was active for over half a century and died a septuagenarian (630-709/1232-1310). I would be inclined now to place his set of miniatures in the third quarter of the thirteenth century rather than in the early fourteenth century as I did before.³

The date of one of the Paris MSS (No. 6) is usually given as 619/1222. This dating is based not on a colophon (which is missing) but on two small Kufic inscriptions which appear on the hull of a boat in one miniature (fo. 68r) and on a schoolboy's slate in another (fo. 167r): 'made in the year 619'. I find it difficult to accept this early date. It might perhaps have been the date of the MS from which Paris 6094 was copied. On palaeographic grounds alone and for many stylistic details it seems to belong to the third quarter of the thirteenth century rather than the first.

In their choice of subjects for illustration the miniature painters of the Ḥarīrī MSS do not follow identical lines. The anonymous painter of Paris 3929 (No. 3) is the only one to provide two miniatures for the eleventh *Maqāma*, but the scribe of BM Or. 7293 must have had before him a model with two miniatures as he reserved two spaces in the text which were never filled.⁴ The first miniature in the Paris MS (No. 3) depicts the narrator al-Ḥārith b. Hammām seeking a 'cure for the hardness in his heart' among the tombs of the cemetery of Sāwa (pl. IVa). In the second miniature two scenes, quite separate in the text, are joined: (a) the entombment of the corpse and (b) Abū Zaid delivering his moving address to the mourners (pl. IVb). It may well be that there existed originally three miniatures for the eleventh *Maqāma*: (i) al-Ḥārith among the tombs, (ii) the entombment, (iii) Abū Zaid's oration. The joining of (ii) and (iii) has resulted in some stiffness and lack of cohesion in the composition in Paris 3929. To the left we are shown the corpse being lowered into the grave, and some of those taking part in the task are twisted backwards to establish a link with the scene depicted to the right, a link not demanded by the text. In the second half of the picture the miniaturist sticks very closely to the text. Abū Zaid is perched on a hillock. His headcloth is drawn over his mouth, indicating that he is disguised; he is carrying a staff and a purse in which he will later make his lucrative collection. When the entombment scene is depicted separately, as in the 'Schefer' Ḥarīrī (No. 2) (pl. III) and

¹ cf. H. Buchthal, 'Three illustrated Ḥarīrī manuscripts in the British Museum', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXVII, 1940, 144-152.

² Not in Holter's list. See L. A. Mayer, 'A hitherto unknown Damascene artist', *Ars Islamica*, IX, 1942, 168.

³ cf. D. S. Rice, 'A miniature in an autograph of Shuhāb al-dīn Ibn Fadlallāh al-'Umarī', *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1961, 862 f.

⁴ I intend to demonstrate at a later date that some miniatures in this MS must be based on a model which was earlier than both the 'Schefer' Ḥarīrī and the Leningrad copy.

the Leningrad MS (No. 1) (pl. II) neither the narrator nor Abū Zaid appear and the compositions are more compact and impressive.

In all the illustrated MSS in our possession the miniatures are concentrated in the prose part at the beginning of the eleventh *Maqāma* (Steingass ed., pp. 79–81). It is very strange indeed to find that the entombment scene—the only one chosen by al-Wāsiṭī (the illustrator and scribe of the A.D. 1237 ‘Schefer’ Ḥarīrī)—appears *after* the long verse oration of Abū Zaid immediately after the verse *فَيَ لَا يَقْمَرُ الْقَوْمَ مَتَى مَا دَسْتُهُ تَمَّ* (ed. Steingass, p. 85). Only one other MS, BM Or. 7293, would have had a miniature at precisely this point. It was never executed, however, and we cannot guess what its subject might have been. The Leningrad codex has its miniature at the very beginning of the *Maqāma*, where the text requires it ‘I saw an assemblage over a grave that had been dug, and a corpse that was being buried’. It represents, to my mind, an older version than the Paris miniature.

Not only in the choice of the subject to be illustrated and in the placing of the miniature in the text, but also in the degree of their subservience to the literal requirements of the author the illustrators of the *Maqāmāt* differ considerably. In No. 3 Abū Zaid on his hill is pictured quite accurately but not absolutely so. He has a staff but does not lean on it. His face is veiled but his arm is not bandaged. He also has a purse. In No. 4 (pl. Va) the staff is correctly used for Abū Zaid to lean on, but he has no purse. His face might originally have been veiled but almost all the faces in this MS were obliterated by some iconoclastically-minded person and later repainted by a totally unskilled one. The only original face in the miniature reproduced on pl. Va is that of the woman-mourner at the extreme right of the composition. In No. 5—a Damascene MS which closely adheres to a Mesopotamian model—we find in addition to all the details correctly depicted in No. 3 (pl. IVb) also Abū Zaid’s bandaged arm ‘for fraud not fracture’ (pl. Vb), a detail consistently missing from all the other versions of the scene. In No. 6 (pl. VIa) the figure of the preacher had been cut out and most of it replaced by some ugly scribbling later. But the feet of Abū Zaid and the lower portion of his staff have survived and it is clear that he has been deprived by the miniaturist of his lofty perch on the hillock. He is standing barefoot on the level of the audience which he is haranguing. In No. 7 (pl. VIb) the purse has vanished and the staff, though indicated by faint outlines, was not painted. The only Mamlūk version in our hands, No. 8 (pl. VIIa) (because the miniatures in the Vienna codex are missing), combines two scenes, or even three, in one with disastrous and occasionally meaningless results. To the right we see the crude version of an entombment with the narrator al-Ḥārith to the extreme right ‘meditating on the end of man’. In the left half of the miniature we see Abū Zaid without veil or purse and followed quite unnecessarily by a youth (probably an intruder from a totally different miniature). In his hand he brandishes not a staff but a battle-axe. Could this be a clumsy misunderstanding of the pick handled by some of the

grave-diggers (see pls. II, III, IVb) ? The miniature from the hitherto unpublished Manchester Ḥarīrī (No. 9) (pl. VIIb) is probably as late as the sixteenth century.¹ Many of the miniatures in this MS are hardly above the level of crude folk art. Some of them are, however, closely linked with an early thirteenth century cycle not far removed from that of the Leningrad MS (No. 1). The illustration for the eleventh *Maqāma* is not one of them. In the upper part, above a mausoleum-type structure, Abū Zaid addresses a crowd, in the lower part there is a shrivelled up burial scene, with three uninspired figures.

It is clear from the foregoing observations that several sets of illustrations for Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* must have been in existence simultaneously. Some of the differences which have been noted are almost certainly due to the fact that the MSS in our hands are products of north and south Mesopotamian, Syrian, and Egyptian workshops.

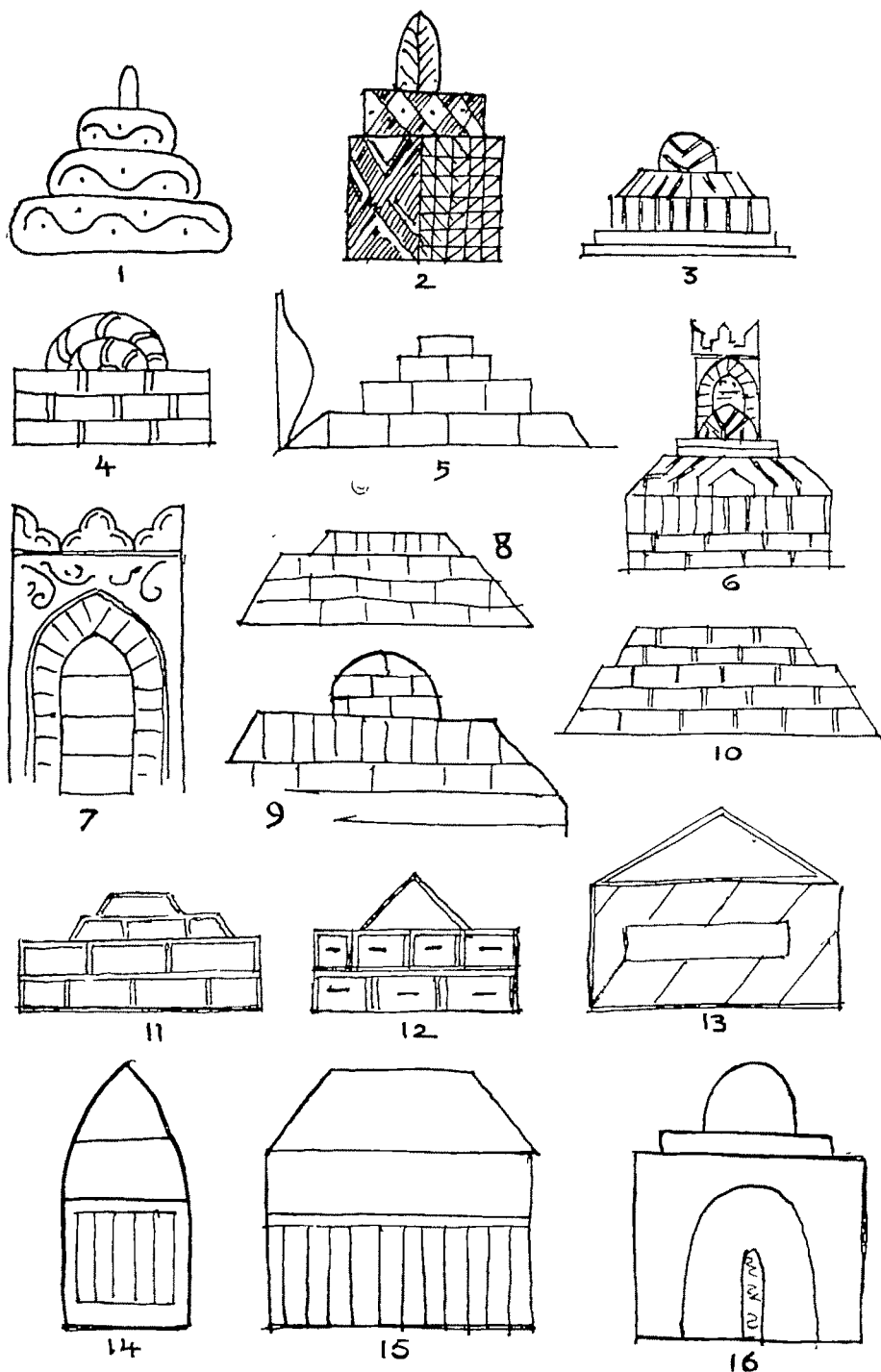
The shapes of tombs in these miniatures—which primarily concern us here—also show interesting variations. Burial customs are not only conservative by their nature but regional peculiarities survive for many centuries with remarkable tenacity. For the sake of convenience I have grouped a selection of the tombs as shown in the illustrations for Ḥarīrī's eleventh *Maqāma* in the figure on p. 219. They fall readily into two groups: brick structures and masonry tombs. This division tallies with what I believe to be the origin of the various miniatures. Nos. 1–2, which are south Mesopotamian, and Nos. 3–4, possibly from northern Mesopotamia, have brick tombs. No. 5, certainly painted in Damascus but following closely a Mesopotamian model, shows what might well be brick tombs but their outlines are hard and the drafting lines of the courses could equally well apply to stone-work. The remaining MSS (Nos. 6–9) all have masonry tombs and nearly all humped tops. This is a characteristic Syrian feature² also current in Egypt with the advent of the Ayyūbids. The appearance of this shape of cenotaph in MS No. 6 (Paris 6094) is evidence additional to that brilliantly presented by Dr. H. Buehthal for assigning it to a Syrian atelier—perhaps to Aleppo.³ The masonry tomb of the Oxford Mamlūk MS (No. 8) is shown in two elevations in my sketch on p. 219. Its lower portion has a wooden revetment quite common in cenotaphs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

If we now turn again to the tombs depicted in the miniature of the Vienna fragment we see that they fit neither the carefully executed brick structures nor the masonry-built tombs of the Ḥarīrī MSS. There exists, however, a third variety of humbler graves roughly executed with uncut stones, plastered with mud (pl. VIIIe), whitewashed, and sometimes decorated with bright colours

¹ The script is consistent with a much later dating than that proposed by Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1934, pp. 929–31, who would like to recognize in some owners' marks traces of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (*ibid.*, p. 931 (4)).

² cf. e.g. J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, Paris, 1948, p. 187, fig. 86; K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, Berlin, 1924, pl. 10b.

³ See above, p. 209, n. 4.



1, Vienna fragment (Plate I); 2, Modern Syrian tomb (Plate VIIIa-b); 3 and 6 (Plate II); 4 and 5 (Plate IVa); 7, 8, 9 (Plate III); 10 (Plate Va); 11 (Plate Vb); 12 (Plate VIb); 13 (Plate VIa); 14-15 (Plate VIIa); 16 (Plate VIIb).

(pl. VIII d, e). These simple graves co-exist side by side with the more elaborate ones and are to be found over such a wide area that it is impossible to localize the origin of the Vienna fragment by relying solely on this feature of the miniature. As for the tree, Grohmann has rightly pointed out that it is as different from the pictures of trees in Greek MSS as from their later Arabic translations in medical and botanical works, and also differs from trees depicted on Syrian glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He assigns the Vienna fragment to Egypt, an attribution which I think we must accept and which can find some confirmation in the fluid treatment of vegetal details on Fatimid lustre pottery in the generation following that which produced the miniature under discussion.

The Vienna fragment Chart. Ar. 25612 can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the late ninth or early tenth century A.D. It consists of the remains of a slender elongated volume. On the recto of the first folio, here reproduced on pl. Ia, are the scanty traces of what must have been the title. This probably consisted of five lines :

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. [. . . which ?] | [الذى ؟] [. . .] |
| 2. called . . . | سمى : [. . . ؟] |
| 3. | |
| 4. and what wa(s ?) | وما كا [ن] |
| 5. ? | واسه |

On the verso of fo. 1 (pl. Ib) we have the beginning of the story starting with the *basmala*. On fo. 1 + x (pl. Ic) is the conclusion of the story, a miniature, and the beginning of a colophon. The verso of the folio is blank. This proves that the work consisted of a single quire. It was almost certainly a love-story of a type very popular at the close of the ninth century. The miniature at the end—perhaps one of several in the text—depicts two tombs, probably those of the heroes of the story. It is the earliest known illustration in an Arabic manuscript and can be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century A.D.

THE EXALTED LINEAGE OF RIDWĀN BEY: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MAMLUK GENEALOGY¹

By P. M. Holt

(1) DESCRIPTION OF THE GENEALOGY

THE subject of this paper is a small work entitled *Qahr al-wujūh al-‘ābisa bi-dhikr nasab umarā’ al-Jarākisa wa-ttiṣālīhi bi-Quraysh*,² which might be rendered, ‘A cogent demonstration of the lineage of the amīrs of the Circassians and its connexion with Quraysh’. Manuscripts exist in the John Rylands Library in Manchester and in the British Museum. The Rylands copy, completed on 21 Rajab 1092/6 August 1681, states that the original work was finished on 1 Rajab 1041/23 January 1632. The British Museum copy is dated in the colophon 21 Hīja 1258/23 January 1843.³ The work is anonymous but the style and language suggest that its author was an ‘ālim who enjoyed the patronage of a Mamluk amīr, Ridwān Bey.

The author begins by saying that he carried out research into the descent of the Circassians from Quraysh by order of Ridwān Bey, whom, after a long string of honorifics, he entitles ‘the Commander of the noble Flag, Servant of the eminent Muhammadan *Mahmūl*,⁴ trusting in the Powerful King, Ridwān Bey al-Kabīr’. He says that he came on an essay (*risāla*) by a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣafadī, ‘an admirable, learned and judicious historian’, the imām of a mosque in Ak Shehir, who died in 980/1572–3.⁵ This provides him with the material for his genealogy.

He summarizes Ṣafadī’s essay in an introduction, seven short chapters, and a long conclusion. The introduction deals with the universe before the creation of Adam, while the chapters relate the legendary history of the Ka’ba from Adam to the descendants of Ismā‘īl; the origin of Quraysh and their association with the Ka’ba, the mission of Muḥammad, and the dispersal of the tribes in the time of ‘Umar. This leads on in the seventh chapter to the real subject of interest, a legendary account of the ancestry of the Circassians, which runs as follows:

‘There was a clan of Quraysh called Banū ‘Āmir, whose chief was Kisā;

¹ This is an expansion of a paper read at the Conference of British Orientalists held at Manchester in September 1958. I am obliged to Professor Lewis for reading and commenting upon the draft.

² Thus in the Rylands MS. The British Museum MS gives the title as *Qahr al-wujūh al-‘ābisa bi-dhikr nasab al-Jarākisa min Quraysh*.

³ Rylands MS Arabic 791 (711), ff. 236–66. BM MS Or. 3030. I have not had access to the printed version of this work (Būlāq, 1287/1870–1), for which see the Catalogue of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, v, 1298; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. II, 406.

⁴ *Khādim al-Mahmūl al-Muhammadi al-munif*; Rylands 237a. BM 3b reads *Ḥāmīl al-Mahmūl*. The older (Rylands) reading may be a deliberate echo of the Ottoman sultanal title, *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*. See below, p. 228, n. 1, and pp. 229–30.

⁵ This writer is not mentioned by Brockelmann, *GAL*, nor by Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*.

he was their ruler and commander. He was the amīr Kisā b. 'Ikrima b. 'Amr b. Wad (Rylands : Wadd) al-'Āmirī. It happened that they were exercising their horses at a feast when a palm-frond (alternatively, a reed) from the hand of the amīr Kisā missed the mark and struck the eye of an Arab called Fuḥayd, and put it out. They complained of him to the Caliph 'Umar, who wished to retaliate upon him for his adversary, according to the Law. So he fled by night (*sarā laylan*). When enquiry was made, it was said, "*Sarā*", i.e. "He has gone with his people". He came to the land of the Greeks,¹ seeking safety for himself, and he was called Sarākisā from that day This amīr Kisā continued to pass from one locality to another until he came with his people to the land of Burṣa. His army was about 30,000 persons. If anyone of the Greeks opposed him, he fought and slew him until the people feared him. This reached Qusṭanṭīn, so he sent him a safe-conduct and ordered him to pass beyond the channel of Constantinople and choose what land he would. So he passed beyond with his people and withdrew to the waste land between the east and the west of the country of Constantinople. He found the country of al-Yūnān (BM, al-'Iyūyān) known formerly as the land of Alf Rāyiq, in the land of Bulghār.² It was formerly in the possession of the Armenians and the Greeks (*al-Aruxām*) overcame them In it he found the remainder of the Armenians in numerous groups. He fought and defeated them and made his home in their country. His kinsmen said to him, "We wonder at the speed with which these territories submit to us", so he said to them, "It is because of the strength of our courage" (*min quwwat bāsnā* for *ba'snā*). [They asked him, "What shall we call this abode?" He said "*Bāsnā*",] and it was so called and became a land of pleasant climate, abounding in soldiers, and now it is known as the land of the Jarākisa.³

The descendants of Kisā continued to live in this land, 'ignorant of a revealed Scripture and not following a Holy Law, but their government [was] the government of the nomad Arabs, with submission to God Most High'. Two other Arab tribes also fled from Muslim to Byzantine territory; the Banū Ghassān under Jabala b. al-Ayham,⁴ whom Ṣafadī states to have been given fiefs by Qusṭanṭīn in Jabal Arnūd (presumably for Arna'ut, Albania), and the Umayyad Banū Mudlij. These last, he says, settled in Spain (*Bilād al-Rūm al-Andalus*) until they were overcome by the self-styled Fatimid, 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdī.

The next topic is the return of the Banū 'Āmir to Islamic territory. Some

¹ The Arabic phrase, *ard al-Rūm*, may signify Erzerum.

² For Bulghār, see below, p. 223, n. 1. I have not succeeded in identifying the other place-names, which in this context are perhaps mythical. Alf Rāyiq and in a later passage al-Fiyāriqa, are, in Arabic script, anagrams of al-Faqārī, al-Faqārīya, the name of the Mamluk household of which Rīdwan was the head. Qusṭanṭīn may be Constans II, the son of Heraclius, but is more probably a generic name for any Byzantine emperor.

³ Rylands 249b-250b; BM 16b-17b. The passage in square brackets is omitted by BM.

⁴ The flight of the Ghassānī ruler, Jabala b. al-Ayham, is historical. For the legend that the Circassians themselves were of Ghassānī origin, see pp. 228-9, and p. 229, n. 1.

returned openly, such as the tribe of Ashrâf Banî 'Āmir in Sharqīya and the 'Awāmir of Upper Egypt. Others returned obscurely and as individuals, such as the founder of the Circassian Mamluk sultanate in Egypt, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq b. Anaş.¹

The account of Barqūq is interesting. He is shown as the thirteenth (or fourteenth) descendant of Kisā, all the intervening names except Anaş being Persian or Turkish. Emphasis is laid on his free origin, and two slightly variant accounts are given of the manner in which he was kidnapped into slavery. He was sold in Constantinople to the Mamluk amīr ʿĀshraf al-Ṣāliḥī and brought to Egypt, where he became the *mamlūk* of Sultan al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. al-Ashraf Sha'bān.² In due course Barqūq himself became sultan; the phrase used, *intahat ilayhi al-riyāsa*, is that used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Mamluk grandees who acquired the supremacy over their colleagues—in this later period it preceded chronologically the use of the expression *shaykh al-balad*.³

The Circassian Mamluk sultans who followed Barqūq are then listed. A key position in the genealogy is given to al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825-42/1422-38), of whom it is said, 'Barsbāy was at first a *mamlūk* of Barqūq; then it appeared that he was his kinsman (*walad 'ammihī*), so he emancipated him. Then he advanced him through the ranks and so he continued until the supremacy fell to him (*intahat ilayhi al-riyāsa*) and he sat upon the throne of the kingdom and administered Egypt'.⁴

After speaking of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt by Selīm, the genealogy gives an account of a supposed descendant of Barsbāy as follows:

'The Circassians dispersed to all parts, fearing lest they should be killed. Some returned to the country of Jarkas (alternatively, Sarkas). Among those Circassians who returned to seek concealment was the amīr Rustum⁵ . . . and Rustum was at that time thirteen years old. When he returned to the country of his people, he joined his kinsmen and retainers (?) and married a girl of his kindred at his residence, Bāsnā. He had many children by her.

¹ He is further styled *al-Jahrkasi al-Bulghārī al-'Uthmānī*. Cf. his correct style as given by Ibn Taghrī Birdī (*Nujūm*, ed. Popper, v, 362; tr. Popper, *History of Egypt 1382-1469 A.D.*, i, 1): *al-'Uthmānī al-Yalbughāwī al-Jarkasi*. The genealogist's *al-Bulghārī* would seem to be an ignorant emendation of *al-Yalbughāwī* (i.e. the *mamlūk* of Yalbughā) and, in its turn, would account for the curious situation of 'the land of the Bulghār' in Circassia (see above, p. 222). *Al-'Uthmānī* derives from the name of the slave-merchant ('Uthmān b. Musāfir) who imported Barqūq into Egypt. The genealogist's account of Barqūq's early career is muddled. He was never a *mamlūk* of ʿĀshraf al-Manṣūr, against whom he conspired, nor of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān, but was in the service of the sultan's sons (*Nujūm*, v, 364; tr., i, 2-3). His father's name, given as Anaş by Ibn Taghrī Birdī, is arabicized to Anas in his funerary inscription (Max van Berchem, *Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, Paris, 1903, i, no. 189). No genealogy is provided for Anaş by either Ibn Taghrī Birdī or the funerary inscription.

² Reigned 778-83/1376-81, the penultimate Turkish Mamluk sultan. He is, however, described in the genealogy as the twenty-third ruler of the Kurdish Ayyubids in Egypt.

³ cf. the expression used by Muhibbī of Riqwān Bey, *in'āqada 'alayhi riyāsat Misr*. It is interesting to note that Ibn Abī al-Surūr says of Riqwān, 'He came to be called invariably in Cairo, "the Shaykh Riqwān"': *Al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, BM Add. 9073, f. 67a.

⁴ Rylands 255b-256a; BM 21b.

⁵ His genealogy is given for six generations back to Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy.

Al-Khawājaki¹ al-Gharīqī (BM, al-'Arīfī) al-Uṣaylī Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāgh of the town of Tripoli has stated that he arrived to trade in the land of Jahrkas and met this king Rustum. He saw him administering all those districts, aware of his worth and lineage from al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy, the ruler of Egypt, which was confirmed and witnessed by all there. When this Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāgh came to Egypt, he told this to Azdamur [Özdemir] the Elder [al-Kabīr], who confirmed it as true, for he was one of the Circassian amīrs and knew all that befell them. And when Rustum married his cousin, she bore him three sons and two daughters. The Grand Vezīr Sinān Pasha,² Lord of the Black Sea, wrote for him to return to the Ottoman Porte. The letter reached him by the hand of Muḥammad Agha, the Circassian. Having read it and understood its contents, he sent his reply in Arabic script, and it is said that he sealed it with the seal of his ancestor, al-Ashraf. Its contents, after the opening, were as follows, "Let it then be known, honourable Minister, that God Most High has recompensed us with all good and given us sons, thus and thus". And he enumerated them, three sons, and specified their names, the eldest, Khān Faḍl; the middle one, Barsbayk³; and the youngest, Jānbayk 'Aziz.⁴ This letter was found in the treasury of the Grand Vezīr Sinān Pasha after his death (alternatively, before his death). This amīr Rustum never entered the gate of the city of Constantinople, out of fear for himself. He lived until the accession of Sultan Selīm the Younger, and the progeny of Rustum live in those parts until now.'⁵

The remainder of the work recapitulates the genealogy. Riḍwān Bey is described as the son of Jānbayk 'Aziz and the grandson of Rustum al-Ashraf, whose ancestry is traced to Barsbāy, thence to Timurbughā, the grandfather of Barqūq,⁶ thence to Kisā, 'Adnān, and Adam. The names are given of Riḍwān Bey's own sons, the amīrs Maḥmūd, Uzbek, Muḥammad, Murād, Abū Yazīd (BM, Abā Yazīd), 'Ashūr, and Khūshqadam.

(2) IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE GENEALOGY

At the time when the genealogy was compiled, there were two prominent

¹ *Khawājaki* is an alternative form to *khawāja*. The plural, *khawājakiya*, appears in texts of the Mamluk sultanate with the significance of 'slave-merchants'. See D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage du mamelouk*, Jerusalem, 1961, p. 37, n. 2. Ibn al-Sabbāgh was therefore presumably a sixteenth-century slave-merchant.

² Koja Sinān Pasha, governor of Egypt in 1568, whence he conquered the Yemen, and 1574. He campaigned in Georgia (1580) and was appointed grand vezīr, an office which he held five times in all. He planned to connect the Black Sea with the gulf of Nicomedia by a canal. D. 4 Sha'bān 1004/3 April 1596. The reference to him in the text as 'grand vezīr' (*al-sadr al-a'zam*) cannot be derived from Ṣafadī, whose death-date is given as 980/1572-3.

³ Thus if exactly transliterated, but the name should perhaps be read Bars Bey.

⁴ The name should perhaps be read Jān Bey. Rylands (f. 262a) gives the variant Khānbayk (Khān Bey).

⁵ Rylands 261a-262b; BM 26a-27a.

⁶ The fictitious nature of this section of the genealogy, which lists nine generations between Barsbāy and Timurbughā, is clear from the following considerations:

(i) Neither Barsbāy's own inscriptions nor the *Manḥal ṣāfi* (Wiet, Cairo, 1932, p. 93, no. 644) give any indication of his parentage.

(ii) The reputed grandfather of Barqūq, Timurbughā, is not mentioned either by the *Manḥal ṣāfi* (pp. 94-5, no. 650) or in the funerary inscription of Anas, his alleged son.

beys named Ridwân, one of whom seems indisputably to be the subject of this genealogy. A notice of him appears in Muhibbî's biographical dictionary, where he is described as *Amîr al-Hajj*, for which title the genealogist's *Ḥamîl al-Maḥmil al-Muḥammadi al-Sharîf* is a synonym.¹

Muhibbî says that his subject, the amîr Ridwân b. 'Abdallâh al-Ghaffârî, was a Georgian (*Kurjî*). At first he was a *mamlûk* of Dhû al-Faqâr, an amîr of Egypt. After his master's death, he had a lean time, but subsequently rose to eminence, four of his own *mamlûks* becoming beys like their master. He was a successful Commander of the Pilgrimage, and held this office for over 20 years. In the time of Muḥammad Pasha (i.e. Muḥammad Pasha Sulṭānzāde, 1047-50/1637-40), he was dismissed from this command by the sultan, at the governor's request. He went to Istanbul, where he was imprisoned by Murâd IV. Released by Sultan Ibrâhîm I (succeeded 1049/1640), he returned to Egypt, regained his lost possessions, and was recognized as premier bey (*in'aqada 'alayhi riyâsat Miṣr*).² In the time of Aḥmad Pasha (1058-61/1648-51), further troubles arose and he was again dismissed from the command of the Pilgrimage, which was conferred on 'Alî Bey, the governor of Girga. The supersession of Aḥmad Pasha by 'Abd al-Raḥmân Pasha (1061-2/1651-2), however, nullified this further attempt to remove Ridwân from power. He died in 1066/1655-6.

This identification is not completely free from difficulties. There is a serious divergence between the genealogy and Muhibbî over the parentage and ethnic origin of Ridwân. Muhibbî's statement that Ridwân was a Georgian may be due to a failure to distinguish between two Caucasian peoples, the Georgians and Circassians, both of which furnished *mamlûks* to the Muslim world. His unexplained 'al-Ghaffârî' is almost certainly an error for 'al-Faqârî', perhaps the fault of a copyist or printer. The patronymic 'Ibn 'Abdallâh' is of a type commonly used by *devshirme* recruits or Caucasian tribute-children: in either case it implies non-Muslim parentage.³ Two alternative explanations of this divergence are possible: either that Muhibbî was completely misinformed as to Ridwân's origin, or that the pedigree given in the genealogy is wholly spurious. An examination of the motives behind the compilation of the genealogy may assist us to decide which is the more probable explanation.

Some other sources of information on the character and career of Ridwân Bey may first be briefly noted. The most detailed are the chronicles which form part of two works by the seventeenth-century Cairene writer, Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad b. Abî al-Surûr al-Bakrî al-Şiddiqî. The earlier of these is in *Al-Rawda al-zahîya fî wulât Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira al-Mu'izzîya*.⁴ It goes down

¹ Muḥammad al-Muhibbî, *Khulâṣat al-aḥbar fî a'yân al-qarn al-hādî 'ashar*, Būlâq, 1290, II, 164-6.

² See above, p. 223, n. 3.

³ This formula is also used for the Mamluk Şūfî, Shāhîn b. 'Abdallâh al-Jarkasî (d. A.H. 945). See Abî al-Fath 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. al-'Imâd al-Ḥanbalî, *Shadharat al-dhahab fî akhbâr man dhahab*, Cairo, 1351, VIII, 302.

⁴ Bodleian MS Pocock 80. A second Bodleian copy, MS Bruce 35, continues the list of governors to 1081/1651, but without further details of events.

to the year 1041/1631-2 and mentions a certain Riḍwān Bey al-Zulfiqārī (i.e. al-Faḡārī) as Commander of the Pilgrimage in 1040 and 1041.¹ In the latter year, he took part in a military expedition to the Ḥijāz. The second of Ibn Abī al-Surūr's chronicles, in *Al-Kawākib al-sā'ira* (or *al-siyāra*) *fī akhbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*,² transcribes the earlier chronicle to 1041 and then continues with a very detailed account of events to 1062/1651-2. Full information is given on the clashes, described by Muḥibbī, between Riḍwān Bey and the two governors, and in general Muḥibbī's account is supported. Between these two incidents, there was a serious struggle with Muḥammad Pasha Ḥaydarzāde in 1057/1647-8, which is not mentioned by Muḥibbī, but which Ibn Abī al-Surūr recounts in much detail. It is clear from *Al-Kawākib al-sā'ira* that Ibn Abī al-Surūr had close personal relations with Riḍwān, whom he regarded with respect.

A later chronicle, the anonymous *Zubdat ikhtisār ta'rikh Miṣr*,³ which ends in 1111/1699-1700, adds little to our information on Riḍwān Bey but gives the precise date of his death as 23 Jumādā II 1066/18 April 1656. Much later still is Jabartī's great history, which begins formally only with the twelfth *Hijrī* century. It contains, however, a reference to this Riḍwān Bey, whom Jabartī distinguishes as *Ṣāhib al-'Imāra*. Jabartī's brief note is as follows:

'The majority of the amīrs of Egypt trace their origin to one of the two houses, the house of Balfīya and the house of Riḍwān Bey *Ṣāhib al-'Imāra*, who died in 1065 leaving no sons; but he left Ḥasan Bey, the Commander of the Pilgrimage, and [the names of nine other beys follow]. This Riḍwān Bey was greatly respected and of high authority. He held the command of the Pilgrimage for many years and was a pious man, observing the Fast, prayer, and the *dhikr*. He built the quarter known by his name⁴ outside the Zuwayla Gate by his house, and he established a *waqf* for his freedmen and for pious and charitable objects.'⁵

It will be noted that there is a slight discrepancy between Jabartī and the earlier writers over the date of Riḍwān's death. This is sufficiently explained by Jabartī's later date of writing and by the minor importance of the point to him. The fact that Muḥibbī mentions four, and Jabartī ten, beys of Riḍwān's household may perhaps be due to Muḥibbī enumerating only those created in Riḍwān's lifetime. Some difficulty is presented by Jabartī's explicit statement that Riḍwān Bey left no son, whereas the genealogy names seven; but the high mortality rate among the children of the Mamluks is well known and quite possibly all seven predeceased their father.

¹ His appointment was recent, since in Jumādā I 1038/Jan.-Feb. 1629 the Commander of the Pilgrimage had been a certain Qānṣūh, who was then appointed governor of the Yemen and Abyssinia.

² BM MS Add. 9973. Another copy (*Al-Kawākib al-siyāra*) in the Rylands Library, Arabic MS 693.

³ BM MS Add. 9972.

⁴ Hence presumably his cognomen, *Ṣāhib al-'Imāra* 'The Master of the Building'.

⁵ This information is given in the obituary of Ḥasan Agha Balfīya; Jabartī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 91.

The other prominent Riḍwān Bey of this period is not mentioned by Muhibbī, but appears in the other sources listed with the cognomen of *Abū al-Shawārīb*. He belonged to the rival Mamluk group of the Qāsimiyya, and his identification with the subject of the genealogy is precluded by the fact that he was never Commander of the Pilgrimage. His only connexion with Mecca appears to be that he took part in the expedition of 1041. Jabartī states that he became prominent after the death of the other Riḍwān, and this is on the whole corroborated by the earlier chronicles. The junior status of Abū al-Shawārīb supports the identification of the subject of the genealogy with the Faqārī Riḍwān Bey, since the epithet *al-Kabīr*, applied by the genealogist, generally indicates seniority when used in Mamluk contexts.

(3) PURPOSE OF THE GENEALOGY

The composer of the genealogy seeks to establish two things: a connexion between his patron, Riḍwān Bey al-Kabīr, and the Circassian Mamluk sultanate; and a further connexion between the Circassians (and hence Riḍwān Bey) and Quraysh. His proof of a connexion between Riḍwān and the Circassian sultans is feeble in the extreme, being nothing more than an assertion that Riḍwān was the son of Jānbayk 'Azīz and the grandson of Rustum. It is noticeable that, in contrast to the abundant information given on Rustum, Jānbayk 'Azīz is only known from a passing mention by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh. Had Riḍwān been in fact the son of Jānbayk 'Azīz, one might have expected him to have furnished the genealogist with material about his father at least as copious as the information concerning Rustum. The absence of such material, as well as the fact that the account of Rustum himself is not derived from Riḍwān but from persons outside Rustum's family, strongly suggests that the genealogist arbitrarily derived Riḍwān from the family of a Circassian chief of whom he learnt from a literary source.

The account of Rustum and his career after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt is not inherently impossible but his descent from Barsbāy is asserted without any attempt at proof. In view of what is known about the exclusion of the sons of Mamluks from office under the Circassian sultanate, it is most unlikely that a descendant of a sultan should, in the fifth generation, emerge from the *awlād al-nās* and re-enter the privileged Mamluk military aristocracy. The principle of Mamluk society under the sultans was the superiority of the Mamluk household to the natural family. In the neo-Mamluk society of Ottoman Egypt, however, this principle was no longer rigorously maintained: the aristocratic clans which developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contained both hereditary and *mamlūk* members. The provision of a family tree for Rustum, linking him with two Mamluk sultans, appears as the natural anachronism of a genealogist familiar only with the neo-Mamluk period.

The anachronistic and spurious character of this genealogy itself bears witness to its compiler's determination to link Riḍwān Bey with the Circassian

sultans. The period of its compilation was the time when Mamluk power revived in Egypt¹ after the century of Ottoman dominance which began with the suppression of Jānbardī al-Ghazālī² and Khā'in Aḥmad.³ In Ibn Abī al-Surūr's earlier chronicle, *Al-Rawḍa al-zahīya*, almost to its close in 1041/1631-2, the political history of Egypt centred around its Ottoman governors. Not all the pashas were strong rulers but they were far from being prisoners in the Citadel, as depicted in European historical tradition. There were in these years riots of the soldiery, the first in 997/1589, and as early as 975/1567 a pasha was assassinated, but the conduct of affairs remained in the governors' hands. The Mamluk beys, whose relationships and rivalries dominate the history of eighteenth-century Egypt, were in this earlier period transient figures, lacking substance and character, until 1040/1630-1, when, quite suddenly, their power and corporate spirit are revealed in the events leading to the deposition of Mūsā Pasha. From this point the beys rather than the pashas occupied the centre of the stage, and the Mamluk grandees become more than names.

One of the earliest figures of this Mamluk revival, the first whose career can be reconstructed in detail, was this Rīdḡān Bey Amīr al-Ḥajj al-Sharīf, and in the genealogy itself we may see a manifesto asserting the historical continuity of the Mamluk beys with the Mamluk sultans. The genealogy is a deliberate attempt to set the seventeenth-century resurgence of Mamluk power in the context of Egyptian history and thereby, in some degree, to legitimize it. The use of spurious genealogy for such a purpose is not unprecedented: one recalls, for example, the official Ottoman tradition linking the dynasty with the Oghuz,⁴ and, at the other pole of the Muslim world, the claim of the Funj sultans of Sinnār to be the descendants of the Umayyads.⁵

The attempt of the genealogist to derive the Circassians from Quraysh thus appears to be something more serious than historical fantasy or servile flattery of an influential parvenu. The derivation of the Circassians from an Arab origin goes back to the period of the Mamluk sultanate. Ibn Khaldūn gives a tradition (which he regards as inexact) that 'they are descendants of the

¹ The Mamluk revival in Egypt may plausibly be connected with the increasing role of the Caucasian element in the Ottoman state, which becomes noticeable during the seventeenth century. One aspect of this development was the polarization of authority in the central government between the Imperial Household (*Enderūn*), in which Caucasian personnel predominated, and the Grand Vizierate (*Bāb-i 'Ālī*), which was staffed by free-born Turkish-speaking Muslims, mostly of Rumelian descent.

² Jānbardī al-Ghazālī, a former Mamluk amīr appointed governor of Damascus by Selīm, revolted against Suleymān and assumed in 1521 the title of *Sultān al-Ḥaramayn* 'the Sultan of the Two Sanctuaries'. The significance of this title should be considered in the light of my remarks below (pp. 229-30). See Muhammad b. Tūlūn in H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas*, Damascus, 1952, 158.

³ Khā'in Aḥmad Pasha, who claimed the sultanate of Egypt in 1523, was himself of Caucasian origin; Halil İnalcık, 'Aḥmad Paşa Khā'in', *EI*, 2nd. ed., 293, states that he was a Georgian.

⁴ cf. P. Wittek, *The rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1938, 7-13.

⁵ For one version of this pedigree, see A. H. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge, 1922, II, 132; MS A. 11, LIII.

Ghassānīs who entered *bilād al-Rūm* with Jabala b. al-Ayham at the time of Heraclius' retreat from Syria'.¹ Now, if Ridwān's aim had simply been to obtain historical respectability, this tradition (which was still current in Egypt at the time of the Ottoman conquest) would have been sufficient. But this 'established legend', if I may use the term, is, as we have seen, deliberately rejected for a new fabrication which makes Banū Ghassān the ancestors of the Albanians, derives the Circassians from the Qaysī tribe of Quraysh, instead of the Yamanī tribe of Ghassān, and gives them for ancestor the Muslim Kisā in place of the Christian Jabala.

The nature of these changes suggests the motive of the new fabrication. They were connected with Ridwān's position as Amīr al-Ḥajj. The command of the Pilgrimage was one of the great offices of state in Ottoman Egypt, as it had been under the Mamluk sultans. Immediately after the Ottoman conquest, an attempt seems to have been made to reduce its status, since in 924/1518-19 it was held by the *mukhtasib*, a member of the judiciary, instead of a military officer. But in 925/1519-20, the command was given to a Mamluk, the secretary of the viceroy, Khā'ir Bey. In the three following years an important Mamluk amīr, Jānim al-Sayfī, governor of Bahnasā and the Fayyūm, was appointed to the command.² Thereafter information is sparse until the early seventeenth century, by which time the post was regularly held by a bey, although Ridwān was perhaps the first to be continuously reappointed over a long period of years.

His dignity as Amīr al-Ḥajj made it expedient for his putative forefather to be a Muslim (even if a lapse had to be admitted after Kisā's time) and a Qurashī. The stress which the genealogist lays on the ancient association of Quraysh with the service of the Ka'ba is not a piece of pious antiquarianism but is intended to reflect glory upon the person and office of Ridwān Bey.

At this point another consideration enters. The Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria brought little material profit to the sultanate, while it imposed a heavy burden on its strategy and military resources. The acquisition of these Arab provinces added only a single jewel to the sultan's regalia, but it was a jewel of unique and paramount importance to a Muslim ruler. From the defunct Circassian Mamluk sultanate (not, significantly, from the 'Abbasid puppet-caliphs of Cairo)³ Selīm and his successors had assumed the title of 'Servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries' (*Khādim al-Haramayn al-Sharīfayn*) and with it the functions of provisioning the Ḥijāz, and of organizing and protecting the two great Pilgrimage-caravans of Cairo and Damascus. During the 300 years between Selīm's conquest of Egypt and Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's defeat of the Wahhābīs, concern to maintain this title by the proper discharge of its

¹ cf. D. Ayalon, 'The Circassians in the Mamluk kingdom', *JAOS*, LIX, 3, 1949, 137. Ayalon gives the following references: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kutub al-'ibar*, Cairo, 1284, v, 472; Ibn Iyās, *Bada'i' al-zuhūr*, Constantinople, 1932, v, 193.

² Ibn Iyās, *Bada'i' al-zuhūr*, Istanbul, 1932, 241, 284, 285, 290, 312, 325, 439.

³ T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924, 144-5.

attendant obligations was a perennial consideration in Ottoman policy towards the Arab provinces. Recognition of the importance of this is a key to the understanding of the relations then subsisting among the authorities in Istanbul, Cairo, Damascus, and Mecca.

Seen in this light, the assertion by the genealogist that Ridwân Bey Amîr al-Ḥajj was descended both from the Mamluk sultans and from Quraysh was a twofold challenge to Ottoman authority. From the first, Selîm and his successors had exercised their functions as Servants of the Two Noble Sanctuaries by delegation. During the reigns of the conqueror and of Süleymân the Magnificent, the subordination of these delegates had been clear, but in the years when Ridwân Bey flourished, from 1040/1631 to 1066/1656 the situation, in Egypt at least, had changed. Energetic and vigorous though Murâd IV was, his rule left little mark on the remote and self-centred province of Egypt—indeed his preoccupations elsewhere may have contributed to the Mamluk resurgence. He was followed in 1049/1640 by Ibrâhîm I, who was barely sane, and he in turn, in 1058/1648, by the seven-year-old Mehmed IV. During his long tenure of the command of the Pilgrimage, Ridwân was effectively and conspicuously fulfilling many of the sultan's duties towards the Two Noble Sanctuaries. The genealogy implies that Ridwân Bey exercised his functions, not as a delegate of the remote Ottoman sultan, but by a species of hereditary right derived from Mamluk and Qurashî ancestors.

(4) CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached from a study of the genealogy may be summarized as follows :

(i) The genealogy as such is spurious. The chain linking Barqûq and Barsbây with Quraysh is fictitious ; that connecting Rustum with Barsbây and the grandfather of Barqûq is highly dubious ; Rustum himself may have been a real person but Ridwân's descent from him is unsupported. Muḥibbî's ' Ridwân b. 'Abdallâh ' is a truer statement of this Mamluk grandee's origin.

(ii) The motive of the genealogy is to exalt the person and position of Ridwân, and the manner in which this is done conveys an implicit claim to his superiority over the Ottoman sultan.

One further point may be made. The document is symptomatic of that tendency towards autonomy which often characterized the history of the Arab provinces in the Ottoman period. Before Ridwân's time the tendency had appeared in Fakhr al-Dîn Ma'n and Bakr the Şübâshî of Baghdâd. After him it was to be seen in Zâhir al-'Umar and 'Alî Bey, the 'Azm pashas of Damascus and the Mamluk pashas of Baghdâd. Ridwân never asserted as high a degree of independence as did these other notables, although Murâd IV's actions suggest that he was regarded with much suspicion. Had circumstances developed differently, this obscure genealogy might have been adduced as the title-deed of a Mamluk sovereign in seventeenth-century Egypt.

A STANDARD PASHTO

By D. N. MacKENZIE

1. Among modern Iranian languages, other than Persian, Pashto shares pride of place with Kurdish as regards both area of territory and number of speakers. Both languages, moreover, are prolific in dialects, but there any similarity ends.

The features differentiating one Kurdish dialect from the next are mainly morphological. The differences are also progressive, in the sense that when dialect II differs from dialect I in only one feature, the next further dialect III will differ from I in both this and some other feature, or features. It can be said, in other words, that the extent of the morphological differences between any number of Kurdish dialects is roughly proportional to the distances between them. One obvious effect of this phenomenon is that to this day no standard Kurdish has emerged as a literary vehicle with any wide scope or vogue.

The case with Pashto is quite the reverse. The morphological differences between the most extreme north-eastern and south-western dialects are comparatively few and unimportant. The criteria of dialect differentiation in Pashto are primarily phonological. With the use of an alphabet which disguises these phonological differences the language has, therefore, been a literary vehicle, widely understood, for at least four centuries. This literary language has long been referred to in the West as 'common' or 'standard' Pashto without, seemingly, any real attempt to define it.

The increase in literacy among Pashto speakers has given rein to a natural tendency to use phonetic rather than standard spellings. It is perhaps surprising to find support for this somewhat parochial behaviour among Pashtuns at a time when literate Kurds everywhere are thinking of a utopian 'unity' of their language. Yet this has been the effect of almost every innovation of recent years¹ and may be expected to continue if, and when, the Afghan Academy (*Pashto Tolana*) proceeds to introduce a Latin alphabet.² If only on this account it seems opportune to attempt to define standard Pashto in more concrete phonemic terms than any adaptation of the Arabo-Persian script permits.

2. Of the 36 consonant signs of the standard alphabet seven, ط ض ص ذ ث, appear almost exclusively in loanwords of Arabic origin and represent no additional phonemes of Pashto. They are mere 'allographs', marked in the transliteration by a subscript line. Three signs, ق ف ح, to some extent represent 'elegant phonemes'.³ Of the remaining 26 only those numbered 1-5

¹ See G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo, 1928, 10; W. Lentz, 'Die Paschto-Bewegung', *ZDMG*, xcv, 1, 1941, 118; Begam Jamāl, 'Yaw xat', *Abaseen* (Karachi), June 1957.

² See W. Lentz, *Lateinalphabet für das Paschto*, Berlin, 1937.

³ See H. Penzl, *A grammar of Pashto: a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar* [GPK], Washington, D.C., 1955, § 37.

Standard Pashto alphabet and transliteration :

ا	(')	ذ	z	ع	'
ب	b	ر	r	غ	γ
پ	p	ړ	ʀ [ɾ]	ف	f
ت	t	ز	z	ق	q
ټ	ɬ [t]	ژ	ʒ 3	ک	k
ث	s	ښ	ʒ̣ 4	گ	g
ج	ʃ [dʒ]	س	s	ل	l
چ	ç [tʃ]	ش	ʃ [ʃ]	م	m
خ	{ c 1 j 2	ښ	ʃ̣ 5	ن	n
ح	h [h]	ص	ṣ	ڼ	ɳ [ʃ]
ځ	x	ض	ẓ	و	(w)
د	d	ط	ṭ	ه	h
ډ	ɖ [d]	ظ	ẓ	ی	(y)

require any further description as they alone are realized appreciably differently in different dialects. The details, already well-known, may be summarized in the following table :

Dialects			
SW (Kandahar)	SE (Quetta)	NW (Central Ghilzai)	NE (Yusufzai)
1. c [ts]	c	(s)	(s)
2. j [dʒ]	j	(z)	(z)
3. ʒ [ʒ]	ʒ	ʒ̣	(ʒ̣) ¹
4. ẓ [ʒ̣]	(ʒ̣) ²	ʒ̣̣ ³ [ʃ]	(g)
5. ṣ [ṣ]	(ṣ) ²	ʃ̣̣ ⁴ [ʃ̣]	(x)

It will be seen that, moving away from the south-western dialect, there is a steady depletion in the inventory of consonant phonemes, owing to coincidence with existing phonemes (in parentheses).

3. Penzl,⁵ observing that 'the Kandahar dialect . . . is the only dialect which has a phonemic system corresponding to the prevailing orthography', makes the following inference. 'The correlation between the Kandahar phonemic pattern and the graphic pattern of the special Pashto symbols of the

¹ See Morgenstierne, *Etymological vocabulary of Pashto* [EVP], Oslo, 1927, 105; *Report . . . Afghanistan*, 11.

² See GPK, § 34.3; EVP, 106, s.v. *žay*.

⁴ See GPK, § 34.3; EVP, 77, s.v. *žja*.

³ See GPK, § 35.2; EVP, 49, s.v. *maz*.

⁵ GPK, ch. 1, § 4.4.

Arabic alphabet is so close that we must assume that these symbols were created in the area of the Kandahar dialect. Kandahar appears to be the cradle of the Pashto alphabet.' In short, the derivation of the signs 4, 5 from *ž*, *š* could only have occurred in the south-west, where they represent *z*, *s* respectively.

This is in direct opposition to Morgenstierne's earlier hypothesis¹ that 'when the orthography of Pashto was fixed in the 16th century, the distinction between *š*, *ž* and *x*, *g* seems still to have been preserved even among the north-eastern tribes, who were probably the creators of Pashto literature'.

It would be rash to decide this question on orthographic evidence alone, but there is this to be said in support of the 'north-eastern' hypothesis. An earlier orthographic tradition than that now prevailing once existed. In the earliest known Pashto manuscript, written in A.H. 1061/A.D. 1651,² *ḍ* (with subscript dot) is written for *j*, *ḍ* (i.e. sign 4) for *ž*, and *ḍ̣* (with central dot) for *ǰ*. These signs were still used in a MS *Dīwān* of Mīrzā,³ dated A.H. 1101/A.D. 1690, but were abandoned shortly after.

In a MS *Dīwān* of the (?) Yusufzay poet Najīb,⁴ written in A.H. 1108/A.D. 1696-7, the copyist, Gul Muḥammad *Pešāwarī*, was presumably responsible for the change from the old signs used in his model to the new. In one case only, when he noticed the difficulty too late to change the alphabetical order of the *Dīwān*, was he obliged to preserve the sign *ḍ* at the end of the rhyme word. Elsewhere he changed this to *č*, now used for both *c* and *j*. This suggests (a) that the older tradition was not exclusively Roshani, and (b) that the new signs still represented distinct phonemes in the north-east at this date. At the time of consciously disguising one distinction (viz. that between *c* and *j*, which still exists) the scribes would be unlikely to perpetuate other distinctions (between *ǰ*, *ž*, *š* and other phonemes) if they were meaningless. Only later copyists are more prone to give up these distinctions.

4. While the north-eastern dialects show the most changes in the pattern of consonant phonemes they are more conservative with regard to vowels and semivowels. The distinction between all the vowel phonemes, either expressed or implicit in the standard orthography, is preserved, with the possible exception of *i* : *ī*, *u* : *ū*. Moreover they all appear, alone or in diphthongs, as morphological relevant final syllables⁵:

a a ā e i o u, ay ay əw aw etc.

There are variations in the realization, e.g. *-y* > *-e* and *-w* > *-o* in final position following a long vowel, *-ay* > [-ɛ], but neither phonemic nor morphological system is thereby disturbed.

¹ *Report on a linguistic mission to north-western India*, Oslo, 1932, 17.

² See Morgenstierne, 'Notes on an old Pashto manuscript, containing the Khair-ul-Bayān of Bāyazīd Ansārī', *New Indian Antiquary*, II, 1939-40, 567. 'DOBN's mscr. of Ākhūnd Darwēza', there conceded to be older, is now B.M. Add. 27312 and is in fact an indifferent mid-eighteenth century MS.

³ B.M. Or. 4228.

⁴ B.M. Or. 4498.

⁵ See Morgenstierne, 'Archaisms and innovations in Pashto morphology', *NTS*, XII, 1942, 91.

In the south-western dialects, on the other hand, at least one important change has taken place. While stressed *e*, *o* are preserved, in unstressed final position *o* commonly coincides with *u* and *e* with *i*, except when morphological confusion would result. For example, fem. sg. oblique *nəwe* becomes *nəwi*, but direct *nəwe* is preserved (fem. sg. dir. **nəwi* would coincide formally with indeclinable adjectives in *-i*); similarly fem. sg. obl. *yəwe* becomes *yəwi*, but dir. *yəwe* is preserved (a fem. sg. direct form in unstressed *-i* would create a new category of nouns). In the verbal system, however, 2nd sg. present *óse* is preserved, to avoid confusion with 3rd sg. *ósi*. Thus there is modification in detail of certain nominal paradigms only.

5. One question of the phonemic structure of the western, if not of all, dialects remains vexed, namely the delimitation of the phonemes *a* and *ə*.

It seems certain that in unstressed, as opposed to medium- or loud-stressed, position there is no phonemic difference between *a* and *ə*. No two utterances are distinguished by these sounds alone. In the latest invaluable dictionary published by the Afghan Academy¹ an 'archiphoneme' unstressed *A* [*a* ~ *ə*] is sometimes marked as having variously *a* or *ə* in different dialects. More often it is described phonetically with the equivalent of *ə*, Pashto *zwarakáy*. For example:

(səra)	= *sArá	(səray)	= *sAřáy
(stərgə)	= *stərgA	(stəřey)	= *stəřAy

Inevitably both the unstressed endings fem. sg. dir. *ə*, masc. sg. dir. *í* and the stressed endings masc. sg. dir. *ə*, fem. *í* (old spelling *جی*) are given as *ə*, *ay* respectively. No ambiguity arises in the dictionary, as the gender is there marked, but it has led to some confusion elsewhere.

For morphological reasons it is more convenient to consider unstressed *A*, whatever the realization, as an allophone of *a*. This is the analysis tacitly adopted, though not altogether consistently, in Šafeev's short grammatical sketch of western Pashto.² He is thereby enabled to define a number of morphological categories in simple phonemic terms. One small error in interpretation is the adoption of the spelling *جی dəy* '(he) is', with the sign designed for the stressed fem. nominal ending *-by*, in place of *جی dAy*, i.e. unstressed *day*.

Penzl follows the phonetic verdict implicit in the *Pəřto Qāmūs*. Having established two phonemes *e* (i.e. *ə*) and *a*, he limits their allophonic range severely. Thus, *GPK*, ch. ii, § 4.3, 'sometimes *e* appears in weak-stressed, and *a* in loud-stressed position, e.g.: *las* "ten", *yawóoles* "eleven"'; *ibid.*, ch. ii, § 4.4, 'weak-stressed *e* varies among speakers of the Kandahar dialect in certain inflectional and derivational morphemes with a centralized allophone of *a*, e.g. . . . *zhébe* or *zhéba* "tongue"'.³

This hyper-distinction leads to others. In no other dialect recorded do

¹ *Pəřto Qāmūs*, ed. Sadiqullāh Rix̄tīn *et al.*, Kabul, 1330-3/1951-4

² D. A. Šafeev, 'Kratkij grammatičeskij očerk Afganskogo jazyka', supplement to P. B. Zudin, *Russko-Afganskij slovar'*, Moscow, 1955.

more than two diphthongs of the type *ay*, *əy* occur. Final *-əy* denotes both fem. sg., pl. etc., always stressed, and 2nd pl., stressed or not. It has various realizations, including the types [-'əi] and [-ə'i], but never both distinctively in one dialect. In view of the tendency in Kandahar to give up vocalic distinctions, except when they are morphologically relevant, Penzl's added contrast, *GPK*, ch. ii, § 10.3, of *ei* [-'əi] with *ey* [-'əi] is surely unreal. By introducing further the concept of *A* as unstressed *a* his range of diphthongs is reducible to two, as follows :

<i>GPK</i>					
<i>ay</i>	<i>kutshnáy</i>	masc. sg.	=	<i>kučnáy</i>	} <i>ay</i>
	<i>pàysée</i>		=	<i>pàysé</i>	
<i>ey</i>	<i>stérrey</i>	masc. sg.	=	<i>stétay</i>	} <i>əy</i>
	<i>ósəy</i>	2nd pl.	=	<i>ósəy</i> (-əi)	
	<i>kawéy</i>	2nd pl.	=	<i>kawóy</i> (-əi)	
<i>ei</i>	<i>kutshneí</i>	fem. sg. etc.	=	<i>kučnáy</i> (-əi)	

6. We have seen that the Kandahar dialect has preserved all the consonant phonemes expressed in the standard alphabet, but that while also preserving the full range of vowel phonemes it has put them to use in novel ways. The other dialects, particularly of the north-east, have abandoned a number of consonant phonemes but have generally confirmed the vowels in their morphological positions. It is an obvious inference that an older stage of Pashto, still current in the seventeenth century if the orthographic evidence is trustworthy, combined a 'south-western' consonant system with a 'north-eastern' vowel phoneme system.

It is this conceptual phonemic system, therefore, which is reflected in the verse of the classical period of *Xuṣṣhāl Xān* and *Raḥmān Bābā*. Apart from the evident value of this 'Standard Pashto', in its discreet native dress, as a universal literary medium among Pashtuns, it appears to have another important application. It permits the description of Pashto morphology in more accurate and universal terms than does any single dialect. Moreover, once established, by a comparison of the main north-eastern and south-western dialects, it may well serve as the basis for a simple description of the regular phonetic divergences of other dialects.

[A meeting of Pashtun scholars and writers from both Afghanistan and Pakistan, held in Kabul during August 1958, proposed a number of standardizations in the use of the present alphabet. These proposals, reported in full in the periodical *Kābul*, No. 465 of 23 September 1958, represent in the main a welcome return to the classical standard described above.]

THE SAUTRĀNTIKA THEORY OF BĪJA

By PADMANABH S. JAINI

VASUMITRA in his famous work 'Origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist schools' (*Samaya-bhedoparacanacakra*)¹ enumerates the following four doctrines as characteristic of the Sautrāntika school: '(i) The *skandhas* transmigrate from one world to the other: hence the name Sankrānti-vāda; (ii) There are *mūlāntika-skandhas* and *eka-rasa-skandhas*; (iii) An average person (*prthagjana*) also possesses the potentiality of becoming a Buddha (lit. in the state of average man there are also divine things, *ārya-dharmas*); (iv) There are *paramārtha-pudgalas*'.²

Elucidating these doctrines and particularly the term *skandha*, J. Masuda says that a commentary on Vasumitra's work called *Shu-chi* interprets the term *skandha* as *bījas*. The *eka-rasa-skandhas* are interpreted as '*bījas* of one taste, which continue to exist from time immemorial without changing their nature'. The *ārya-dharmas* are interpreted as '*anāsrava-bījas*' (pure seeds),³ which Masuda identifies with the *paramārtha-pudgalas*.³

Very little is known about these Sautrāntika doctrines or even about the origin and significance of the theory of *bīja*. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya*⁴ and the *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā*⁵ of Yaśomitra contain several references to the theory of *bīja*, but do not make any mention either of the *eka-rasa-skandha* or of the *ārya-dharma* of the Sautrāntika school.

In a newly discovered orthodox Vaibhāṣika work called the *Abhidharma-dīpa*⁶ (with its commentary the *Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti*),⁷ primarily composed with a view to correct the Sautrāntika bias exhibited by Vasubandhu in his *Bhāṣya*, we find valuable material that sheds light on several obscure doctrines of the Sautrāntika, and particularly on the theory of *bīja*. The author of the *Vṛtti* attributes to the Kośakāra the theory of a subtle and incorruptible pure element (*sūkṣma-kuśala-dharma-bīja*) which, as will be seen below, corresponds to the *eka-rasa-skandha* of the Sautrāntika, as well as to the *prabhāsva-citta*, a cardinal doctrine of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school.

This controversy on the validity of the theory of *bīja* between the Sautrāntika Kośakāra and the Vaibhāṣika Dipakāra is fully developed in their discussions of the following three successive topics: (i) *manas-karma* and *kleśa*, (ii) *anuśaya* and *paryavasthāna*, (iii) the *kuśala-dharma-bīja*.

¹ J. Masuda, *Asia Major*, II, 1925, 1-78.

² *ibid.*, 67-9.

³ *ibid.*, notes to pp. 67-9.

⁴ *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu* (tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin). Henceforth referred to as *Bhāṣya*.

⁵ Henceforth referred to as *Sphuṭa*.

⁶ Henceforth referred to as *Dīpa*. The MS of this work was discovered in Tibet by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in the year 1937. It has been edited by the author of this article and will soon be published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, in their Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.

⁷ Henceforth referred to as *Vṛtti*.

I. *Manas-karma* and *kleśa*

Three kinds of purely mental (evil) actions are spoken of in the sūtras. The *Saṁcetanīya-sūtra*, for instance, says : ' How are the three kinds of volitional acts committed through mind ? Here O monks, one becomes covetous (*abhidhyālu*), full of ill will (*vyāpāna-citta*), and a holder of a wrong view (*mīhyā-drṣṭi*) '. According to this sūtra, the *abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, and *mīhyā-drṣṭi* are purely mental acts. Since the Lord has said that *karma* is volition, the Dārṣṭāntikas (i.e. the Sautrāntikas) maintain that these three, being mental actions, are identical with volitions (*cetanā*).¹

The Vaibhāṣikas do not agree with this Dārṣṭāntika view. According to them the *abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, and *mīhyā-drṣṭi* are passions (*kleśas*) that produce an evil volition (*karma*), and not actions by themselves. They are not *manas-karma* (mental actions) but only *mano-duṣcarita*.² In the sūtra these three are identified with *cetanā* because the latter arises through them.

The Kośakāra, as usual, favours the Dārṣṭāntika viewpoint.³ The Dīpakāra asserts the Vaibhāṣika position without advancing any new arguments in its favour, and criticizes the Kośakāra for favouring the Dārṣṭāntika interpretation of the *Saṁcetanīya-sūtra*.⁴

The reason for the Vaibhāṣika treatment of *abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, and *mīhyā-drṣṭi* as passions distinct from volitions is perhaps to be found in the Ābhidharmika theory that two volitions (*cetanās*) cannot operate in one moment. According to the Abhidharma all evil volitions (such as killing, theft, etc.) are prompted and sustained by one of these three, viz. *abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, or *mīhyā-drṣṭi*. In the case of an evil act like *prāṇātīpāta*, for instance, one of these three produces a *vadhaka-cetanā* (a volition to kill) which is essentially accompanied, till the accomplishment of the act of killing, by *vyāpāda* (ill will). If *vyāpāda* is also treated as a *cetanā* then there will be two volitions (*vyāpāda* and *vadhaka-cetanā*) operating in one moment. The Vaibhāṣika, therefore, maintains that these three are to be treated as *kleśas* (passions) and not as volitions (*karma*).

The Pali commentators also seem to recognize a similar theory. The *Aṭṭhasālinī* states that of the ten evil karmas (viz. *pāṇātīpāta*, etc.) the first seven are *cetanā-dhamma* (i.e. identical with volition), whereas the last three, viz. *abhiṭṭhā*, *vyāpāda*, and *micchā-ditṭhi* are *cetanā-sampayuttā dhammā* (i.e. factors associated with the first seven volitions).⁵

This Ābhidharmika distinction between a volition (*karma*) and a passion (*kleśa*) has a close bearing on the theory of *bīja*. The *kleśas* are like roots which

¹ *Saṁcetanīya-sūtre vacanād iti*. . . *abhidhyādaya eva manas-karmetī* Dārṣṭāntikāḥ Sautrāntika-viśeṣā ity ariṭaḥ (*Sakv.*, p. 400).

² *ibid.* Cf. *Akarma-svabhāvāny api tv abhidhyādīni mano-duṣcarita-svabhāvāni* (*Vṛtti* on *kā.* 188).

³ *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. vi, *kā.* 65-6.

⁴ *Vṛtti* on *kā.* 188.

⁵ *Satta cetanā dhammā hontī, abhiṭṭhādayo tayo cetanā-sampayuttā* (*Aṭṭhasālinī*, iii, 158).

produce as well as sustain an evil volition. *Abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, and *mithyā-dṛṣṭi* are not called roots, but are recognized as intensive states of the three roots of evil (*akuśala-mūla*), viz. *lobha*, *dveṣa*, and *moha* respectively. All evil volitions are essentially rooted in and spring from one or other of these three basic passions (*mūla-kleśa*).

Corresponding to these three roots of evil, the Buddhists recognize three roots of good (volitions), viz. *alobha*, *adveṣa*, and *amoha*. All good volitions spring from these three *kuśala-mūlas*, the intensive states of which are called *anabhidhyā*, *avyāpāda*, and *samyak-dṛṣṭi* respectively. Thus the *kuśala-mūlas* and the *akuśala-mūlas* are incompatible in nature and exclude each other in their operation in a single moment.

Whereas their intensified states can be overcome by the attainment of the first three *lokottara* paths, the basic passions (*akuśala-mūlas*) are not completely annihilated until one attains arhatship. A *śrota-āpanna*, for instance, overcomes *mithyā-dṛṣṭi*, but still possesses its root, viz. *moha*. A *sakṛdāgāmin* overcomes grosser forms of *vyāpāda*, but still possesses its root, viz., *dveṣa*. An *anāgāmin* completely overcomes *vyāpāda*, but he is not free from the *akuśala-mūlas*. Only an arhat brings an end to these roots of all evil volitions.¹

If the *akuśala-mūlas* are not annihilated till the attainment of arhatship and if they are incompatible with the *kuśala-mūlas*, how are we to explain the operation of *kuśala-mūlas* or of *kuśala* volitions in a mundane (*laukika*) existence? Being incompatible they cannot operate simultaneously. Nor can they operate successively, for succession demands a certain element of homogeneity between the preceding and succeeding moments. If a *kuśala-citta* were to follow an *akuśala-citta*, then it will depend for its nature on a heterogeneous cause. This will amount to an admission of the unacceptable position that good springs out of evil or vice versa.

The Theravādins avoid this dilemma by postulating a theory that the *akuśala* and *kuśala-cittas* never follow each other without an intervening *avyākṛta* (indeterminate, i.e. *vipāka*) *citta*. An *akuśala-citta-vīthi* can be succeeded by a *kuśala-citta-vīthi* only after the intervention of a *bhavanga-citta*, which is necessarily a *vipāka-citta*.

The Vaibhāṣikas seek a solution by postulating a *citta-viprayukta-saṃskāra* called *prāpti*, a force which controls the collection of a particular kind of element, and another *saṃskāra* called *aprāpti* which prevents such a collection. Thus, for instance, when an *akuśala-citta* is followed by a *kuśala-citta* the latter is brought into operation by *prāpti* of the *kuśala* dharmas which is at the same time assisted by the *aprāpti* which prevents the rise of *akuśala* dharmas.

The Sautrāntikas reject both these theories. They do not accept the theory of the Theravādins, presumably on the grounds that an *avyākṛta-citta* is not more helpful than the *akuśala-citta*, inasmuch as both are equally ineffective

¹ On these different *mārgas* (*darśana* and *bhāvanā-mārga*), see E. Obermiller, 'The doctrine of prajñā-pāramitā as exposed in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of Maitreya', *Acta Orientalia*, XI, 1933, 21-5.

to produce a *kuśala-citta*. They reject the Vaibhāṣika dharmas called *prāpti* and *aprāpti* on the grounds that these in turn need to be produced by another *prāpti* and *aprāpti*, a position which leads to an infinite regress.

The Sautrāntikas explain the operation of *kuśala* and *akuśala* dharmas by postulating a theory of seeds. There are three kinds of seeds : seeds of evil and seeds of good, and those which are indeterminate. The seeds of evil (*akuśala-bīja*) are called *anuśaya* ; the seeds of good are called *kuśala-dharma-bīja*. Before we proceed to an examination of the latter we shall note here views of several Buddhist schools on the nature of the *anuśayas*, a topic which holds a clue for the theory of seeds.

II. *Anuśaya*

The Pali scriptures as well as commentaries contain several references to and controversies on the *anuśayas*. The term *anuśaya*, derived from *śī-* (*śaya-*) 'to lie', connotes 'to live along with' or 'to cling to'. It is always used in the sense of a bias, a proclivity, a persistence of a dormant or latent disposition of mind leading to all kinds of evil volitions. Buddhaghosa says that a passion is called *anuśaya* because of its pertinacity. It ever and again tends to become the condition predisposing to the arising of new passions.¹ The Kośakāra calls it the root of existence.² The *Vṛtti* describes it as that which follows through the series of mind.³ Seven such evil predispositions are enumerated in the scriptures : *kāma-rāga*, *pratigha*, *drṣṭi*, *vicikitsā*, *māna*, *bhava-rāga*, and *avidyā*. The three *akuśala-mūlas* as well as their accessory *kleśas* are included in these seven *anuśayas*.

The outbursts of these dormant passions are called *pariyuṭṭhāna* (Skt. *pariyavasthāna*). There are seven *pariyuṭṭhānas* corresponding to the seven *anuśayas*, bearing the same names.⁴ In the Vaibhāṣika tradition different *kleśas* are enumerated under the *pariyavasthānas*. The *Vṛtti* enumerates ten : *mrakṣa*, *īrṣyā*, *ahrī*, *anapatrāpya*, *styāna*, *middha*, *auddhatya*, *krodha*, *mātsarya*, and *kaukrtya*.⁵ But this seems to be an Ābhidharmika tradition. The Sautrāntikas do not treat these ten as *pariyavasthāna*. They agree with the Theravādin tradition (based on sūtra) in treating the *pariyavasthāna* as outbursts of the latent *anuśayas*.

The relation between an *anuśaya* and a *pariyuṭṭhāna* is made clear in the *Mahā-Māluṅkyasutta*.⁶ This sutta deals with *saṃyojanas* (bonds or fetters) such as *kāma-cchanda*, *vyāpāda*, *vicikitsā*, etc., which chain all beings to the lower life. It is said there that heretic ascetics used to ridicule this theory of *saṃyojanas* by saying, 'An infant is not conscious of lusts of the flesh (*kāma*), much less can passion (*kāma-cchanda*) arise within it, its sensual propensities (*kāma-rāga*) being latent only (*anuseti*)'.⁷

¹ *Vissuddhimagga*, xxii, 60.

² *Mūlaṃ bhavasyānuśayāḥ* (*Abhidharma-kośa*, v, 1).

³ *Santānānugatā ity anuśayāḥ* (*Vṛtti* on kā. 261).

⁴ *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa*, p. 383.

⁵ *Vṛtti* on kā. 373.

⁶ *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, p. 433.

⁷ *Daharassa hi kumārassa mandassa . . . kāmā ti pi na hoti, kuto paṇ'assa uppañjissatī kāmesu kāmā-cchando, anuseti tv ev'assa kāmārāgānuśayo* (ibid).

The implication of this criticism is not clear. According to the *Atthakathā* these ascetics believed that a person is associated with the passions (*kilesa*) only when they operate or beset him but at other times he is disassociated from passions.¹ Apparently the heretics believed that an infant is free from *kilesas*.

The Buddhists do not accept this position. According to them even an infant is in possession of *kilesas*, because the latter are present in him in their dormant state (*anusaya*) and become active when there arise suitable conditions for their operation (*pariyuṭṭhāna*). This implies that when the passions are not operating they always remain in a dormant state. If they are always present in the mind then the latter is always *akuśala*, for a *kuśala* can neither co-exist nor operate simultaneously with an *akuśala*. Consequently, there will be no *kuśala-citta* as long as the latent passions are not removed, and they will not be removed without a *kuśala-citta*.

Different solutions are put forward by different schools to this problem.² The Theravādins (despite their objection to the heretical view noted above) and the Vaibhāṣikas denied the existence of *anusayas* apart from the *paryavasthānas*. According to them a mind is *akuśala* only when passions are in operation. There is no such thing as purely latent passions. The Vātsīputriyas maintained a difference between the *anusayas* and *paryavasthānas*. But they said that the *anusayas* are *citta-viprayukta-saṃskāras*, and hence could co-exist with *kuśala-dharmas*. But *paryavasthānas* are *citta-saṃprayukta-saṃskāras* and therefore cannot operate with *kuśala-dharmas*. They include the *anusayas* in *prāpti*, a *viprayukta-saṃskāra* of the Vaibhāṣika list.

The Sautrāntikas maintained that the *anusayas* as well as the *kuśala* elements (*bījas*) co-exist side by side in the form of subtle seeds, but only one of them operates at one time. When the *anusayas* operate (i.e. become *paryavasthānas*), the mind is *akuśala*. When the seeds of *kuśala* operate the mind is *kuśala*.

All these views are well represented in a controversy on the meaning of a sūtra passage preserved in the *Kośa*, the *Vṛtti*, and also in the *Atthakathās*. A question is raised whether a term like *rāgānuśaya* should be taken as a *karmadhāraya* or as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*-compound. The former (i.e. *rāga eva anusayaḥ*) goes against a sūtra passage which says: 'Here a person has a mind beset and obsessed (*paryavasthīta*) by no sensuality (*kāma-rāga*); he knows the real escape therefrom; this obsession of sensuality (*kāma-rāga-paryavasthāna*) if vigorously combated is destroyed together with its propensities thereto (*sānuśayaṃ prahīyate*)'.³

¹ *Ayam hi tassa laddhi samudācāra-kkhanne yeva kilesahi samyutto nāma hoti, itarasmim khane asamyutto ti . . . (Majjhima-nikāya-atthakathā, III, p. 144).*

² *Vaibhāṣika-nayena paryavasthānam evānuśayaḥ. Vātsīputriya-nayena prāptir anusayaḥ. Sautrāntika-nayena bījam (Skt., p. 442).*

³ *Ātha rāgādayo 'nuśayāḥ katham draṣṭavyāḥ? Kim rāgādaya evānuśayāḥ, āhosi rāgādīnām anuśayāḥ? Rāgādaya evānuśayāś cet sūtra-virodhah: 'Iha katyo na kāmarāga-paryavasthītena cetasā bahulam viharaty utpannasya kāmarāgaparyavasthānasyottara-nissaranam yathābhūtam prajānāti. Tasya tai kāmarāga-paryavasthānam sīhamaśah samyak susamvāhatam sānuśayaṃ prahīyate' iti (Vṛtti on kā. 261). Cf. Majjhima-nikāya, sūta 64, and Anguttara, III, p. 233.*

By using the term *sānuṣāyam* the sūtra makes it clear that *pariyavasthāna* and *anuṣāya* are not identical. The Vātsīputriya here suggests that the term *sānuṣāyam* means 'together with *anuṣāya*, i.e. a *viprayukta-saṃskāra* called *prāpti*'. But this contention goes against Abhidharma where it is said that the *rāgānuṣāya* is associated with three kinds of feelings. *Prāpti* being a *viprayukta* cannot associate with a *caitasika*. Therefore, *anuṣāya* cannot be a *viprayukta*.¹

Faced with this dilemma the Vaibhāṣika, regardless of the sūtra, states that the term *rāgānuṣāya* should be taken as a *karmadhāraya* compound.² He resolves the contradiction of the sūtra by interpreting the term *sānuṣāya* as *sānubandha*, i.e. together with its power of producing a new *kleśa*. He also gives an alternative suggestion that the sūtra identifies *anuṣāya* with *prāpti* only figuratively; the Abhidharma is definitive when it says that *rāga* (*pariyavasthāna*) is (identical with) *anuṣāya*.³

The Theravādins also identify *pariyutthāna* with *anusaya*. Commenting on the sūtra words *sānuṣayo pahīyati*, Buddhaghosa observes that some people on the basis of this expression maintain that the *saṃyojanas* (here identical with *pariyutthānas*) are different from *anusaya*. They should be refuted, he says, by the simile of a person sleeping with his head covered. The person is not different from (his) head.⁴ Buddhaghosa takes note of an objection that if *saṃyojanas* and *anusayas* are identical then the Buddha's criticism of the heretic ascetics (for holding the view that an infant has no passions) is meaningless.⁵ Buddhaghosa does not give any convincing answer to this criticism but asserts his position by repeating that the same passion is called *saṃyojana* because it binds, and is also called *anusaya* because it is not renounced (*appahīna*).⁶

The *Kathāvatthu* records several controversies on the *anusayas*. The Andhakas held that the *anusayas* are different from *pariyutthāna*.⁷ The Mahāsāṃghikas and the Sammitiyas maintained that the *anusayas* are indeterminate (*abyākata*), without good or evil roots (*ahetukā*) and therefore *citta-vippayutta*.⁸ The arguments of these schools are the same as noted above that if the *anusayas* are *akusala* and *citta-saṃprayukta* there will never be an occasion for the rise of *kuśala* consciousness.

Buddhaghosa's reply to these schools is the same, that the *anusayas* are identical with *pariyutthānas*. He once more returns to this topic in his commentary on the *Yamaka*. There also he repeats the same arguments and adds

¹ *ibid.* ² *Karmadhāraya eva parigrihyate na sasti-samāsa iti Vaibhāṣikāh (ibid.).*

³ *Aupacāriko vā sūtre 'nuṣaya-sabdhāh prāptau . . . lākanikas tv abhidharme kleśa evānuṣayaḥ (ibid.).*

⁴ '*sānuṣayo pahīyati*' ti vacanato panettha ekacce aññam saṃyojanam añño anusayo ti vadanti. . . . Te sasisam pārupitvā ādīhi patikkhipitabbā . . . (*Majjhima-nikāya-atthakathā*, III, p. 144).

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *Tasmā so yeva kilesa bandhanatthena saṃyojanam appahīnatthena anusayo ti idam attham sandhāya bhagavatā sānuṣayo pahīyatīti evam vuttam ti vedhātabbam (ibid.).*

⁷ *Añño anusayo ti kathā (Kathāvatthu-atthakathā, xiv, 5).*

⁸ See *Tisso pi anusaya-kathā* and *Pariyutthānam citta-vippayuttam ti kathā* (*ibid.*, xi, 1, and xiv, 6).

that these passions are called *anusaya* not because they are different from *pariyuṭṭhāna* but because they are strong passions (*thāmagata-kilesa*) and because they arise on obtaining suitable conditions for their operation (*anusentūti anurūpaṃ kāraṇaṃ labhivā uppajjantīti* . . .).¹

It is clear from these discussions that the Theravādin as well as the Vaibhāṣika interpretation of the term *sānuśaya*, and the subsequent identification of the *anusayas* with *pariyavasthāna* are contrary to the sūtra quoted above. They show a determined effort to uphold the Abhidharma in preference to the sūtra. The Sautrāntika takes strong exception to the Ābhidharmika theories and puts forth his theory of *bīja*. He says that the word *rāgānuśaya* should be taken as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, i.e. *anusaya* of *rāga*. Asked further if this *anusaya* is a *samprayukta* or a *viprayukta*, the Sautrāntika says that it is neither, because it is not a separate *dravya* (reality).² When a *kleśa* (like *rāga*) is dormant, it is called *anusaya*. When it is awakened, it is called *pariyavasthāna*.³ When it is dormant it does not appear but persists in the form of a seed. This form of seed is simply an inherent power of mind to produce a (new) passion which is itself born of a past passion. It is comparable to an inherent power of yielding rice found in a sprout which is also born of rice.⁴

The Kośakāra openly favours this Sautrāntika theory of *bīja* (attributed in the *Vṛtti* to the Dārṣṭāntika) in his *Bhāṣya*. The Dīpakāra borrows this whole controversy from the latter and remarks that he will expose the indolence of the Sautrāntika Kośakāra in properly grasping the clear sense (*nīti*) of the words of the Buddha. He refers to another work of his own called *Tattva-saptati*,⁵ where he says he has dealt fully with this topic, and adds that the *bīja* imagined by the Sautrāntika, which is described as a mere power (*śakti*) or application (*bhāvanā*) or impression (*vāsanā*) of mind cannot stand any scrutiny. For this *bīja* could either be identical with or different from the mind. If the former, there is no point in speaking about it. If the latter, then it must be a *samprayukta* (associated) or *viprayukta* element, a position unacceptable to the Sautrāntika. If it is maintained that the *bīja* is neither identical with, nor different from the mind, and thus conforms to a middle course, this is also denied,

¹ See *Yamaka-atihakathā*, p. 239 (Simon Hevavitarane Bequest Series, XL) and 'A dissertation on the *Yamaka*', by Ledī Sayadaw, *Yamaka*, II, pp. 258-9.

² 'Evam tu sādhu yathā Dārṣṭāntikānām' itī Kośakārah. Katham ca Dārṣṭāntikānām? 'Kāmarāgasyānuśayah kāmarāgānuśayah. Na cānuśayah samprayukto na viprayuktaḥ, tasyādra-vyantarātāt . . .' (*Vṛtti* on kā. 281).

³ Supīo hi kleśa anusaya ity ucyate, prabuddhah pariyavasthānam (ibid.). This statement supports the Theravādin tradition where the same *kleśas* are enumerated under *anusaya* and *pariyuṭṭhāna*.

⁴ 'Kā ca tasya prasuptiḥ? Asammukhiḥbhūtasya bīja-bhāvanubandhaḥ. Kaḥ prabodhaḥ? Sammukhiḥbhāvaḥ. Ko 'yam bīja-bhāvo nāma? Ātma-bhāvasya kleśajā kleśotpādana-śaktiḥ, yathā cānturādīnām śālī-phalajā śālī-phalotpādana-śaktiḥ' itī (ibid.). See *Sakv.*, p. 444, and *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. v, kā. 1.

⁵ Tad etat Sautrāntikair antargatam Buddha-vacana-nūh-bravāna-kauśīdyam āvirbhāvyate. . . . Uktam atra karma-cintāyām uttarām, *Tattva-saptati* ca . . . (ibid.) The *Tattva-saptati*, hitherto unknown, appears to be the title of a work by the author of the *Vṛtti* written on the model of the *Paramārtha-saptati* of Vasubandhu.

for such a middle course is impossible in the case of a *bīja* which is an unreality like a stick made of sky-flowers.¹

These brief arguments of the *Dīpakāra* are identical with Saṃghabhadra's criticism of the theory of *bīja*. We have noted above a *Vaiśbhāṣika* theory that a *viprayukta-saṃskāra* called *prāpti* brings into operation a particular set of dharmas (to the exclusion of others) in a given moment, and thus determines the nature of a *santati* either as impure (*akuśala*) or pure (*kuśala*). While dealing with this topic, the *Kośakāra* argues against the *Vaiśbhāṣika* that the seeds (*bījas*) of *kuśala* or *akuśala* accumulated in a *santati* determine the character of the latter. He defines the *bīja* as *nāma-rūpa*, i.e. the complex of the five *skandhas* capable of producing a fruit either immediately or mediately by means of a *parināma-viśeṣa* of the *santati*.²

This theory of *bīja* advocated by the *Kośakāra* is subjected to a severe criticism in the *Nyāyānūsāra* of Saṃghabhadra. Yaśomitra quotes a fairly long passage from the latter and defends the Sautrāntika position.³ Saṃghabhadra's main criticism of the theory of *bīja* (as a *śakti-viśeṣa*) is that it could be either different from or identical with the mind. If it is a separate entity, then it is *prāpti*, for the dispute then is only on naming it. If, however, it is identical with mind, then it will result in the fault of mixture or confusion (*sāṅkhyā-doṣa*) of good and bad seeds. For surely the Sautrāntika will admit that a mind possesses seeds of both the good (*kuśala*) as well as evil (*akuśala*), of *sāsrava* as well as *anāsrava* elements. If they are all accumulated in one *citta* what is there to determine the nature of a particular *citta* as *kuśala* or *akuśala* or *avyākṛta*? Yaśomitra's reply to this criticism is that the *sāṅkhyā-doṣa* would arise only if the *bījas* were identical with the mind. But we maintain, he says, that a *bīja* is neither identical with, nor different from the mind, because a *bīja* is not a separate entity (*dravya*) but only a *prajñapti* (nominal) dharma.⁴

Yaśomitra further states that even if a *bīja* is considered identical with *citta*, there is no fault: for, a *kuśala-citta* which has arisen would in that case implant its seed in a (subsequent) *citta* of its own *santāna*, the latter *citta* being either of the same kind (*kuśala*) or of the opposite kind (*akuśala*). Thereafter (*tataḥ*), the (second) *citta* would arise as qualified (determined) by the first only in accordance with the principle that a specific effect arises from a specific cause (*kāraṇa-viśeṣa*) [i.e. if the second *citta* is *anya-jātya*, the *bīja* lies

¹ Sautrāntika-parikalpate pratibhākalpe citta-śakti-bīja-bhāvanā-pakṣe nīrtottaram anyānanyatvādi-doṣāt. Nānyānanya itī bīja-vāsanāvasthāne citta-vināśābhīyapagame ca madhyamā-pratīpat-siddhir itī cet. Na. Citta-svabhāva-śakti-kīryābhāve tad-anta-dvayāsiddhau madhyamā-pratīpad-anupapattē kha-puṣpamaya-dandavat (ibid.).

² Kiṃ punar idam bījam nāmeti . . . yan nāma-rūpam phalotpattau samartham āksāt pāram-paryeṇa vā . . . (Sakv., pp. 147-8). See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. II, kā. 35-8.

³ . . . Ācārya-Saṃghabhadraḥ . . . sa eva ca śakti-viśeṣa-lakṣaṇam bījabhāvam ācāryeṇa vyavasthāpitam dīśayati. Kiṃ ayam śakti-viśeṣaś cittaḥ arthāntaram utānarthāntaram. . . . Arthāntaram cet, siddham prāptir astīti . . . Anarthāntaram cet, naiv akuśalam kuśalasya bījam abhīyapagataṃ bhavati akuśalasya ca kuśalam . . . itī sāṅkhyā-doṣaḥ prasajyate itī (Sakv., pp. 147-8).

⁴ Atra vāyam brūmah. Anarthāntarabhāve sāṅkhyā-doṣo bhavet. Tat tu bījam na cittaḥ arthāntaram vaktavyam, naḥpy anarthāntaram. Upādāya-prajñapti-rūpatvāt . . . (ibid.).

dormant]. . . . Nor does the fact that a specific *śakti* is implanted by a *kuśala-citta* in an *akuśala-citta* entail (*iti*) that the *akuśala* becomes *kuśala* or vice versa, since it is only a *specific śakti* [i.e. it cannot produce effects which, by its very nature, it is not competent to produce] also called *bīja* or *vāsanā*. These are all synonyms.¹

Even the Vaibhāṣikas, he says, must resort to some such theory to explain the phenomenon of the succession of two heterogeneous *cittas*. They also believe that an *akuśala* can be succeeded by a *kuśala*. Do the Vaibhāṣikas here agree that the *kuśala* is produced by an *akuśala*? If they do not agree then they deny *samanantara-pratyaya*. If they agree then they must explain what kind of power (*śakti*) it is that produces a *kuśala-citta*. If this power is *akuśala* it cannot produce *kuśala*. If it is *kuśala* then it cannot on their terms remain in an *akuśala-citta*. It is, therefore, wrong of the Vaibhāṣikas to accuse us of maintaining that an *akuśala* seed would become the cause of a *kuśala-citta*. We do not maintain that a *kuśala* seed deposited in an *akuśala-citta* transforms the latter, but merely that this *kuśala* seed remains there and produces either immediately or in succession a corresponding *kuśala-citta*. This power of producing a new *citta* is what we call a *bīja*. It is not an independent entity but only a nominal thing (*prajñapti-mātra*).²

It appears from Yaśomitra's explanation that the theory of *bīja* was employed by the Sautrāntika primarily to replace the Vaibhāṣika dharma called *prāpti* in explaining the phenomena of immediate succession (*samanantarotpāda*) between two *cittas* of heterogeneous nature, and secondarily to reconcile the abiding nature of the *saṃtati* with the momentary flashes of dharma. Their theory that the *bījas* are neither identical with nor different from the mind bears a close resemblance to the Vātsīputrīya theory of *pudgala* which is also described as neither different from nor identical with the five *skandhas*.³ But whereas the Vātsīputrīya claims reality for his *pudgala*, the Sautrāntika insists on the nominality (*prajñapti-mātra*) of the *bījas* and thus escapes the heresy of which he accuses the former school. On the other hand his theory that the mind is a depository of good and bad seeds capable of yielding new seeds in the series of mind foreshadows the theory of *ālaya-vijñāna* (also called *mūla* or *bīja-vijñāna*) of the Vijñānavāda school.⁴

¹ *Athāpy anarīhāntarabhāvaḥ, tatkāpy adōṣaḥ. Kuśalena hi cittenotpannena sva-jātye 'nya-jātye vā sva-santāna-citte bijam ādhīyeta. Tatra kāraṇa-vīśeṣāt kārya-vīśeṣa itī viśiṣṭam tene tac cittaṃ utpadyeta. . . . Na ca kuśalenākuśale citta śakti-vīśeṣa āhita itī tad akuśalam kuśalatām āpadyate kuśalam vā tad akuśalatām śakti-vīśeṣa-mātravāt. Śaktir bijam vāsanety eko 'yam arthah . . . (ibid.).*

² . . . *Na bhavanto bijārtham jānate. . . . śakti-vīśeṣa eva bijam. Na bijam nāmāsti kiñcit prajñapti-sattvāt (ibid.).*

³ See Stcherbatsky's *The conception of Buddhist nirvāṇa*, p. 30, n. 1, and S. Schayer's 'Kamalaśīla's kritik des Pudgalavāda', *Rozz. Orj.*, VIII, 1931-2, 68-93.

⁴ See J. Masuda, *Asia Major*, II, 1925, p. 68, n. 1; D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, pp. 176 ff.; *La Siddhi de Hīuan Tsang* (tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin), I, pp. 100-23, and the following articles in the *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*: 'Notes sur l'Ālaya-vijñāna' (by la Vallée Poussin), III, 1935, 161; 'L'Ālaya-vijñāna dans le Mahāyāna-saṅgraha' (by E. Lamotte), III, 1935, 208 ff.; 'Le Bouddhisme et le yoga de Patañjali' (by la Vallée Poussin), V, 1937, 231 ff.

III. *Kusala-dharma-bīja*

Although the Theravādins do not recognize this Sautrāntika theory of *bīja*, there is substantial evidence pointing to its origin in the suttas. The *Ang.-nikāya* contains a long sutta dealing with the operation of *kusala* and *akusala-mūlas* in six kinds of person.¹ In the case of the first three of these persons a comparison is made with good or bad seed (*bīja*) sown in a fertile or stony field. In the case of the first person, for instance, it is said : ' There is a person endowed with *kusala* as well as *akusala* dharmas. In course of time his *kusala* dharmas disappear, and *akusala* dharmas appear. But since his *kusala-mūlas* are not completely annihilated, new *kusala* dharmas appear from that (unannihilated) *kusala-mūla*. Thus this person becomes in future one who does not fall (from the holy life). His *kusala* is comparable to whole seeds (*akhaṇḍa bīja*) sown in a cultivated fertile field, capable of yielding abundant fruits '.²

This scripture is favourable to the Sautrāntika theory of *bīja*. It supports the contention that the *kusala* and *akusala* co-exist in the form of seeds which give rise in a subsequent time to their corresponding *kusala* or *akusala* thoughts, and thus determine the nature of a particular *santati* as subject to decay or subject to growth.

The Vaibhāṣikas also accept this sūtra, but maintain that it refers not to the theory of *bīja* but to their theory of *prāpti*. When, therefore, the sūtra says that a person is *samanvāgata* (endowed) with *kusala* and *akusala* dharmas,³ it means that he has the *prāpti* of these dharmas, since *samanvāgama* and *prāpti* are synonyms.⁴ A person cannot be endowed with *kusala* and *akusala* in one moment, because these two are *saṃprayukta* dharmas. But their *prāpti* being *viprayukta* can co-exist and thus cause the rise of *kusala* and *akusala* dharmas in favourable circumstances.

In support of this contention the Vaibhāṣika quotes the following passage from the same sūtra : ' A person is endowed with *kusala* as well as *akusala* dharmas. His *kusala* dharmas disappear. But there is in him the root (*mūla*) of *kusala* not destroyed. Even this *kusala-mūla* is in course of time completely annihilated, whereupon he comes to be designated as a *samucchinna-kusala-mūla* '.⁵

¹ *Anguttara-nikāya*, III, pp. 404-9.

² *Idhāham Ananda ekaccam puggalam evam . . . pajānāmi . imassa kho puggalassa vijjāmāṇā kusala pi dhammā akusala pi dhammā. Tam enaṃ apareṇa samayeṇa evam . . . pajānāmi imassa kho puggalassa kusala dhammā antarahitā, akusala dhammā sammukhībhūtā, aṭṭhi ca khvā'ssa kusala-mūlaṃ asamucchinnaṃ, tamhā tassa kusala kusalam pātubhavissati. Evam ayaṃ puggalo āyatiṃ aparihāna-dhammo bhavissatīti. Seyyathā pi bījāni akhaṇḍāni . . . sukhette supari-kam-makattāya bhūmiyā nikkhittāni . . . vepullam āpajjissanti . . . (ibid.).*

³ *Samanvāgato 'yaṃ pudgalaḥ kuśalair api dharmair akusalaḥ api yāvad asti cāsyānu-sahagatam kuśala-mūlam asamucchinnaṃ yato 'sya kuśala-mūlād anyat kuśala-mūlam utpatsyate. Evam ayaṃ pudgala āyatyāṃ viśuddha-dharmā bhaviṣyatīti . . . (Sktv., pp. 188-9).*

⁴ *Prāptir nāma samanvāgamo lābha iti paryāyah (Vṛti on kā. 129).*

⁵ ' *Samanvāgato 'yaṃ puruṣaḥ kuśalair api dharmair ' iti viśtarah. . . . Te 'sya pudgalasya kuśala dharmā antardhāsyanti. . . . Asti cāsyā kuśala-mūlam anu(ṇu)-sahagatam anupacchinnaṃ upapatti-lābhikam. Tad apy apareṇa samayeṇa sarveṇa sarvaṃ samucchetsyate. Yasya samucchedāt samucchinna-kusala-mūla iti saṃkhyāṃ gamiṣyatīti (Vṛti on kā. 109).*

Here arises a problem regarding the rise of a new *kuśala-citta* in the *santati* of such a person. The Vaibhāṣika solves it by postulating the theory of *prāpti* which ushers in a new *kuśala-citta* independently of the seeds of *kuśala*. But according to the Sautrāntika a *kuśala-citta* can arise only out of its seeds. In the absence of the latter, therefore, a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* will have no possibility of having a *kuśala-citta*. Consequently he will be doomed to have only *akuśala-cittas* till eternity.

Indeed the Theravādins, on account of their view that a *kuśala* cannot succeed an *akuśala*, and because of their non-recognition of the theory of *prāpti*, arrived precisely at such a fateful conclusion. They maintained that a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* was incapable of producing a *kuśala-citta*, and sought to support this theory by the following scripture: 'Take the case, bhikkhus, of a person who is possessed with entirely black *akuśala*-states, he it is who once immersed, is immersed for ever'.¹ Commenting on this, Buddhaghosa says: 'The term *ekanta-kāḷaka* means those grave wrong views (*micchā-diṭṭhi*) (which deny the result of *karma*)—*natthikavāda*, *ahetukavāda*, and *akiriyavāda*. A person like Makkhali Gosāla who holds these grave wrong views becomes the food of the fire of lower and lower hells. For such a person there is no emergence from worldly existence'.²

But neither of these alternatives (viz. of *prāpti* and of eternal doom) is acceptable to the Sautrāntika. The Kośakāra here puts forth a bold and original solution to this problem. He says that we should distinguish between two kinds of *kuśala* dharmas. There are some *kuśala* dharmas which are innate, which do not presuppose any effort (*āyatna-bhāvi*) but are always present in any given condition (*upapatti-lābhika*). Then there are other kinds of *kuśala* dharmas which are obtained only by effort or practice of meditations (*prāyogika*). The former, i.e. the innate *kuśala* dharmas, are never completely annihilated. When a person on account of holding a grave *mithyā-dṛṣṭi* becomes *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*, he destroys only his *prāyogika-kuśala-mūlas*. His innate *kuśala* dharmas remain in the form of *bījas* intact in his *santati* from which arise new *kuśala* dharmas under favourable circumstances.³

The statement of the Kośakāra that even a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* possesses a subtle element of *kuśala* seems hardly satisfactory. The *Bhāṣya*

¹ *Idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo samannāgato hoti ekanta-kāḷakehi akuśala-dhammehi, so sakim nimuggo nimuggo va hoti* (Puggala-paññatti, § 7, 1).

² 'Sakim nimuggo' ti eka-vāram nimuggo. 'Ekanta-kāḷakehi' ti ekanteneva kāḷakehi natthikavāda — ahētuka-vāda — akiriyā-vāda-samkhātehi nīyata-micchā-diṭṭhi-dhammehi. Evaṃ puggalo ... nimuggo va hoti. Etassa hi puna bhavato vuttikānam nāma natthi vadanā. Makkhali-gosālādāyo viya heṭṭhā heṭṭhā narakaggaṇam yeva āhārā honti (Puggala-paññatti-atthakathā, § 7, 1). In this connexion see the following controversies recorded in the *Kāṭhāvattīhu*: *Kuśala-citta-paṭilābhakathā* (xiii, 2), *Kappattha-kathā* (xiii, 1), *Anantarāppayutta-kathā* (xiii, 3), *Nīyatassa nīyama-kathā* (xiii, 4), *Kuśalākuśala-patisandhāna-kathā* (xiv, 1), *Accanta-nīyāma-kathā* (xix, 7).

³ Kuśalā apī dvi-prakārā uti vistarā. Yathā kīṭṭā dvi-prakārā itī apī-śabdārthah. Tad bīja-bhāvānupaghātād itī: teṣāṃ utpatti-lābhikānām bījaṃ ... samanvāgataḥ: kaṣṭhā? āyatna-bhāvibhiḥ kuśalāiḥ. ... Ko 'sav ity āha: samucchinna-kuśala-mūlah. ... Na tu khalu kuśalānām dharmāṇām bīja-bhāvāsyātyantam santatau samudghāto yathā kleśānām ārya-mārgenātyantam santatau samudghāto ity abhiprāyaḥ ... (Sakv., p. 147). See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. ii, kā. 36.

naturally does not contain any criticism of this contradiction, and even Yaśomitra who defends the theory of *bīja* against Saṃghabhadra is silent on the point. Fortunately, a brief criticism of this major controversy has survived in the *Vṛtti*. The Dīpakāra gives the meaning of the term *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* as understood in the Vaibhāṣika tradition, and criticizes the theory of *bīja* as propounded by the Kośakāra.

According to the Vaibhāṣikas, the *mīthyā-dṛṣṭi* and the *kuśala-mūlas* both consist of three basic grades, viz. *mṛdu* (subtle or slight), *madhya* (of medium nature), and *adhimātra* (extreme). Each of these three grades is further divided into three, e.g. *mṛdu-mṛdu . . . adhimātra-adhimātra*.

The *kuśala-mūlas* pertaining to the *arūpāvacara* and the *rūpāvacara* are destroyed by the *mṛdu* and *madhya mīthyā-dṛṣṭis*.¹ The *adhimātra mīthyā-dṛṣṭi* destroys the *prāyogika-kuśala-mūlas* pertaining to the *kāma* world, leaving in such a person only the innate or the *upapatti-lābhika* roots of good. But when a person (like Maskarī Gośālīputra for instance) comes to hold such extremely grave (*adhimātra-adhimātra*) wrong views as *nāstika-vāda*, *ahetuka-vāda*, or *akriyā-vāda*, then he destroys even these innate and the most subtle (*upapatti-lābhika*) *kuśala-mūlas* pertaining to the *kāma-loka*, whereupon he is called a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*.

After stating this Vaibhāṣika theory of the loss of *kuśala* dharma the Dīpakāra turns to the Kośakāra's definition of a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*.² This he condemns as contrary to the scriptures where it is specifically stated that the *kuśala-mūlas* are completely annihilated. He then criticizes the theory of *bīja*, arguing that the *kuśala* and *akuśala*, being incompatible like light and darkness, cannot co-exist at one time. Even if they co-exist, in the case of a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*, the *kuśala* elements are entirely lost. How can a new *kuśala* arise in this person? If it arises from the *akuśala* then one may as well argue that rice is obtained from barley seeds or that *mīthyā-dṛṣṭi* is produced by right thinking.³ Thus the Kośakāra's theory of *bīja* and the consequent wrong definition of a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* do not stand the test of either the scriptures or of reasoning.

The Kośakāra's definition of the term *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* is identical with the Yogācāra definition of this term. In the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra* only the imminent liberation of a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* is denied.⁴ This suggests that he may attain *parinirvāṇa* in the distant future. This would mean that according to the Yogācāras such a person is not completely devoid of a *kuśala-mūla*. The contention of the Kośakāra that the innate *kuśala-mūlas*

¹ The Kośakāra gives several views on the manner in which the *kuśala-mūlas* are destroyed. See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. iv, kā. 79, and *Vṛtti* on kā. 199.

² 'Sūkṣmam kuśala-dharma-bijam tasmīnn akuśale cetasy avasthitam yataḥ punaḥ pratyaya-sāmagrī-sannidhāne sati kuśalaṃ cittam utpadyate' itī Kośakārah. *Yukty-āgama-virodhāt tan neṭi* Dīpakārah . . . (*Vṛtti* on kā. 199).

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *Tat-kālāparinirvāṇa-dharmā . . . duṣcaritaikāntikāḥ samucchinna-kuśala-mūlāḥ . . .* (*Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra*, vol. I, p. 12). See also *Studies in the Lankāvatīra-sūtra*, p. 220.

are never entirely destroyed marks a still further departure from the orthodox Hīnayāna. It implies that unlike the *akuśala-bījas* which are completely annihilated, the elements of *kuśala* persist throughout the series of existence. This is a characteristically Mahāyānist view inasmuch as it holds an assurance of ultimate liberation even for a person like Maṅgalī Gōśālīputra who comes to hold the gravest of wrong views.

The Kośakāra does not give further details of this incorruptible element of *kuśala*. Unlike the elements of *akuśala* which are only *sāsrava*, the *kuśala* elements are of two kinds, viz. *sāsrava* and *anāsrava*. The former pertains to the *kuśala kāma* and to the *rūpa* and *arūpa bhavas*. The *anāsrava kuśalas* are those which produce the *lokottara* (super-mundane) states like arhatship or Buddhahood. Is it possible that the incorruptible *kuśala-bīja* spoken of by the Kośakāra represents the *anāsrava-kuśala-bīja* leading to *nirvāna*? We have noted above the Sautrāntika doctrines of *eka-rasa-skandha*, *ārya-dharma*, and the *paramārtha-pudgala*. All these are described as existing from time immemorial without changing their nature, transmigrating from one birth to another. In the *Shu-chi* they are interpreted as 'extremely subtle and incomprehensible *bīja*'. The *kuśala-dharma-bīja* propounded by the Kośakāra, which is also described as subtle (*sūkṣma*) and incorruptible (*na samudghāto*), offers a striking resemblance to the *eka-rasa-skandha*, the *ārya-dharma*, and the *paramārtha-pudgala*. None of these could mean a *sāsrava-kuśala-bīja*, for the latter is as much subject to destruction as are the *akuśala-bījas*. The *sūkṣma-kuśala-dharma-bīja* of the Sautrāntika, therefore, should be understood as an *anāsrava-kuśala-bīja* or *mokṣa-bhāgīya kuśala* leading to *parinirvāna*.

This conjecture is strengthened by the occurrence of such terms as *mokṣa-bīja* in the Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures. Of the ten extraordinary powers of the Buddha one is his power of fathoming the innate capacities of all beings for liberation. Illustrating this power, Yaśomitra quotes the case of a person desirous of obtaining the *pravrajyā* ordination. It is said that this person approached Śāriputra, but the latter could not see any roots of *kuśala-mūla* leading to liberation in him (*mokṣa-bhāgīya kuśala-mūla*), and therefore refused to admit him to the order. The Buddha, however, noticed it and said :

*mokṣa-bījam ahaṃ hy aśya susūkṣmam upalakṣaye/
dhātu-pāṣāṇa-vivare nilīnam iva kāñcanam//*¹

'I see his extremely subtle seed of salvation like a seam of gold hidden in metal-bearing rock'.

The simile of gold aptly describes an incorruptible element. The *mokṣa-bīja* thus described as extremely subtle (*susūkṣma*) and incorruptible seems to be identical with the *sūkṣma-kuśala-dharma-bīja* propounded by the Kośakāra. It is even possible that the word *dhātu* is used in the above verse

¹ *Saṅg.*, p. 644. See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. vii, kā. 30, notes. *Sūtrālamkāra* of Āśvaghoṣa (tr. Huber), p. 283. This story occurs in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, I, p. 55), and the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, vi, 1, vol. II, p. 105 (*Rādhaththera-vatthu*). In the Pali versions, however, Śāriputta ordains this person after recalling his charity of offering a spoonful of alms.

with the express intention of evoking its other sense, as in the term *nānā-dhātu-jñāna-bala* (Pali *aneka-dhātu-nānā-dhātu-lokaṃ pajānāti*) where it is understood as *vāsanā*, *āśaya*, or a *gotra*.¹ The *sarvākārajñatā* of the Buddha consists in knowing the *gotra* of all beings. The doctrine of *gotra* is fundamental for Mahāyāna. It determines the 'family' of a person as belonging to the community of a *śrāvaka*, *pratyeka-buddha*, or a *Buddha*. Yaśomitra describes this *gotra* as *bija*,² which could only be the *mokṣa-bija* concealed in the midst of other *dhātus* or *bījas* such as *akuśala* and *sāsrava kuśala*.

The theory of an innate, indestructible, and pure (*anāsrava*) element existing in the midst of destructible, phenomenal, and impure elements shows an affinity with the Mahāyāna doctrine of *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*, according to which mind is essentially and originally pure but becomes impure by only adventitious afflictions.³ This *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta* is further described as identical with the *dharmatā*, *tathatā*, and, therefore, with the *dharma-kāya* of the Buddha.⁴

The theory of a *prabhāsvara-citta* is not unknown to the Pali scriptures. It is said in the *Ang. nikāya*: '*pabhassaram idaṃ bhikkhave cittaṃ, taṃ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhaṃ*' and '*. . . āgantukehi upakkilesehi vipṇamuttam*'.⁵ But the Theravādins interpret it as a *bhavanga-citta*,⁶ i.e. a *paṭisandhi-citta* causing a rebirth. Now a *paṭisandhi-citta* can either be a *kusala-vipāka* or an *akusala-vipāka-citta*, accompanied by the *kusala-(vipāka-)mūlas* like *alobha*, *adosa*, or *amoha*, or else *akusala-vipāka-mūlas* like *lobha*, *dosa*, or *moha*. But according to the Theravādin Abhidhamma only the *kusala-vipāka-cittas* are *sahetuka*, i.e. have the *mūlas*. The *akusala-vipāka-citta* is considered to be *ahetuka*, i.e. devoid of any *mūlas*.⁷ No reason for such a discrimination is given either in the *Aṭṭhakathās* or in the later *Tīkā*s. Professor Dharmanand Kosambi, who noted this, explains that the *akusala-vipāka-citta* is considered *ahetuka* because the *akusala-mūlas* do not strengthen each other.⁸ The real reason for such a discrimination is, perhaps, to be found in the Theravādin interpretation of the *pabhassara-citta*, as a *bhavanga-citta*. They must have thought that a *pabhassara-citta* can have the *kusala-mūlas* (which are pure) but cannot possess the *akusala-mūlas*, and hence formulated a rule that the *akusala-vipāka-citta* is *ahetuka*.

¹ *Te punaḥ pūrvābhīkāsa-vāsanā-dhātavaḥ . . .* (*Vṛtti* on kā. 496).

² Sautrāntikāḥ *punar varṇayanti—bījam sāmānyam cetaso gotram iti* (*Saṅg.*, pp. 583–4). On the Buddhist interpretation of the term *gotra* see among others, E. Obermiller's 'The sublime science of the great vehicle to salvation', *Acta Orientalia*, ix, 1931, 97 ff.

³ On *prabhāsvara-citta*, see K. Rāgamey's *Three chapters from the Samādhi-rāja-sūtra*, introduction, Warsaw, 1938.

⁴ *Matam ca cittaṃ prakṛti-prabhāsvaram
sadā tad āgantuka-doṣa-dūṣitam/
na dharmatā-cittaṃ rīe 'nya-cetasah
prabhāsvaratvam prakṛtau vidhiyate//* Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra, ch. xiii, kā. 19.

⁵ *Anguttara-nikāya*, i, p. 10.

⁶ *Anguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 60.

⁷ *Akusala-vipākopekkhā-sahagata-santīranam* (*Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho*, v, 10).

⁸ See *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho-Navanīla-jīkā* (Benaras, 1941), i, 8; v, 10.

POOR MEN'S THĀLĪS : A DECCAN POTTER'S TECHNIQUE

By F. R. ALLCHIN

(PLATES I-III)

THIS note arises from observations which my wife and I made in Mudgal during the monsoon of 1957. The little town of Mudgal in the Raichur District of the Central Deccan is noteworthy for several things: the great medieval fortress which played an important role in the campaigns of several centuries, the Catholic mission which is one of the oldest on the Deccan plateau, and the extensive neolithic settlement at Piklihal on its southern boundaries. I have visited potters' workshops in many parts of India but never before seen the forming technique we witnessed here.

There are about six potters' families in Mudgal. When we visited them on a rainy afternoon in July work was going on in one shop only, probably because it was market day. Outside the first half of the house a youth was making large water pots on the wheel in the usual Indian manner; after throwing the vessels on the wheel they are taken off and finished by beating in the way which has often been described.¹ This wheel and beater technique is, with only minor variations, found throughout the sub-continent. Some shallow clay bowls were lying on the ground and I asked the youth how they were made. He replied that this was done in the other part of the shop by the women of the family. This proved to be a similar courtyard in front of a flat-roofed, mud and stone built house with a verandah on the courtyard side. On the verandah sat several women who were, indeed, making bowls, though of a form different from those I had first noticed. They worked in pairs. On the left was a store of suitably prepared clay, covered with wet sacking to prevent rapid drying; from this the first woman cut a lump of suitable size using a long splinter of wood as a knife. The clay she kneaded, mixing with it a quantity of finely sieved ash which she kept in a shallow saucer before her (shown to the right of the cutting stick in pl. Ia). The kneading was done on a flat stone disk of about 18 in. diameter and was reminiscent of the kneading of dough. When the clay was ready she took it between the palms of the hands and began to pat it into a flat circular form, again reminding one of the making of *chapātīs*. Then she laid it upon the stone disk and started to beat it out with a stone dabber (lying in the left foreground of pl. Ia), until it had a width of 16 to 18 in. From time to time she wetted the dabber in a small water pot at her right hand. When the beating was complete (pl. Ib) the thickness of the clay was about half an inch. Next, she picked up the clay and carefully laid it on a shallow saucer of coarse earthenware which she took from a pile by

¹ For example by E. Holder and by H. R. C. Dobbs in their excellent papers on the pottery of Madras and the North West Provinces in *JIAI*, VII, 1897, and by E. Mackay in his paper on the pottery of modern Sind in *JRAI*, LX, 1930. More recently L. Dumont has published a good account of a South Indian version, in *Man*, 1952, 121, where he also records the cutting off of unfinished pots with open base and the closing of the base by beating.

her side. These saucers were rather smaller than the clay disk, being of about 9 in. diameter; thus the clay extended for several inches beyond the saucer, while the centre sunk into it and assumed its concave form (pl. IIa). Even before she had lifted the clay she had started to fold in the outer edges, pressing from the outside between the fingers and thumbs, and thickening the parts which were to become the walls of the bowl. This marked the end of the first half of the process, for now she lifted the clay, still resting on its saucer, and passed it to the younger woman sitting on her right.

The younger woman took the saucer and placed it on an inverted bowl of about 7 to 8 in. diameter. The two convex surfaces thus met and formed a pivot upon which the saucer could be revolved, thus making a simple but effective turn-table. We were told that sometimes they used the rim and neck of a broken water pot to rest the saucer on; a form of turn-table known elsewhere. Now the second woman began to draw up the thickened sides of the disk between her fingers and thumbs, at the same time letting it revolve upon the pivot. When the walls had reached a height of several inches (pl. IIb), she took a scrap of cloth from a water pot by her side and applied it to the wall. Then, steadying the pivot with the big toe of her right foot and revolving the saucer with the left hand she squeezed the walls through the wet cloth which she held in her right (pl. IIIa). Within a few seconds they became thin and shapely, bearing the parallel striations which are commonly associated with wheel throwing, and having an absolutely circular form and regular thickness. When the pot was fully formed it was about 14 in. in diameter and 4 in. deep. It was lifted, still in its saucer, and put aside to dry. The whole process of forming took less than five minutes. After drying, the pots were taken out of their saucers and fired in the normal way, which in this region means that they were fired in a reducing atmosphere and come from the kiln a dark blackish-grey. When we inquired about the function of the bowls we were told: these are poor men's *thālīs*. Pl. IIIb shows a group of pots of different form and function, but made by the same process, standing out to dry, still in their saucers. These vessels are used, we were told, in place of the brass *loṭā*, that is for carrying water, drinking, bathing, etc.

In short we have here a process by which 'poor men's' *thālīs* and *loṭās* are made. The work is the exclusive property of women; it does not involve the use of the wheel, but only of a stone disk, a stone dabber, and a rudimentary turn-table comprising an inverted bowl and saucer of earthenware. The technique is simple but effective and its products are quite as regular as those of the wheel: indeed they might well be mistaken for them. For the student of Indian culture it suggests several interesting problems, in respect of both the manufacture and the utilization of the *thālī*. It has long been known that there was a sexual division of labour in many Indian crafts and that the men have taken over the work with the introduction of more complex mechanical devices. Thus the potter's wheel is—within my knowledge—an entirely masculine affair. Recently Professor Kosambi has pointed out that certain

types of pot-making are exclusively female.¹ In Maharashtra, vessels too large for the wheel are built up or rather drawn up with the aid of the dabber and beater, upon a distinctive kind of stone turn-table. These socketed pairs of stone disks have obviously a long history in India, for they have turned up in excavations at Taxila,² while in the Middle East they are of common occurrence and date back for more than four millennia.³ In this way a good industrial tradition dies hard when once established. In Maharashtra they are used exclusively by women as turn-tables. Another version of female potting comes from the Benares area where I last year observed a beating and moulding technique in use to make small cups. At the same time the male potters were making similar cups on the wheel, taking them off one after another from a column of clay in a manner which is found in many parts of India. However, the Benares potters' craft has several peculiar, highly developed features which mark it off from that of the ordinary village potters, and these features need not be described in detail here. But it may once again be noted that the Benares women employed processes which are reminiscent of the making of bread or *chapātīs*. Finally we may cite the example of the East Bengal potters studied by Foster,⁴ where forming and beating techniques closely resembling those of Mudgal are described as being almost exclusively female. Here too the wheel is entirely masculine. From these examples it would appear that certain techniques are now reserved for men, while others are exclusively feminine, others again are shared. It is very tempting to see in the women's techniques 'pre-wheel' survivals of hoary antiquity, but this is perhaps more than the evidence warrants. Indeed there are several factors which complicate the issue.

The first is a local difficulty, that the earliest trace of the *thālī* form is, as will be shown below, scarcely earlier than the beginning of the Iron Age in North India—that is, not earlier than the first half of the first millennium B.C.—when it appears alongside an assemblage of pots which clearly indicate the presence of the wheel. Thus so far as the *thālī* is concerned, it first appears at a time when the wheel was already in use, even if some types of pottery may then also have been made exclusively by women. The Maharashtran stone turn-table raises a similar difficulty. Childe has shown that similar socketed bearings have been found very widely in Middle Eastern excavations; he also quotes modern observations of their being still in use as the bases for foot-wheels in the same area.⁵ It may be expected that they will be found elsewhere in the Middle East wherever the foot-wheel occurs: indeed they

¹ D. D. Kosambi, *An introduction to the study of Indian history*, Bombay, 1956, 45-6, and pl. 1-2.

² J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, II, 485.

³ See G. Childe's chapter on 'Rotary motion' in the *History of technology*, I, particularly 198-202.

⁴ G. M. Foster, 'Pottery making in Bengal', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, XII, 1956, 398-402.

⁵ Childe, loc. cit., 201.

may even be found in Sind, although Mackay's description of a Sindi foot-wheel does not make it clear.¹ There is no question, then, that in this context the socketed bearings are parts of a strictly masculine piece of equipment. Incidentally, Mackay sought to infer back, in a manner which is largely legitimate, from his observations of Sindi potters to the Indus civilization, and we may extend his inferences by noticing that the typical pottery of the Indus cities implies the use of the foot-wheel rather than the free spun wheel which is to-day found in all other parts of India. However, no socketed disks are recorded in the Indus excavations, and it is possible that they only reached India with the rotary quern in about the first century A.D. Thus in respect of the question as to whether the turn-table or the wheel came first, we may accept Childe's comment that 'the true wheel may have developed out of some such device, but there is no evidence for the priority of the turn-table; indeed, no turn-table is known until a time when the true wheel had been long in use'.² But we must qualify it by noting that the simple Mudgal type of turn-table would leave no recognizable trace in archaeological deposits. Thus we may conclude that the socketed stone bearings may have had from the start a dual role, either as turn-tables or as wheel-bases, but that we have no very clear evidence of their first introduction into India. They are likely to have been at any time fairly costly objects, involving much time to make, and therefore are unlikely to have appealed to tribal groups among whom potting was an exclusively female pursuit. They are, indeed, much closer to the 'advanced' turn-table, the adjunct to the city potter's wheel, than they are to the simple Mudgal type of turn-table. A third difficulty is presented by the Benares potters, where the women's technique involves moulding, which in the Indian context does not seem to be old. There is, I feel, a suggestion here that this version is a recent innovation, possibly as a means of augmenting the family income in times when the cost of living is rising.

To form a correct assessment of this problem, therefore, we must attempt a synthesis of two categories of evidence: of ethnographic reports of the status of potters and of potting techniques in different types of society, and of archaeological evidence for the diffusion of the techniques. First, in different social groups at different levels and having different economic systems there is corresponding variation not only in the techniques of potting but in the status of the potters. In particular it has been recorded that in those social groups in which the wheel is not part of the potters' equipment, the simple turn-table is often found; and that in many but by no means all of these groups the potting is carried on by women. There are other such groups where men do the work, but they are less common. In those cases where the women make pots they do not by any means do so as mere household potters; for in various degrees they appear as specialists and professionals. It is almost universally found that when the potter's wheel is introduced into the craft of a given social group that section of the craft becomes dominated by men, although

¹ Mackay, loc. cit., 128.

² Childe, loc. cit., 196.

other parts may continue to be done by women. In the light of this evidence and of the application of Tylor's (and Lyell's) 'fundamental principle of ethnographic research' that we may fairly judge the course of past events from that of present, it is not unreasonable to infer that this change took place in past social groups at the time when the potter's wheel was first introduced. Present evidence suggests that potting, as did many other traits of settled life, originated in the Middle East or North Africa. If this is so then it is reasonable to assume that the prime discoveries also took place in that region and that they were introduced into India by a process of diffusion. The later spread of iron smelting techniques is another example of such diffusion. It is useful to think of the processes of diffusion in a given region in terms of primary and secondary, corresponding with the prime introduction of a new trait, generally as the result of folk movements, and with its subsequent spread as a result of interaction of the new population and the existing social groups. This secondary diffusion may involve largely the spread of ideas, the adoption of more 'advanced' ideas by more 'primitive' social groups, etc. This type of secondary diffusion appears to be of great significance in many aspects of Indian history. It may sometimes be represented as 'degeneration' (as for example with the supposed degeneration of Hellenistic and Roman art forms which was seen in their 'Indianization' and secondary diffusion in India), but this is surely incorrect. It is often the adaptation of simpler, more 'primitive' techniques for the manufacture of objects imitating those acquired from craftsmen with more 'advanced' techniques. In this light the dual role of the Maharashtra socketed disks is suggestive, for the function as a turn-table might well be a later adaptation from an earlier function as a wheel-base. On the other hand, the tools employed in the Mudgal technique are remarkably simple and could well be survivals from a time when the wheel was still unknown in the region (that is, from the period of the Deccan Neolithic culture). The same may be true of other potting techniques found in the Deccan. For example at Begumpet near Hyderabad I observed a technique of building large 'flower-pots' with the aid of a dabber and beater, but without the turn-table Professor Kosambi noticed in Maharashtra. The products of this technique, with or without the turn-table, are vessels which belong, generically, to the range of neolithic pot forms. In the case of the Begumpet potters the work was not solely carried out by women, but by older men and women. It cannot be said with certainty whether the potters of the area in neolithic times were exclusively male or female, but we may infer from the pastoral character of the economy that the men would be mainly employed in cattle keeping and thus that potting would be a largely female pursuit. If this hypothesis is correct it may be expected that the typical tools will be found in neolithic contexts. However, of them only the granite disk and the granite or terra-cotta dabber would be likely to be recognizable. The dabbers have certainly been found in both stone and terra-cotta in ancient sites in North India, including Taxila, but they do not occur in Mohenjo-Daro

[© F. R. Allchin

b



a





a



b



[© F. R. Allchin

b



a

although Mackay mentions them as surface finds at Harappa and in northern Baluchistan.¹ In the Raichur Doab I have found several specimens in both pottery and stone in contexts and fabrics which suggest antiquity, even in two cases perhaps a neolithic date. The neolithic pottery itself supports this, for it suggests the use of turn-tables, but not wheels; and the marks of the dabber are often still to be seen. We thus conclude that these are cases of survival in the modern Deccan potters' shops, and that the women's potting tradition we have noted may well go far back, beyond the *thālī* form, perhaps too beyond the socketed turn-tables of Maharashtra, into the Deccan Neolithic period.

The problem of the women potters raises one other consideration: that so many of their actions are similar to domestic and particularly bread-making techniques. If the female potting tradition does, indeed, represent a survival from ancient times it may not be impossible that its origins are in some way linked with the origins of bread-making, but there is at present no way of demonstrating the validity of this idea.

I now turn to consideration of the *thālī* form. For several years evidence has been accumulating which tends to show that in Early Historic times in India a shallow tray-bowl of 10 to 15 in. diameter became one of the most common products of the potters' shops. It is found together with a smaller cup-bowl, which is even more numerous, and occurs in every one of the finer earthenwares. This repeated juxtaposition had led me to suppose that the two types were connected with a definite eating pattern and that they might be identified as *thālīs* and *bātīs* respectively. At least in the finer wares the *thālī* forms disappear at the beginning of the Christian era; and I had supposed that this disappearance corresponded with the introduction of metal *thālīs*. Since then it has been the desire of almost every family to equip itself with a set, if not of silver or gold, at least of brass dishes. Only since 1945 has stainless steel made a sudden appearance and it is now on the way to ousting the older metal. To-day the *thālī* and *bātī* are found in use, with only minor regional variations, throughout India. The former is essentially the platter from which rice is eaten, while the *bātīs* are used to hold liquid preparations, *dāls*, curds, vegetables, etc. The techniques by which these earthenware *thālīs* were made were not easy to determine, for there are at least three minor varieties of form which probably reflect variations of manufacturing process. Thus one variety, the latest in point of time, appeared to have been moulded upon a form; a second variety might well have been wheel thrown. The third and most common variety had a gently rounded base, from which the walls are divided by a more or less marked carination (fig. 1A). There are several possible techniques which could be used to make pots of this variety: either they could be thrown upon the wheel, cut off, and gently rocked and rotated to give the base its characteristic form, or this could be achieved by beating. A third

¹ The Taxila examples are given by Marshall, loc. cit., 502 and 424; and the information regarding the Indus valley finds is from Mackay, loc. cit., 129-30.

possible way would be to throw the walls on the wheel and to cut off the cylinder thus formed, together with surplus clay from which the base could have been beaten in towards the centre. This last technique has actually been reported in South India.¹ To these possible ways may now be added the Mudgal technique: perhaps the simplest and most natural way to yield the distinctive features of this variety of *thālī*. While Foster mentions several other variants of the forming and beating techniques which could equally well serve.

The earliest occurrence of the *thālī* and *bālī* forms at present known is in

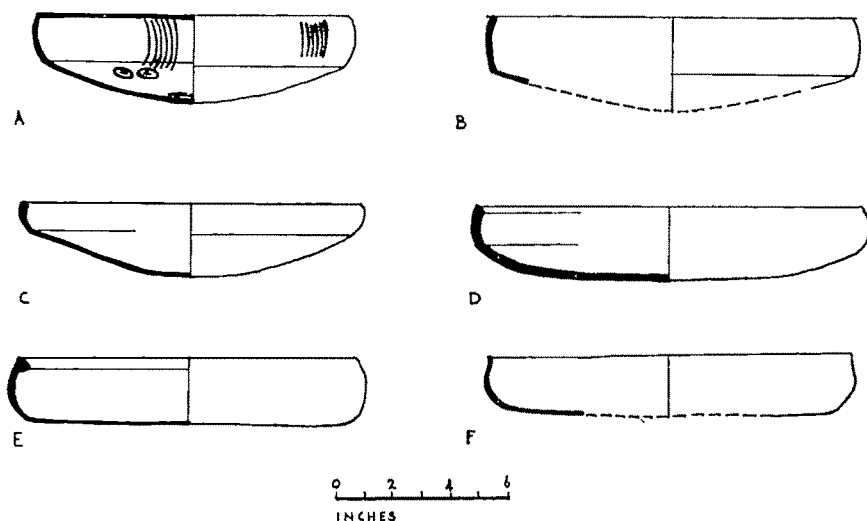


FIG. 1.—*Thālīs* in different wares: A, Painted Grey ware from Ahicchatra; B, Northern Black Polished ware from Rajghat; C, Red-and-black ware from Brahmagiri; D, Local ware from Arikamedu; E, Rouletted ware from Arikamedu; F, Northern Black Polished ware from Ahicchatra.

the Painted Grey ware of the Ganges-Jamuna Doab and East Punjab. There is a strong suggestion that they may be found also in the Red-and-black ware which had its earliest centres in Western India, Rajasthan, etc. In both these contexts they are not likely to occur earlier than the first half of the first millennium B.C. Thereafter a twofold diffusion of the forms can be traced: a northern and a southern. In the former, the typical *thālī* of the Painted Grey ware has a rounded base (fig. 1 A) and could very well be made by the Mudgal technique.² Its logical descendant is the *thālī* of the 'Northern Black Polished' ware (NBP). In this ware which probably dates from the last four centuries B.C. and which was centred upon the cities of the Ganges valley³ at least two varieties of *thālī* are found. The earlier derives from the form of the Painted Grey ware

¹ Dumont, loc. cit., mentions it in connexion with large water pots, but it was described to me, as a means of making shallow *thālī*-like bowls, by the potters of Begumpet, near Hyderabad.

² B. B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastināpura', *Ancient India*, 10-11, 1954, 138 ff. The *thālī* from Ahicchatra illustrated in fig. 1 A is Lal's fig. 37, 1.

³ *Ancient India*, 1, 1946, 55-9.

thālī and was probably made by similar techniques, while the newer form has often a flattened base, slightly thicker walls, and gives a suggestion of some other process (fig. 1, B and F). The tradition of fine earthenware *thālīs* fades in the Ganges valley with the disappearance of the NBP, although examples of coarse earthenware are met with in later assemblages. An offshoot of the northern *thālī* is to be found in the Rouletted ware of the south-east coast (fig. 1 E is from Arikamedu), dating from the beginning of the Christian era, and combining certain northern features with a moulding and rouletting technique which indicates strong Roman influence.¹ Another variant of the northern *thālī* occurs in the north-west, where the size is reduced and the angularity of the walls accentuated. The southern diffusion of the *thālī* was through the Red-and-black ware. Here also the size is somewhat smaller than in the Ganges valley. The typical form is found in the stone cist graves, throughout the Peninsula (fig. 1 C is from Brahmagiri).² *Thālīs* of this tradition are also found at Arikamedu, and survive into the early centuries of the Christian era. The manufacture of the southern *thālīs* appears to have been by the Mudgal or beating methods. In the later periods at Brahmagiri and the Deccan sites a new variety, deriving from a northern form, is also found. These too date from the early centuries of the Christian era.

Our observations at Mudgal have led to the consideration of two main issues. The first concerns the possibility of antique survivals being represented by modern potting techniques, and their association with traditions of women's potting. Certain obstacles arise which make the total acceptance of this theory difficult in the Indian context. Even if, as we have suggested, the Mudgal technique may be a survival from neolithic times, it would still be, in terms of absolute age, younger than the Indus civilization, which already had a fully evolved wheel throwing technique. Thus we are inclined to look towards the idea of secondary diffusion, the spread of ideas, and the adoption of pottery by comparatively 'primitive' groups. An analysis of the Maharashtran women's technique raised difficulties of quite another order. While there are basic features which suggest comparable antiquity, the stone turn-table seems to be of much later origin (in this context), and we regard its adaptation for this work as another form of secondary diffusion at a still later date. In the case of the Benares women's technique the evidence does not permit us to discuss its antiquity: it may have appeared still more recently, but it may also be a specialized survival of one of the varieties of beating and forming we have noticed. The second issue is the history and diffusion of the *thālī* form and its social function. The earliest vessels of this form do not take us back beyond the first millennium B.C. Thence we can trace their diffusion throughout India up to the beginning of the Christian era when, at least as fine ware products, they begin to disappear. Their disappearance can be associated with the introduction into common use of metal vessels.

¹ *Ancient India*, 2, 1946, fig. 12.

² *Ancient India*, 4, 1948, fig. 10, no. C 15

DERIVATION BY TONE-CHANGE IN CLASSICAL CHINESE

By G. B. DOWNER¹

I. INTRODUCTION

SINCE Karlgren's 'Word families' first drew attention to the existence of large groups of cognate words in classical Chinese,² efforts have been made to define more closely the principal phonetic contrasts involved, and to find semantic relationships that would correspond regularly to the phonetic contrasts.³ Karlgren himself came to the conclusion that in general it was impossible to find any regular semantic or grammatical correlations with the phonetic correspondence, and that Archaic Chinese showed only the last vestiges of a former inflectional system.⁴

With the material at our disposal, such a conclusion is probably inevitable for the majority of phonetic contrasts between cognate words. However, there is one contrast which, because of the large number of examples of it, has given better results. This is tonal contrast, where two cognate words differ only in tone, e.g.

好 °*xáu* 'to be pretty'; *xáu*° 'to love'⁵

including those cases where a *ruhsheng* word contrasts with the *chiuhsheng* corresponding to it by *shyesheng* 諧 聲 rules, e.g.

惡 °*ák* 'to be evil'; °*uo*° 'to hate'

In fact, in most cases of tonal contrast, one member of the pair has the *chiuhsheng*; this is so regular that in this article 'tonal contrast', unless otherwise specified, will refer to contrast between *pyng*, *shaang*, or *ruh* on the one hand and *chiuh* on the other. This kind of contrast has been studied by Jou Tzuumu and Jou Fahgau, who have shown that certain grammatical and semantic

¹ Abbreviations:

BMFEA *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.*

CYYY *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.*

MSLP *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.*

YCJ *Yenching Journal.*

² B. Karlgren, 'Word families in Chinese', *BMFEA*, No. 5, 1933.

³ Other work in this field includes: H. Maspero, 'Préfixes et dérivation en chinois archaïque', *MSLP*, xxiii, 1935; Yu Min 俞敏, 'Word derivation in Archaic Chinese through the annexing of the suffix 'd'', *YCJ*, No. 34, 1948, 29-48; B. Karlgren, 'Cognate words in the Chinese phonetic series', *BMFEA*, No. 28, 1956.

⁴ Karlgren, *The Chinese language*, New York, 1949, 96, 97. Maspero too came to this conclusion (op. cit., 327), and so, later, did Yu Min. See *Shiannday hanyeu yeufaa* 現代漢語語法, pt. 1, Peking, 1954, p. 32, by Luh Tzongdar 陸宗達 and Yu Min.

⁵ Unless otherwise stated, throughout this paper words are given in Karlgren's Ancient Chinese transcription, as found in his 'Grammata Serica recensa', *BMFEA*, No. 29, 1957. Tone is indicated by a small circle placed at the corner of the reconstructed form thus:

shaang ° *x*° *chiuh*
°
pyng °

No sign is needed for *ruhsheng* words, which are always characterized by a final stop consonant.

contrasts are regularly associated with the tonal contrast.¹ Both writers also included another phonetic contrast: contrasting voiceless and voiced initial, as in 見 *kien*^o 'to see'; 見 *yen*^o 'to appear, to show'. Neither, however, gave a satisfactory explanation for the role played by the *chiuhsheng* in tonal contrasts; in fact, Jou Tzuumu does not seem to have recognized the special nature of the *chiuhsheng* there. Jou Fahgau gave a 'phonetic' explanation for the occurrence of the *chiuhsheng*, saying that certain tones tended to 'interchange' 通用. This does not explain why the tonal contrast should be accompanied by a regular semantic contrast.²

In the present writer's opinion, Wang Lih has found the solution to this problem. He interprets tonal contrast as a system of word-derivation, with words in *pyng*, *shaang*, and *ruh* as basic forms, and the corresponding *chiuhsheng* words as derived.³ Indeed, this explanation was given long ago for a few words by Maspero,⁴ and more recently by Haudricourt,⁵ and seems to be implicit in some remarks of Jou Tzuumu as well as in Jou Fahgau's arrangement of words,⁶ although neither stated it explicitly. The over-all effect of the pairs of cognate words listed by Wang Lih is quite convincing, and the solution he offers seems to cover the facts as known.

Nevertheless, sufficient doubtful points remain to justify yet another study of the problem. First, the criteria for determining which of a pair of cognates is 'basic' and which 'derived' have never been discussed. Second, the dating of this derivation-system can with profit be gone into again, and the place it occupies in the general history of the Chinese language can be discussed. Third, previous studies have chiefly relied on traditional dictionary definitions for the semantic side of the problem. As a preliminary step, it seems advisable to find a homogeneous source for the *chiuhsheng* readings, and to tie down the definitions to the uses found in actual texts. For this purpose, an obvious choice is Luh Derming 陸德明, whose collection of readings, *Jingdean shyhwen* 經典釋文⁷ has the advantages of being early in date (seventh

¹ Jou Tzuumu 周祖謨, 'Sysheng byeyih shyhlih' 四聲別義釋例. Originally in *Fuuren Shyuejyh* 輔仁學誌, xiii, 1-2, 1945. I have seen only the reprint in his *Hannyeu ingyunn luennuonjyri* 漢語音韻論文集, Shanghai, 1957. Jou Fahgau 周法高, 'Notes on Chinese grammar', *UYYY* (Taiwan), No. 24, 1953, 197-212.

² Jou Fahgau (op. cit., 211), who treats the *ruh/chiuh* and *pyng, shaang/chiuh* contrasts separately, explains the appearance of *chiuhsheng* in both contrasts by assuming that in Archaic Chinese *chiuh* and *ruh* differed in final but were alike in tone, whereas *chiuh, pyng*, and *shaang* differed in tone but were alike in final; thus, *pyng, shaang*, and *ruh* all tended to 'interchange' with the *chiuhsheng*. This does not explain why *pyng* and *shaang* do not interchange in the same way.

³ Wang Lih 王力, *Hannyeu shygyao* 漢語史稿, Peking, 1958, pp. 213 ff.

⁴ Maspero, op. cit., p. 327, n. 1.

⁵ A. Haudricourt, 'Comment reconstruire le chinois archaïque', *Word*, x, 2-3, 1954, 364.

⁶ e.g. Jou Tzuumu, op. cit., p. 54, under *yeu* 與; the *shaangsheng* member is taken as 'basic pronunciation' 本音, the *chiuh* as 'modified pronunciation' 轉音.

⁷ Not all his readings were used, only those in the *Liiyh* 禮記 with Jenq Shyuan's 鄭縣 commentary, and in the *Chuenchiou* and *Tzuoojuann* 春秋左傳, with the commentary of Duh Yuh 杜預.

century A.D.), of quoting extensively from earlier commentators, and of providing a large number of readings. An examination of his readings reveals a surprisingly large number of cognate words with minimal *chiuh*/non-*chiuh* contrast, and an examination of the way in which Luh used the contrasting forms reveals a rather more complicated picture of the semantic side of the contrast, and forces one to query some of the conclusions of earlier writers in this field. Finally, a list is given of the clearest examples of *chiuhsheng* derivation, as found in Luh Derming's works. As, however, it can be shown that *chiuhsheng* derivation was not confined to his usage, but was a general feature of early Chinese, examples from other writers are also included.

II. THE NATURE OF THE SO-CALLED 'TONAL CONTRAST'

Among the words in a family of apparently cognate words, we may suspect, *a priori*, that some are dialect forms that have entered the standard language (and, as such, are probably very hard to detect). Where, however, it is possible to show that regular phonetic relationships correlate with regular semantic contrasts, it is legitimate to assume that we are dealing with related forms from a homogeneous dialect.

The material presented in the lists on pp. 271-90 easily satisfies this requirement. In Groups A to G we have large numbers of pairs of words which share a common phonetic contrast and a common semantic contrast of a general nature. There is no reason to doubt that we are dealing with cognate forms which have been differentiated internally, within a homogeneous dialect. Wang Lih and others, however, have gone further and suggested that it is possible to explain the occurrence of these forms historically by assuming that in each pair of words, the non-*chiuh* member is a basic form, while the *chiuhsheng* member is a derivative. The reasons for this assumption have never been made explicit. The present writer shares this assumption, and suggests that justification for it may be found in the following points.

(1) The shapes of the characters bear out the theory. In most cases it is clear that the character is constructed to represent the meaning of the basic (non-*chiuh*) word. This is especially obvious in the characters of Groups A and B. Note also that where one member of a pair has an extra radical added, it is usually the *chiuh* member.

(2) The above point suggests that the makers of characters regarded the non-*chiuh* form as basic. This is confirmed by Sheu Shenn's 許慎 definitions in the *Shuowen* 說文, which give the 'basic' meaning of the character (in Sheu Shenn's opinion). In most cases, this is the meaning of the non-*chiuh* member.¹

(3) Luh Derming, too, takes the non-*chiuh* member as the regular reading

¹ Examples may be seen conveniently in Wang Lih's lists (op. cit., pp. 213 ff.).

(marked *rutzyh* 如字), the *chiuh* reading presumably being a special case (and therefore specially marked).¹

(4) The fact that most of the *chiuhsheng* readings have, with time, been dropped from the standard reading pronunciation, as well as from the colloquial language, suggests that we are dealing with a morphological phenomenon which was always recognized as a special case, and that in time it had outlived its usefulness.

(5) The use of special *chiuhsheng* forms in certain disyllabic expressions (Group H) with apparently no change in meaning, can only be explained as a remnant of some morphological process, by which the *chiuhsheng* was used in phrase-forming.

(6) In many cases, but especially in Groups A and B, general linguistic experience supports this contention; it seems 'natural' that in these groups the non-*chiuh* forms should be basic, the others derived from them. Note too that the English translations often agree with the Chinese in the distribution of basic and derived (or secondary) forms. Such an impression, based chiefly on translation-meaning, is almost useless by itself, but in conjunction with the other reasons is not without value.

In the end, it is the number of examples that can be found that determines the acceptability of the theory. With over 200 pairs of words showing phonetic and semantic regularity, the present writer believes we have sufficient examples to accept the theory that in early Chinese, the *chiuhsheng*, unlike other tones,² had a special function, to create derived words, and that the special nature of these *chiuhsheng* words was realized by early writers, probably up till the time of Luh Derming.

Nevertheless, some problems remain. It may be asked whether, with many other cognates existing, it is possible to posit a one-to-one correspondence between *chiuh* and non-*chiuh* forms? Why pair 教 *yaü*^o 'to teach' with 學 *γdk* 'to learn' and not with 教 *kau*^o 'to teach'? Or 去 *k'wo*^o 'to leave' with 去 *k'wo*^o 'to get rid of', and not with 祛 *k'wo*^o 'to exorcise'? While in both cases the latter form is almost certainly cognate, the fact that the pairs here chosen as examples of tonal contrast are written with the same character (or one close to it) shows that, at least in Hann times, when writing settled into its present form, a closer connexion was felt between the members of each pair than with the other words. This argument hinges on the date at which one assumes the tonal contrast to have been a living feature of the language.

It might be objected that it is curious that one morphological feature (*chiuhsheng*) should have such diverse semantic functions as changing nouns

¹ The marking of non-*chiuh* members as regular is probably connected with the fact that the *chiuh* readings generally were becoming obsolescent in Luh's time. See below, p. 266.

² An exception, in another context, seems to be the occurrence of tones in final particles. See Kennedy, 'A re-examination of the Classical pronoun forms *ngu* and *ngo*', *CYYY*, xxviii, 1, 276, 277.

from verbs and vice versa, changing transitive verbs to intransitives and vice versa, etc. This objection has already been disposed of by Karlgren (speaking of other sound-changes), who pointed out that this is a common phenomenon found in many languages.¹ Nevertheless, some doubts may remain, especially if *chiuhsheng* derivation is regarded as something akin to word-formation in Indo-European and other language-families. The present writer holds the opinion that with our present knowledge of Classical Chinese, it is better to regard *chiuhsheng* derivation not as a remnant of a former inflectional system of the Indo-European type, but simply as a system of derivation and nothing more. When new words were needed, they were created by pronouncing the basic word in the *chiuhsheng*. The grammatical regularity found in many cases would then be in a way fortuitous, being the result not of grammatical inflection, but of the need to create new words. This is a very 'rationalistic' explanation, but if an explanation for features of an ancient language such as this is being sought, it is unavoidable.

There are, however, other possibilities. A multiple origin for the phenomenon is not out of the question. The presence of *chiuhsheng* forms as the first element in certain compounds suggests that it might once have been used in a subordinating capacity.² Another possibility is that the *chiuhsheng* found in these words is the relic of a former suffix, since dropped. This has been suggested by Haudricourt for a few words,³ and is quite plausible; but with our present knowledge all explanations for the origin of the derivational-system are purely conjectural.

A few words must be said about those characters which seem to show *chiuhsheng* derivative forms, but in which no perceptible distinction in meaning can be found.⁴ Quite large numbers of these are to be found. Assuming that in these cases we have not simply missed the semantic distinction, these contrasting forms must be ascribed to differences of dialect (of either spatial or temporal nature),⁵ although it is possible that once the derivational process has been established, parallel forms might be created by analogy, without change in meaning. An interesting feature of these characters is that in most cases the modern reading is the *chiuhsheng* form, the non-*chiuh* form having

¹ See *The Chinese language*, 96. A good example is to be found in Modern Japanese, where verbs ending in *-eru* are intransitive/passive when the simple verb is transitive (e.g. *miru-mieru*, *toru-toreru*, *yaku-yakeru*, *kiru-kireru*, etc.), and transitive/causative when the simple form is intransitive (e.g. *komu-komeru*, *tatu-tateru*, *aku-akeru*, *iru-ireru*, etc.); thus analogous to Groups C and F of *chiuhsheng* derivation. (See the lists on pp. 281-3 and 287-8.)

² See Group H, and below, p. 268.

³ op. cit., 364. Maspero, op. cit., 326, has suggested the influence of a prefix to account for the change in tone. This seems less likely.

⁴ See below, pp. 269-70.

⁵ This is especially likely in the last four examples on p. 270, which belong to the anomalous *chiuhsheng* rimes in the *Chieh-yun* 切韻. There is abundant evidence (from the poets' use of rimes) that the words of these rimes retained their final stop right down to the Six Dynasties. See Wang Lih, *Nanbeichau shiyen yongyun kao* 南北朝詩人用韻考, pp. 49-53, in his collection *Hanyueushy luennwen jyi* 漢語史論文集, Peking, 1958.

become obsolete. This contrasts with real *chiuhsheng* derivation where it is usually the *chiuh* member that is now lost.

Naturally, it is not claimed that all *chiuhsheng* words are derivative forms. Only a small proportion of the total number can be shown to be so: the majority are basic forms. For instance, there is no evidence to show that words such as 面, 賤, 卦, or 大 were ever anything but *chiuhsheng*.¹ Therefore, under the rubric '*chiuhsheng*' there are in fact two morphologically different kinds of words, (a) those like 大, etc., basically *chiuhsheng* words, and (b) words like 好, etc., which are *chiuhsheng* by derivation from words of other tones.

This raises the question of what method, if any, was used to form derived words from basically *chiuhsheng* words.

A likely answer is that in this case the ancient language had recourse to voiced/voiceless initial alternation. This is the only other alternation, besides *chiuh*/non-*chiuh* contrast, which occurs in considerable numbers. A few examples found in the *Liih* and *Tzuojuan* are:

見 <i>kien</i> ^o	to see	見 <i>yen</i> ^o	to be seen; to show
繫 <i>kiet</i> ^o	to attach, tie	繫 <i>yet</i> ^o	to be attached
壞 <i>kwǎi</i> ^o	to destroy	壞 <i>wǎi</i> ^o	to be destroyed
敗 <i>puai</i> ^o	to defeat, to ruin	敗 <i>waï</i> ^o	to be defeated, ruined
背 <i>puet</i> ^o	the back	背 <i>uät</i> ^o	to turn the back on
葬 <i>tsáng</i> ^o	to bury	葬 <i>dz'áng</i> ^o	a grave (<i>L</i> , <i>Tarngong</i> , j.2.2a (659) (reading by Shyu Moh)

This voiced/voiceless alternation is not confined to words with *chiuhsheng*.² Examples with other tones are also to be found.

The semantic relationships between the voiced/voiceless forms seem in general to be identical with those found in *chiuhsheng* derivation. Moreover, in many cases, there seem to be some grounds for taking the voiceless form as basic.

There are also some examples of words with both *chiuhsheng* derivation and voiced/voiceless contrast, e.g.:

糴 <i>d'iek</i>	to buy grain	糶 <i>t'ieu</i> ^o	to sell grain ³
分 <i>pjun</i>	to separate	份 <i>b'jun</i> ^o	a share ⁴
割 <i>kāt</i>	to cut	害 <i>yái</i> ^o	to injure ³
感 <i>kām</i>	to move, affect	憾 <i>yām</i> ^o	to be resentful

From the point of view of *chiuhsheng* derivation these examples seem to be perfect semantically, but it is difficult to account for the incidence of voiced and voiceless initials. It seems that here there is only alternation, no system of derivation being demonstrable.

¹ The last two, according to *shyesheng*, etc., had final stop consonant in Archaic Chinese. It is necessary to posit some difference from other syllables with final stop; one way is simply to project the tone back into Archaic Chinese. See also below, p. 266, n. 2.

² For longer lists, showing examples from all tones, see Karlgren, 'Cognate words in the Chinese phonetic series', *BMFEA*, No. 28, 1956, 9.

³ For the relationships between these finals, see below, p. 265.

⁴ Compare the simple *chiuhsheng* derivative *pjun*^o 'to give relief' (*D.8*, p. 284).

III. THE DATE OF *CHIUHSHENG* DERIVATION

The pairs of tonally-contrasted words in the lists on pp. 271-90 may be roughly divided into two groups: those (the majority) in which the two members are usually written with the same character, and the few that are written with different characters. No problem is caused by the latter group, whose validity has never been questioned. However, especially since the rise of the study of historical phonology in the sixteenth century A.D., many scholars such as Guh Yanwu 顧炎武, Chyan Dahshin 錢大昕, Duann Yuhtsair 段玉裁, and others have agreed that the tonal distinctions in the former group of characters were late in date, probably the creations of teachers of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.¹

This contention is not supported by the facts. Even if no other information was available, it is inherently unlikely that if these distinctions were in fact the creations of late pedants they would have been accepted by the majority of scholars. Yet, to give only a few examples of T'ang times and earlier, the principle of semantic distinction by tone-contrast was accepted by Yan Jytuei 顏之推,² by Luh Fahyan 陸法言³ and the compilers of rime-books that succeeded him, and by Jang Shoujye 張守節.⁴ Moreover, the statement that these distinctions were created by teachers suggests that these are special pronunciations to be used in reading the classics. In fact, the phenomenon was not confined to classical readings. Non-classical examples occur quite early, for which there would be no pedants' tradition to follow⁵; and it has recently been demonstrated that the T'ang poets regularly observed the *chiuhsheng* distinction semantically in many words in poetry.⁶ These facts, and the occasional survival of *chiuhsheng* derivatives in modern dialects, formed on the same principles as the learned forms, such as Pekingese⁷

磨 <i>mo</i>	to grind	<i>moh</i>	(1) a mill (2) to mill
瓦 <i>wa</i>	a tile	<i>wah</i>	to tile
泥 <i>ni</i>	mud	<i>nih</i>	to daub on mud
鑽 <i>tzoan</i>	to drill	<i>tzuann</i>	a drill
搨 <i>shan</i>	to fan	扇 <i>shann</i>	a fan
牽 <i>chian</i>	to drag, draw	絛 <i>chiann</i>	a tow-rope, a halter

suggest not that the Six Dynasties' pedants were creating new and eccentric

¹ For references to Guh and Chyan see Jou Tzuumu, op. cit., 51, 52, and Jou Fahgan, op. cit., 197. Duann Yuhtsair's attitude is clear from his remarks in his *Shuowen jietzyh juh* 說文解字注 under the characters 好, 食, etc.

² *Yanshyh jiahsiunn* 顏氏家訓.

³ Introduction to the *Chiehhyunn*.

⁴ Introduction to the *Shygyih jengyuh* 史記正義.

⁵ e.g. C.2.

⁶ See Wang Lih, *Hannyeu shyliuhshyue* 漢語詩律學, Shanghai, 1958, pp. 133-42.

⁷ All examples may be found in Luh Jyhwoei 陸志偉, *Beijing'huah dan'inteyr tsyryhwey* 北京話單音詞詞彙, Peking, 1958.

pronunciations, but that their readings simply reflected a feature of ordinary speech, already existing.

On *a priori* grounds, therefore, the assumption that tonal contrast appeared late in the history of the language is not very satisfactory. Now, however, Jou Tzuumu has demonstrated convincingly that many of these *chiuhsheng* distinctions were in existence in Hann times.¹ This pushes back the date of their first appearance a few centuries. One can go further, for there is no reason for supposing that the system of deriving words by tone-change was a creation of that time; the Hann dynasty is merely the earliest time in which we may expect to find explicit statements about the pronunciation of words.² In fact, there is additional evidence as to the date of the sound-change. This is the evidence afforded by the phonological relationships between *ruhsheng* words and their *chiuhsheng* derivatives. In the lists of words on pp. 271-90, the following words in which the basic form is *ruhsheng* occur³:

	Basic form	Derived form
E.1. 告	kók/kuok	kóg/káu
G.3. 復	b'ók/b'uk	b'óg/b'üu
(similarly A.54, A.57, B.39, D.10, H.15)		
C.7 足	tsük/tsiwok	tsüg/tsüu
(similarly A.64)		
A.28 責	tsék/tsek	tsög/t'ai
(similarly A.62)		
A.61 獲	g'wák/γwek	獲 g'wäg/γwa ⁴
A.14 度	d'ák/d'ak	d'äg/d'uo
(similarly C.14)		
A.40 鑿	dz'ák/dz'ak	—/dz'au ⁵
F.1 覺	kók/kák	kóg/kau
(similarly C.19, H.7)		
A.48 削	sók/siak	sög/süu
A.24 縛	b'iwak/b'iwak	—/b'üa ⁶
F.8 射	d'iak/dz'iak	d'äg/dz'ia
(similarly A.30, C.6, C.10)		
A.29 積	tsiek/tsiak	tsög/tsie
(similarly A.35)		

¹ Jou Tzuumu, op. cit., 52 ff.

² Jou Tzuumu, on this evidence, concluded that the derivation process began in Hann times (op. cit., 52). Jou Fahgan (op. cit., 209) has already pointed out the *non sequitur* involved.

³ The Archaic and Ancient readings are taken from *Grammata Serica*. In the few cases where *Gram. Ser.* does not include the derived form, the *chiuhsheng* pronunciation may be seen in homonyms.

⁴ *Gram. Ser.*, No. 784, notes that several characters in this series are irregular in Ancient Chinese. Here the derived form is regular, the basic form is irregular.

⁵ There seems to be no comparable form from which to adduce the Archaic reading.

⁶ This reading, also found in the *Goangyunn* 廣韻, seems very aberrant in the *Chiehynn* system.

A.31 織	<i>t̪ək/t̪ək</i>	<i>t̪ək/t̪i</i>
(similarly C.11, E.5) 讖 憶		
A.16 滌	<i>d'ɨk/d'iek</i>	<i>d'ɨg/d'ieu</i> (as 條)
A.45 塞	<i>sək/sək</i>	<i>səg/səi</i>
D.3 渴	<i>k'ət/k'ət</i>	<i>k'əd/k'əi</i>
C.8 出	<i>t'ɨwət/t'ɨwət</i>	<i>t'ɨwəd/t'wi</i>
(similarly A.53) 帥		
C.2 乞	<i>k'iat/k'iat</i>	<i>k'iad/k'jəi</i> (as 气)
A.67 列	<i>liət/liət</i>	例 <i>liəd/liəi</i>
A.7 結	<i>kiet/kiet</i>	髻 <i>kied/kiei</i>
A.20 納	<i>nəp/nəp</i>	內 <i>nwəb > nwəd/nuəi</i> ¹
(similarly D.6) 答		
A.32 執	<i>t̪əp/t̪əp</i>	<i>t̪əb/t̪i</i>

In almost every instance the phonological relationship between the basic and derived forms in the Archaic readings fits the Archaic *shyesheng* system, going back to Chyn 秦 or earlier times.²

The present writer's view is that although the appearance of *chiuhsheng* derivation cannot be dated with precision, the likelihood is that it took place in late Archaic, possibly Chyn, times. Indeed, it may be the latest of the morphological processes of word-derivation in the Archaic language, since it occurs in the early commentaries in such large numbers and with such regular semantic correlation, in this way markedly different from most other phonetic contrasts, which may represent remnants of earlier derivational processes, their productive life long past.³ In Hann times the system of *chiuhsheng* derivation was still very much alive, and used much more extensively than in Luh Derming's time five centuries later. After the Hann dynasty, a progressive

¹ Karlgren reconstructs an Archaic labial semivowel in the *chiuh* form of A.20 and D.6. This is also found in a few other similar pairs (not included because of the irregular initials):

泣 *k'liəp/k'liəp* to weep *liwəd/liwəi* tears
立 *gliəp/liəp* to stand *giwəd/jwəi* position

In all these cases it is possible to take the labial semivowel in the form ending in *-d* as the last trace of an original final labial stop, and thus not reconstruct the semivowel in the original form, i.e. *nəb > nwəd/nuəi*.

However, the labial semivowel does not survive as a trace of the original labial stop in all cases, as A.32 shows. Whether its occurrence is random or whether it can be determined from other data remains to be seen. (Note the occasional appearance in Mandarin of a *herkoou* 合 口 vowel in a few words, as the only trace of an Ancient final labial consonant, e.g. 尋 *shyun*, 淋 *lun*, 入 *ruh*.)

² The writer realizes that the ascription of *chiuhsheng* derivation to Archaic times raises the difficulty that in the cases listed above the contrast, according to Karlgren's reconstruction, is not between tones but between voiced and voiceless final stops. This would not affect the argument for a system of derivation, but would add to the complexity of the phonological description of it. However, the writer believes that even in Archaic times these words may be better explained as cases of tonal contrast, but reserves discussion of this problem to a later article.

³ See e.g. the lists in Karlgren, *The Chinese language*. Another indication of the relative lateness of *chiuhsheng* derivation is found in the use of the same character for both simple and derived forms, where other pairs of cognate words are usually written with different characters.

loss of the *chiuhsheng* forms may be seen. In Swei and Tarn, many readings were still current, but others survived only as special readings to be used in classical texts. This is suggested by the special attention drawn to them by scholars of the time (such as those mentioned above),¹ and by the special mention accorded them by Luh Derming in the Introduction to his *Jingdean shyhwen*. By Song times so few of the *chiuhsheng* readings survived that concern was felt for their preservation, as may be seen from the publication of special lists and notations of them that took place then.² Ju Shi's 朱熹 commentaries, which appeared at this time, gave very few of the *chiuhsheng* forms that are to be found in Luh Derming's work. At the present day, only a handful of the variant pronunciations occur in the reading of non-classical texts.

IV. LUH DERMING'S USE OF *CHIUHSHENG* DERIVATION

The categories into which the examples of *chiuhsheng* derivation are arranged in the lists on pp. 271-90 are chosen primarily to illustrate the derivative nature of the tonal contrast. They are notional categories, corresponding to well-known grammatical distinctions found in many languages, and in most cases are probably valid for Classical Chinese, although no rigorous grammatical analysis of this language has yet been made. These categories are as follows:

A. Basic form Verbal—Derived form Nominal.

This is the commonest kind of derivation. From the basic verbs are derived nouns of agency,³ nouns of means,⁴ nouns denoting the results of acts,⁵ abstract nouns,⁶ and so on. An interesting group is found in Nos. A.1, A.5, A.17, A.49, and A.60. With these the derived form is regularly used when followed by the amount measured, e.g. ⁷

壘厚一丈高二丈

'The earthworks were 10 feet thick and 20 feet high'

B. Basic form Nominal—Derived form Verbal.

Most of the denominative verbs are transitive, though a few intransitives occur. Note that fully half of the characters are ideographs (*jyysyhyh* 指事, *shianqshyng* 象形, and *hucyryh* 會意) representing the basic meaning—an argument for derivation as opposed to mere contrast.

¹ See above, p. 264.

² The fullest lists may be found in the *Chyunjing inbiann* 群經音辨 by Jea Changchaur 賈昌朝 (finished by Baoquan 2 寶元, A.D. 1039), really a collection of characters with two or more readings, taken from the *Jingdean shyhwen*. Other lists of these words, from the Song and Yuan periods, are to be found in the *Iayunn shyhyi* 押韻釋疑, compiled by Ouyang Derlong 歐陽德隆, revised by Gwo Jenqii 郭正己 in *jeatzzy* year of *Jingding* 景定 (A.D. 1264). See especially the Introduction. Also in the *Chuejiann tuh* 吹劍錄 (全編), by Yuwen Baw 俞文豹, Peking, 1958, p. 75.

³ e.g. A.9, A.2, and A.51 (1).

⁴ e.g. A.10, A.15, A.42.

⁵ e.g. A.7, A.31, A.29, and A.50.

⁶ e.g. A.19, A.47, and A.64.

⁷ *C(huenchiou Tzuocjuann)* Ai 1, comm., j.57.1b (1180).

C. Derived form Causative.

In addition to the usual kind of causative verb, this category includes a well-defined sub-group of words, in which the basic form signifies 'receiving' and the derived form 'giving' of some kind.¹

D. Derived form 'Effective'.

This group is rather hard to define. The principal feature that the characters have in common is that in each of the derived members there is action on an object. This is clear enough when the basic member is intransitive, the derived form transitive; when both basic and derived members are transitive, the difference lies in the fact that the basic form refers to a specific act, whereas the derived form is used to denote the effect this act has on the (usually personal) object. I have therefore tentatively given the label 'effective' to cover this group.

Some of the pairs of words are only dubiously placed in this category. In fact, the boundaries between this group and the Groups C and E are somewhat nebulous.

E. Derived form with restricted meaning.

In this group the derived form has a more specialized meaning than the basic form. A few honorifics are placed here too. Many of the derived words are notionally reminiscent of the derived intensive and meditative verbs of the Indo-European languages.² Again, some words in the two previous groups could have been placed here.

F. Derived form Passive or Neuter.

This group is quite well-defined notionally, and seems to be the converse of Group C.

G. Derived form as Adverb.

This category contains five examples of the derived form used adverbially. The basic form is verbal.

H. Derived form used in compounds.

This group is very interesting. In most cases there seems to be no semantic distinction involved. This is especially true of the examples in which the derived form is the first word in the compound. Where the derived word is the last element of the compound, it could have been entered in one of the other groups if it had occurred alone. Where, however, the first is the derived form, the lack of semantic distinction suggests that the *chiuhsheng* was used (at least in some cases) to show subordination.

The examples of *chiuhsheng* derivation presented in the lists do not by any means exhaust the number of cases to be found. Generally speaking, the

¹ C.2, C.5, C.8, C.10, and C.13.

² cf. Latin *jacio/jactō*, *volō/volūtō*, etc.

principle used in selecting characters for inclusion in the lists was to pick out those with unequivocal readings and meanings. This was not always possible, so in some cases words with alternative readings for the derived form are given. Since Luh Derming includes readings by earlier commentators, these are probably mostly due to real differences of interpretation of the text concerned. There are, however, grounds for believing that the tradition of *chiuhsheng* derivation was obsolescent by Luh's time.¹ This probably accounts for those cases where Luh prefers the basic form, but notes that earlier commentators have *chiuhsheng* readings.² This is in contrast to those cases of characters used in their basic sense, when no reading is usually given at all. There remain some characters, not in the lists, which are noted by Luh in so many different ways, or with so many alternative pronunciations, that I have been unable to disentangle the functions of the *chiuhsheng* readings, and have left them for later work.³ Other omissions from the lists were caused by insufficient evidence of the semantic distinction. An example is the character 兼 *kiem*, which in one phrase only⁴ is noted as having a variant pronunciation with *chiuhsheng*. Since other occurrences of the character with apparently the same meaning are given no variant, an explanation of this reading must await study of other texts.

There remains a substantial body of characters with two regular readings, differing only in tone, in which no perceptible difference of meaning occurs. A few examples are given below.

壽	old age, long life	° <i>ziu</i> , <i>ziu</i> °	C, Yiin 11, comm., j.4.12b (888)
互	mutually	° <i>ɣuo</i> , <i>ɣuo</i> °	L, Wangjyh, comm., j.4.9b (687)
園	park ⁵	<i>jɿuk</i> ('old reading'), <i>jɿu</i> °	C, Jau 9, <i>Jing</i> , j.45.1a (1109)
淡	mild, insipid	° <i>d'ám</i> , <i>d'ám</i> °	L, Jongyong, j.16.15a (832)
錫, 賜	to give	<i>siek</i> , <i>sie</i> °	C, Wen 1, <i>Jing</i> , j.18.1b (951)
醺	to club together for drinks	<i>g'ɿak</i> , <i>g'ɿwo</i> °	L, Liichih, j.7.18b (726)
罾	small net	° <i>iuet</i> , <i>jwex</i> °	L, Wangjyh, j.4.7a (686)

¹ See above, p. 266.

² i.e. those marked 'alternative reading' or 'Shyu Moh' in the lists.

³ e.g. 折, 解, 要 ~ 約, 斷.

⁴ 或兼職焉 'They might combine their functions', L, Neytzer, comm., j.8.14a (735).

⁵ Jou Tzu-mu, in another context, takes the *ruhsheng* reading (given by Shyu Moh) as an artificial reading to agree with a rime. In the *Chuenchiou* reference, however, there are no riming words involved, so the reading is probably legitimate. See his *Tarngbeen Maushy'in juannren kao* 唐本毛詩音撰人考 (p. 1 in his *Hannyeu inyunn luenmoenjiyi*).

搖	to shake	<i>jiu, jiu°</i>	<i>L, Sangdahjih,</i> comm., j.13.14b (803)
閉	to shut, close	<i>piet, piet°</i>	<i>C, Cherng 8,</i> j.26.12a (999)
迭	in turn, alternately	<i>d'iet, d'iet°</i>	<i>L, Liigunn,</i> j.7.8a (721)
歷	to pull up	<i>k'iwat, k'iwat°</i>	<i>C, Shiang 19,</i> j.34.5a (1044)
斃 蚋	to fall down mosquito	<i>b'iat, b'iat°</i> <i>n'ziwat, n'ziwat°</i>	<i>L, Yuehling,</i> j.5.18b (702)
勾	to beg	<i>kat</i> ('old reading'), <i>kai°</i>	<i>C, Jau 16,</i> j.47.10b (1126)

These have already been discussed. More extended work may reveal semantic distinctions here, too.

In assigning names to the categories in the lists, an effort has been made to avoid as far as possible grammatical terms implying syntactic uses. In the absence of a grammatical analysis of Classical Chinese, the use of such terms would be meaningless, and could in fact invalidate the thesis of this article. Even terms such as 'transitive' and 'intransitive', without rigorous definition, can only mislead, although they would be very welcome in discussing the uses of derived words in Groups C, D, and E. For instance, it would be very tempting to take 遠 *jiuwm* (basic form)¹ as intransitive, *jiuwm°* (derived form) as transitive; but, like many words of its kind, the basic form may also be used transitively, meaning 'to regard as distant', as in Mencius' 不遠千里而來. However, even if a satisfactory grammatical analysis of Classical Chinese existed, it is doubtful if *chiuhsheng* derivation could be treated at the grammatical level, except only incidentally. Even 'noun' and 'verb', as word classes, are dubious terms, although they have been used as labels of the categories in the lists, *faute de mieux*. For instance, B.1 家 *ka* (basic form) is usually nominal, and the derived form *ka°* is usually verbal; but the basic form is occasionally verbal too:

待西施毛嬙而爲配，則終身不家矣

'If you wait for a Shishy or Mauchyang to be your wife, you will never be married'.²

In some cases the derived form has (notionally) both nominal and verbal uses. Although it is possible to imagine an evolution

simple verb > derived verb > noun

as in D.15 to cause > to send on mission > envoy,

in other cases it is equally plausible to suggest

simple verb > derived noun > derived verb

as in E.3 to line up > line of battle > to form line of battle.

¹ C.22.

² *Hwasnantzyy*, j.11, p. 13b (SBBY edition).

In fact, there is no evidence to support either of the suggested evolutions. If the former seems more likely in some cases, the latter in others, the decision is probably influenced by the translation-meaning of the words. Another possible treatment of such forms is to assume that the two uses of the derived form are simply two aspects of one word-class. This would probably be over-ambitious at this stage. Accordingly all such forms have been arbitrarily placed in the lists in the appropriate place for the derived verbal, except where there seems to be only a remote connexion between the verbal and nominal notionally, in which case they have been listed twice.

Many other uses of the *chiuhsheng* derivatives might be noticed. The use of tonal contrast in at least two cases¹ to distinguish honorific from humble verbs may be a relic of a former, more widespread phenomenon. It may also be connected with the use of derived forms as passives, which, by an evolution not unknown elsewhere, eventually acquired a connotation of status-differentiation.² The use of the basic form both as verb and as 'classifier' in the case of A.21 and A.22,³ and the use of the basic form as verb and 'number' in the case of A.52,⁴ in all three cases in contrast to the derived form, which is nominal, suggests that a more extended survey of Luh's use of *chiuhsheng* derivation, and of his readings in general,⁵ would be of great value for the understanding of Classical Chinese grammar.

LISTS⁶

Group A. Basic form Verbal—Derived form Nominal

1. 高	<i>káu</i>	to be high	<i>káu</i> ^o	height
				C, Yiin 1, comm., j.2.10a (879)

¹ E.1 and E.9. The *Chyunjing inbiann* (see above, p. 267, n. 2) has many more examples.

² Japanese is an example.

³ e.g. C, Jau 27, j.52.10a (1154), (also commentary), where both words are used in their basic tone as 'handful'.

⁴ e.g. C, Jau 16, j.47.11b (1126), where it means 'several'. Here modern usage differs from Luh's.

⁵ Many of his readings are very puzzling. The character 樂, for example, is often given the reading *ngák* when it would seem that the meaning is clearly 'joy', not 'music'.

⁶ The references are to be read as follows:

L—*Liijih Jenqjuh 禮記鄭注* (SBBY edition), followed by name of the chapter, *jiuann* and page numbers.

C—*Chuenchiou Tzuoojuann jenqjih 春秋左傳正義* (SBBY ed.), followed by reigning duke and year, *jiuann* and page.

Comm.—in the commentary.

Jing—in the *Chuenchiou*, not the *Tzuoojuann*.

The figure in brackets refers to the page number of the *Jingdean shyhwen* (TSJC ed.).

Other references are given in full.

Where the usage seems regular, I have generally given only one reference. In more problematical cases, two or three references may be given. When both members of a pair lack references, it may be taken that the contrast is commonly found in all texts, i.e. it is part of general Chinese.

'Alternative' means that Luh gives both basic and derived form. 'Shyu Moh' indicates a reading of Shyu Moh's 徐邈 quoted by Luh.

The characters in each group are arranged in order of the traditional 36 *kyhmuu* 字母.

- | | | | | |
|---------|----------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| 2. 監 | ◌ <i>kam</i> | to oversee
<i>C</i> , Shiu'an 7, j.22.3b
(976) | <i>kam</i> ^o | an overseer
<i>L</i> , <i>Wangjyh</i> ,
j.4.4b (684) |
| 3. 過 | ◌ <i>kuá</i> | to pass
<i>C</i> , Juang 10, j.8.13b
(903)
<i>C</i> , Shi 16, <i>Jing</i> ,
j.14.8a (929) | <i>kuá</i> ^o | a fault, excess |
| 4. 觀 | ◌ <i>kuán</i> | to look at
(see also C.1, H.3) | <i>kuán</i> ^o | a view, mound, tower
<i>C</i> , Shiu'an 12,
j.23.10b (894)
<i>L</i> , <i>Liyyunn</i> ,
j.7.1a (717) |
| 5. 廣 | ◌ <i>kwáng</i> | to be wide | <i>kwáng</i> ^o | (1) width
<i>C</i> , Juang 28, comm.,
j.10.8a (942)
,,
(2) troop, cohort
<i>C</i> , Shiu'an 12,
j.23.6b (981) |
| 6. 經, 徑 | ◌ <i>kieng</i> | to pass through
<i>C</i> , Cherng 13, comm.,
j.27.9a (1005) | <i>kieng</i> ^o
,, | (1) a path
(2) diameter
<i>C</i> , Yiin 1, comm.,
j.2.10a (879) |
| 7. 結 | <i>kiet</i> | to tie | 髻 <i>kiet</i> ^o | knot in hair, 'bun'
<i>C</i> , Shiang 4, comm.,
j.29.14b (1019) |
| 8. 卷 | ◌ <i>kjuán</i> | to roll up
<i>L</i> , <i>Sangdahjij</i> , comm.,
j.13.1b (796) | <i>kjuán</i> ^o | a roll, volume |
| 9. 騎 | ◌ <i>g'jié</i> | to ride
(see also H.4) | <i>g'jié</i> ^o | rider
<i>L</i> , <i>Chiulii</i> ,
j.1.16a (650) |
| 10. 研 | ◌ <i>ngien</i> | to grind | 硯 <i>ngien</i> ^o | inkstone |
| 11. 擔 | ◌ <i>tám</i> | to carry
<i>C</i> , Jau 7, comm.,
j.44.6b (1106) | <i>tám</i> ^o | a burden, load
<i>C</i> , Shiang 2, comm.,
j.29.4b (1015) |
| 12. 登 | ◌ <i>təng</i> | to mount | 鐙 <i>təng</i> ^o | stirrups |
| 13. 張 | ◌ <i>tíang</i> | to stretch, extend
(see also F.4) | <i>tíang</i> ^o
帳 ,, | (1) tent
(2) net |
| 14. 度 | <i>d'ák</i> | to measure
<i>L</i> , <i>Wangjyh</i> ,
j.4.10a (688) | <i>d'uo</i> ^o | measurement, ruler
<i>L</i> , <i>Wangjyh</i> ,
j.4.10a (688) |

15. 彈 $\circ d'an$ (1) to fillip $d'an^\circ$ crossbow
L, Yuehjih,
j.11.6b (774)
,, (2) to shoot (a cross-
bow)
C, Shiuan 2,
j.21.5b (672)
16. 滌 $d'iek$ to wash, cleanse $d'ieu^\circ$ stables
(Shyu Moh) *L, Chiulii*, comm.,
j.1.28a (657)
L, Jiautehsheng,
j.8.6a (731)
17. 長 $\circ d'iang$ to be long $d'iang^\circ$ length
L, Tarncong,
j.2.7a (663)
18. 傳 $\circ d'iwon$ to transmit $d'iwon^\circ$ a record
19. 難 $\circ nan$ to be difficult nan° difficulty, hardship
C, Hwan 5, comm.,
j.6.9a (893)
20. 內, 納 $náp$ to bring in $nuai^\circ$ inside
21. 把 $\circ pa$ to grasp pa° handle
L, Chiulii, comm.,
j.1.13a (648)
L, Shawyi, comm.,
j.10.18a (767)
22. 秉, 柄 $\circ piwong$ to grasp $piwong^\circ$ handle
C, Jau 7,
j.44.8a (1106)
23. 封 $\circ piwong$ to enfeof $piwong^\circ$ feof
(Shyu Moh) *Shujing, Tsayjong-jy*
ming (SBBY ed.),
j.17.2a (187)
24. 縛 $b'iwak$ to bind $b'iuá^\circ$ bonds
('old *C, Jau 4*,
reading') j.42.15b (1096)
C, Juang 9, comm.,
j.8.11b (903)
25. 飯 $\circ b'iwon$ to eat $b'iwon^\circ$ food
L, Chiulii,
j.1.11b (646)
L, Tarncong,
j.2.13b (667)
(see Luh's note (645)
to *L, Chiulii*,
j.1.11a)

26. 縫 *◦b'iwong* to mend, stitch *b'iwong°* a seam in cloth
C, Shi 26, j.16.4a (940) *L, Shen'i*, comm., j.18.15b (851)
27. 磨 *◦mud* to grind *mud°* grindstone
28. 責 *tsek* to exact, demand payment 債 *tɕai°* debt
29. 積 *tsjak* to pile up, amass *tsie°* hoard, stores
C, Shi 33, j.17.8a (949)
C, Shiang 5, j.30.3a (1020)
30. 炙 *tsiak* to roast *tsja°* roast meat
L, Liiyunn, j.7.3b (719)
C, Ai 15, j.59.12b (1199)
L, Chiulii, j.1.10b (645)
31. 織 *tsjak* to weave *tsi°* patterned cloth
L, Yuhzao, j.9.5b (750)
L, Shawyi, comm., j.10.13a (764)
32. 執 *tsjɕp* to pick up, catch *tsi°* gift, offering
(see also H.8) *L, Tarnngong*, j.3.16a (680)
33. 采, 採 *◦ts'ai* to pluck, pick 菜 *ts'ai°* herbs
34. 操 *◦ts'au* to grasp, hold *ts'au°* principles
L, Chiulii, j.1.13b (640)
35. 刺 *ts'jak* to prick, stab *ts'ie°* thorn
(see also D.11)
36. 稱 *◦ts'ɕeng* to name, to claim *ts'ɕeng°* appellation
L, Chiulii, j.1.13b (no note by Luh)
C, Yiin 1, comm., j.2.13b (880)
L, Chiulii, comm., j.1.13b (640)
37. 處 *◦ts'ɕwo* to live at, dwell *ts'ɕwo°* place
C, Shi 25, comm., j.16.2b (939)
38. 吹 *◦ts'wiɕ* to blow *ts'wiɕ°* music
L, Yuehling, j.5.21a (703)
L, Yuehling, j.5.28a (707)

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---|-----------------|---|
| 39. 裁 | $\circ dz'ái$ | to cut (cloth) | $dz'ái^\circ$ | cut, fashion
<i>L, Sangdahjih</i> ,
j.13.9b (801) |
| 40. 鑿 | $dz'ák$ | to bore, drill | $dz'áu^\circ$ | a hole
<i>Joulii</i> 周禮, <i>Kao-gongjih</i> 考工記
(SBBY ed.),
j.39.10a (535) |
| 41. 藏 | $\circ dz'áng$ | to hide, store | $dz'áng^\circ$ | storehouse
<i>C, Shi</i> 24,
j.15.8b (936)
<i>L, Huenyuh</i> ,
j.20.3b (864) |
| 42. 乘 | $\circ dz'iang$ | to ride | $dz'iang^\circ$ | chariot
<i>C, Yiin</i> 1,
j.2.11a (879) |
| 43. 聚 | $^\circ dz'iu$ | to collect, gather | $dz'iu^\circ$ | (1) collection, stores
<i>C, Shiang</i> 9,
j.30.18a (1024)
,,
(2) masses, group
<i>C, Cherng</i> 13,
j.27.7b (1004) |
| 44. 坐 | $^\circ dz'ua$ | to sit | $dz'ua^\circ$ | seat
<i>C, Shiang</i> 27, comm.,
j.38.6a (1064) |
| 45. 塞 | $sək$ | to block
<i>C, Shi</i> 20,
j.14.13a (931) | $sək^\circ$ | border, frontier
<i>C, Juang</i> 28,
j.10.7b (911) |
| 46. 算 | $^\circ suán$ | to count, reckon | 算 $suán^\circ$ | a tally |
| 47. 思 | $\circ si$ | to think | si° | thought
<i>C, Shiang</i> 29,
j.39.7b (1070)
<i>C, Jau</i> 1, comm.,
j.41.14b (1087) |
| 48. 削 | $síak$ | to pare
<i>L, Chiulii</i> ,
j.1.12b (647) | $síau^\circ$ | dagger
<i>L, Shawyi</i> ,
j.10.18a (767) |
| 49. 深 | $\circ síam$ | to be deep | $síam^\circ$ | depth
<i>L, Tarngong</i> ,
j.3.17a (680) |

50. 收 *siu* to gather, receive *siu*^o harvest
(altern.) C, Wen 2, comm.,
j.18.5a (952)
L, *Yuehling*,
j.5.20b (708)
51. 守 *siu* to guard, maintain *siu*^o (1) governor
(see also F.12, C, Shi 24,
H.14) j.15.9a (936)
狩 „ (2) territory
L, *Wangjyh*,
j.4.5a (685)
cf. also Mencius,
Liang Hueywang
B, 巡狩者巡
所守也
52. 數 *siu* to count *siu*^o number
C, Yiin 5,
j.3.12b (884) C, Pref.,
j.1.12b (876)
53. 帥, 率 *siu* to lead *siu*^o leader, marshal
C, Shiang 10,
j.31.3a, no note by C, Hwan 6,
Luh j.6.12a (894)
C, Ai 17,
j.60.5a (1202)
54. 宿 *siuk* to stay overnight *siu*^o celestial 'mansion'
C, Jau 10,
j.45.6b (1111)
55. 上 *siang* to ascend *siang*^o above, top
C, Cherng 16,
j.28.4b (1008)
56. 樹 *siu* to stand up, set up- *siu*^o tree
right, to plant L, *Jihyh*,
j.14.14a, no note
by Luh
57. 畜 *xiuk* to rear, raise *xiu*^o farmyard animal
(see also H.15) C, Shiuian 4,
j.21.12a (975) C, Shi 19,
j.14.12a (931)
L, *Yuehling*,
j.5.10a (698)
58. 含 *gam* to hold in the 哈, 含 *gam*^o pearl put in mouth of
mouth corpse
C, Wen 5, *Jing*,
j.9a.1a (955)

59. 號 *γáu* to call, cry *γáu°* (1) title, appellation
C, Cherng 7, comm.,
j.26.8b (997)
L, *Chiulii*,
j.1.27a (656)
,, (2) slogan, command
L, *Yuehjih*,
j.11.20a (781)
60. 厚 *°γxu* to be thick *γxu°* thickness
L, *Yuehling*, comm.,
j.5.22b (704)
61. 獲 *γwek* to catch, get 獲 *γwa°* trap
L, *Jongyong*,
j.16.2a (826)
62. 畫 *γwek* to draw, demarcate *γwaí°* picture
C, Shiang 4,
j.29.13b (1018)
63. 行 *°yong* to walk, proceed ; *yong°* action, behaviour
(see also D.18) to practise, carry
out
C, Shiang 2, comm.,
j.29.3b (1015)
64. 欲 *ixook* to want, desire 慾 *ixu°* lust
(alternative reading) L, *Chiulii*,
j.1.1a (637)
L, *Shyuejih*, comm.,
j.11.3b (773)
65. 緣, 沿 *ixwān* to follow, go along *ixwān°* rim, border
C, Wen 10,
j.19a.13a (960) L, *Yuehjih*,
j.11.6b (779)
66. 量 *liang* to measure *liang°* measurement,
C, Yiin 11, amount
j.4.13b (888) C, Yiin 3, comm.,
j.3.1a (881)
67. 列 *liāt* to arrange in line 例 *liāi°* usage, rule
68. 論 *luon* to discuss *luon°* theory
C, Pref.,
j.1.15b (877)
69. 染 *°nziām* to dip, dye *nziām°* kind of cloth
C, Shiuan 4,
j.21.10b (974) L, *Liuyunn*, comm.,
j.7.4a (719)

Group B. Basic form Nominal—Derived form Verbal

1. 家 *ka* family 嫁 *ka°* to marry (of a woman)

2. 間	。kǎn	space between	kǎn°	to be (or place) between C, Yiin 3, j.3.4a (881)
3. 膏	。káu	grease ; richness C, Pref., j.1.7b (876)	káu°	to grease ; to enrich L, Neytzer, j.8.15a (737) C, Shiang 19, j.34.24 (1043)
4. 棺	。kuán	coffin	kuán°	to encoffin C, Shi 28, j.16.10a (942)
5. 冠	。kuán	cap	kuán°	to cap (manhood ceremony) C, Shi 9, <i>Jing</i> comm., j.13.4b (921)
6. 魚	。ngiwo	fish	漁 ngiwo°	to fish ¹
7. 中 (see also H.6)	。tjung	middle	tjung°	(1) to hit the middle C, Chérng 16, j.28.5a (1008) ,, (2) to be of middle length <i>Shujing</i> , <i>Yaudean</i> (135)
8. 種	°tjung	seed, kind C, Shi 33, comm., j.17.9a (950)	tjung°	to plant L, <i>Liyunn</i> , j.7.11a (722)
9. 道	°d'áu	road, way	導 d'áu°	to lead the way C, Yiin 5, j.3.15b (884)
10. 弟	°d'iei	younger brother	悌 d'iei°	to act as a younger brother should act L, <i>Liyunn</i> , j.7.7a (721)
11. 蹄	。d'iei	hoof	d'iei°	to trample ? ; to kick ? L, <i>Yuehling</i> , comm., j.5.13a (699)
12. 田	。d'ien	field	佃 d'ien°	to work fields <i>Shy</i> , <i>Chyifeng</i> , ' <i>Fruityan</i> ' 甫田 (257)

¹ See references in Jou Tzuumu, 'Syhsheng byeyih shyhlih', p. 52.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------------------|----------|--|
| 13. 泥 | 。niei | mud | niei° | to stick, adhere to |
| 14. 女 | °niwo | daughter | niwo° | to give a daughter in marriage
C, Hwan 11,
j.7.6a (896) |
| 15. 賓 | 。piēn | guest | 賓 piēn° | to receive guests ; to pay respects to
<i>L, Liipunn,</i>
j.7.5b (720) |
| 16. 冰 | 。piang | ice | piang° | to freeze, congeal
<i>Tarnghshu 唐 書,</i>
<i>Wei Sychuan juann</i>
韋 思 謙 傳 :
涕 泗 冰 須 |
| 17. 風 | 。piung | wind | piung° | (1) to blow on (used of the wind)
<i>Shuoyuan 說 苑,</i>
<i>gweyder 貴 德 :</i>
以 春 風 風 人
,,
(2) to rumour, to satirize
<i>Shy, guanjiu</i> pref.
(202) |
| 18. 帆 | 。b'iwom | sail | b'iwom° | to raise wind by fanning ?
C, Shiuian 12, comm.,
j.23.10a (983) |
| 19. 旁 | 。b'wáng | side | b'wáng° | to be or go beside
C, Ai 27, comm.,
j.60.13b (1209) |
| 20. 名 | 。miāng | name | 命 miāng° | to name
C, Hwan 2,
j.5.11a (891)
C, Wen 11,
j.19b.2a (961) |
| 21. 文 | 。mian | marks, literature | mian° | to gloss over
<i>L, Tarnngong,</i>
j.2.2a (659) |
| 22. 左 | °tsá | left (side) | 佐 tsá° | to assist
C, Yün 6, comm.,
j.4.2a (885)
C, Shiang 10,
j.31.7b (1027) |

23. 子 °tsi child, son tsɿ° (1) to treat as a child
(Shyu Moh) *L, Jongyong*,
j.16.8b (829)
tsɿ° (2) to act as a child
L, Yuehjih,
j.11.23a (784)
24. 枕 °tsʰəm pillow tsʰəm° to pillow oneself on
C, Shi 28,
j.16.15a (945)
25. 妻 °ts'iei wife ts'iei° to give as wife
C, Yiin 7,
j.4.4a (886)
26. 先 °sien before, front sien° to put first
C, Pref., j.1.6b (875)
L, Yuhzao,
j.9.11a (753)
27. 首 °sɿu head sɿu° to point head
towards
L, Tarncong,
j.2.7b (664)
28. 衣 °jɛi clothing jɛi° (1) to wear (clothes)
L, Yuehjih, comm.,
j.11.22b (783)
,, (2) to clothe
C, Min 2,
j.11.7a (915)
29. 麾 °χjwɿɛ banner χjwɿɛ° to wave
C, Hwan 5, comm., (alternative *C, Yiin 11*,
j.6.6a (893) reading) j.4.12b (888)
30. 下 °ya below ya° to put down, lower
C, Jau 25, comm.,
j.51.9b (1098)
31. 後 °ɣu behind ɣu° to put afterwards
C, Pref., j.1.6b (875)
L, Yuhzao,
j.9.11a (753)
32. 環 °ɣwan circle, ring ɣwan° (1) to encircle
(Shyu Moh) *C, Shiang 10*,
j.31.6b (1026)
撮 ɣwan° (2) to encircle oneself
with, put on
C, Cherng 2,
j.25.6a (991)

33. 鹽 *jam* salt *jam*^o to salt, pickle
L, Neytzer,
j.8.24b (744)
34. 油 *ieu* oil *ieu*^o to oil, anoint
Tsay Shiang 蔡襄,
Charluh 茶錄
(Song period), 以
珍膏油其面¹
35. 右 *°jiu* right (side) 佑 *jiu*^o to assist
C, Shiang 10,
j.31.6b (1026)
C, Shiang 10,
j.31.7b (1027)
36. 雨 *°jiu* rain *jiu*^o to rain (transitive :
as, 'to rain grain')
C, Yiin 9, Jing,
j.4.8a (886)
37. 王 *°jiwang* king *jiwang*^o to be king; to be
king of
C, Cherng 2,
j.25.8a (992)
38. 耳 *°nzi* ear 聒 *nzi*^o to cut off the ears
Shujing, Kanggaw
(SBBY ed.),
j.14.4a (179)
39. 肉 *nziuk* meat, flesh *nziuk*^o to be fleshy, rich
(chiefly used of
music)
L, Yuehjih,
j.11.14a (778)
L, Yuehjih,
j.11.24a (784)

Group C. Derived form Causative

1. 觀 *kuán* to look at *kuán*^o to show
(see also A.4,
H.3) *C, Jau 5,*
j.43.8a (1101)
L, Yuehling,
j.5.8a (697)
2. 乞 *k'iet* to beg *k'iet*^o to give
Jinnshu 晉書,
Shieh An juann
謝安傳²

¹ In the *Wuchausheanushuo dahuan* 五朝小說大觀, Bk. 336 (Shanghai, 1926).² See Jou Tzuumu, op. cit., p. 65.

3. 近	^o <i>g'ien</i>	to be near <i>L, Chiulii</i> , comm., j.1.10b (645)	<i>g'ien</i> ^o	to approach <i>C, Mwan</i> 2, comm., j.5.9b (891)
4. 沈	^o <i>d'iem</i>	to sink	<i>d'iem</i> ^o	to down, immerse <i>C, Cherng</i> 11, j.5.1b (1001) <i>C, Sniang</i> 18, j.5.3.6b (1040)
5. 買	^o <i>mai</i>	to buy	賣 <i>mai</i> ^o	to sell
6. 借	<i>tsiak</i>	to borrow <i>L, Wangjyh</i> , comm., j.4.10a (687)	<i>tsia</i> ^o	to lend ¹ <i>C, Jang</i> 18, comm., j.5.8b (907)
7. 足	<i>tsiwok</i>	to be sufficient	<i>tsiu</i> ^o	to complete, to form <i>C, Sniang</i> 11, comm., j.5.1.9a (1027) <i>C, Sniang</i> 25, j.5.6.7b (1057) <i>C, Sniang</i> 26, j.5.7.9b (1063)
8. 出	<i>ts'iuēt</i> (see also H.10)	to emerge	<i>ts'ui</i> ^o (alternative)	to put out <i>C, Fref.</i> , j.2.13b (876)
9. 齊	<i>dz'iei</i>	to be level	<i>dz'iei</i> ^o	to put in equal proportions <i>C, Jan</i> 20, j.5.9.7b (1136) <i>L, Chiulii</i> , comm., j.2.27a (657)
10. 藉	<i>dz'iak</i>	to borrow <i>L, Wangjyh</i> , j.4.10a (687)	<i>dz'ia</i> ^o	to lend
11. 識	<i>sik</i>	to know, recognize	幟 <i>si</i> ^o	(1) to show, mark <i>L, Tsnngong</i> , j.5.4a (674) ,, (2) banner <i>C, Sliuan</i> 12, comm., j.5.3.3b (980)
12. 善	<i>zian</i>	to be good	繕 <i>zian</i> ^o	to repair <i>C, Yin</i> 1, j.5.11a (879)
13. 受	^o <i>ziu</i>	to receive	授 <i>ziu</i> ^o	to give
14. 惡	<i>ak</i>	to be evil	<i>uo</i> ^o	to hate

¹ See also Koong Yungdar's 孔穎達 comment on this passage (same reference).

- | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|--|-------------------|--|
| 15. 飲 | ° <i>iam</i> | to drink | <i>iam</i> ° | to give to drink
C, Hwan 16,
j.7.12b (898) |
| 16. 陰 | ° <i>iam</i> | to be dark | 廕, 蔭 <i>iam</i> ° | to give shelter
C, Wen 7,
j.19a.7a (958) |
| 17. 好 | ° <i>au</i> | to be pretty | <i>au</i> ° | to love |
| 18. 享, 饗 | ° <i>iang</i> | to enjoy
<i>L, Chiulii</i> , comm.,
j.1.1b (638) | <i>iang</i> ° | to feast; to present
C, Cherng 12,
j.27.4a (1002)
<i>L, Chiulii</i> ,
j.1.24b (655) |
| 19. 學 | <i>ak</i> | to learn | 敷 <i>au</i> ° | to teach
<i>L, Tarncong</i> ,
j.3.21a (682) |
| 20. 和 | ° <i>ua</i> | to be harmonious | <i>ua</i> ° | to harmonize: to
rime
C, Jau 12,
j.45.17b (1115) |
| 21. 永 | ° <i>iwong</i> | to be long, eternal | 詠 <i>iwong</i> ° | to lengthen (words);
to sing
<i>Shujing, Shuenndean</i>
舜典 (SBBY ed.),
j.3.15b (141) |
| 22. 遠 | ° <i>iwon</i> | to be far, distant | <i>iwon</i> ° | to keep at a distance
C, Min 2, comm.,
j.11.6b (915) |
| 23. 來 | ° <i>ai</i> | to come | 徠, 勸 <i>ai</i> ° | to cause to come;
to encourage
C, Min 1, comm.,
j.11.1b (913) |
| 24. 勞 | ° <i>au</i> | to toil; merit | <i>au</i> ° | to recompense
C, Hwan 5,
j.6.6b (893) |
| 25. 任 | ° <i>iam</i> | to undertake,
sustain | <i>iam</i> ° | (1) to employ
C, Yün 3, comm.,
j.3.3b (881)
<i>L, Tzy-i</i> , comm.,
j.17.12a (839) |
| | | | ,, | (2) job, official position |

Group D. Derived form 'Effective'

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. 禁 | ° <i>iam</i> | to overcome | <i>iam</i> ° | to prohibit |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 2. 過 | <i>kuə</i>
(see also A.3) | to pass | <i>kuə</i> ^o | to exceed, surpass
C, Yin 1,
j.2.10a (879)
<i>L, Tzengtzzy Wenn</i> ,
j.6.5a (710)
<i>L, Dahjuann</i> ,
j.10.10a (773) |
| 3. 渴 | <i>k'ət</i> | to be thirsty | 渴 <i>k'ət</i> ^o | to long for
C, Jau 1,
j.41.10a (1085) |
| 4. 仰 | <i>ngiang</i> | to face upwards | <i>ngiang</i> ^o
(Shyu Moh) | to look up to, hope
for
C, Shiang 19,
j.34.2a (1043) |
| 5. 語 | <i>ngiwo</i> | to speak, to speak of | <i>ngiwo</i> ^o | to tell
C, Yin 1,
j.2.12a (879) |
| 6. 答 | <i>táp</i> | to respond to
(a greeting, etc.) | 對 <i>tuəi</i> ^o | to reply (a person) |
| 7. 聽 | <i>t'ieŋ</i> | to listen to
C, Cherng 5,
j.26.4b (996)
<i>L, Dahjuann</i> ,
j.10.9b (762) | <i>t'ieŋ</i> ^o | to obey
C, Shi 24,
j.15.9b (937) |
| 8. 分 | <i>piuən</i> | to divide | <i>piuən</i> ^o | to distribute, give
relief
C, Shi 1,
j.12.2b (916)
C, Jen 14,
j.47.2a (1122) |
| 9. 奉 | <i>b'iwong</i> | to hold in the two
hands
<i>L, Chindii</i> ,
j.1.5b (641) | <i>b'iwong</i> ^o | to present
C, Shi 33,
j.17.8b (949) |
| 10. 祝 | <i>tsiuk</i> | to pray, prayer master
<i>L, Jihyih</i> , comm.,
j.14.8a (807) | <i>tsiuk</i> ^o | to curse
C, Cherng 17,
j.28.11b (1011) |
| 11. 刺 | <i>ts'iek</i>
(see also A.35) | to stab, prick
C, Shiang 28,
j.38.15a (1068) | <i>ts'ie</i> ^o
,, | (1) to kill
C, Shi 28,
j.16.7b (941)
(2) to attack, satirize
C, Juang 31, <i>Jing</i>
comm., j.10.10b
(912) |

12. 將 °*tsiang* to lead ; to send off *tsiang*° (1) to lead, be in command of
C, Shuan 2,
j.23.2b (980)
,, (2) a general
C, Juang 10, *Jing*,
j.8.12b (903)
13. 取 °*ts'iu* to take 娶 *ts'iu*° to marry (a woman)
L, Chiulii,
j.1.9b (644)
14. 從 °*dz'iwong* to follow *dz'iwong*° to be in attendance
(see also H.11) *L, Chiulii*,
j.1.5b (641)
15. 使 °*si* to use, cause *si*° (1) to send on a mission
L, Chiulii,
j.1.26a (656)
,, (2) ambassador
C, Wen 10,
j.19a.13a (960)
16. 施 °*sie* to put into practice *sie*° to bestow alms
C, Shi 24,
j.15.11b (937) *L, Jihyih*,
j.14.14b (810)
17. 喜 °*χji* to be glad *χji*° to like, enjoy
(Shyu Moh) *Jouyih* 周易, 蹇
hexagram (91)
18. 行 °*γong* to walk, proceed ; *γong*° to patrol
(see also A.63) to put into practice C, Shiang 31, comm.,
j.40.9a (1078)
C, Dinq 5,
j.55.1a (1169)
19. 回 °*γuäi* to return *γuäi*° to go around, go by way of
C, Shiang 18,
j.33.8a (1042)
20. 遺 °*iwi* to lose, abandon, *iwi*° to leave to, give
leave behind C, Wen 6,
L, Jihyih, j.19a.5a (956)
j.14.15b (810)
21. 與 °*iwo* to be with *iwo*° to take part in
C, Pref.,
j.1.10a (876)
C, Yiin 1, *Jing*
comm., j.2.7a(878)

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------|---------------------------------------|--------|--|
| 22. 援 | ◦jɿwɒn | to draw, pull | jɿwɒn° | to help |
| 23. 爲 | ◦jwiɿ | to do, make, be | jwiɿ° | to be for, on behalf of |
| 24. 臨 | ◦liəm | to overlook, be on
the brink of | liəm° | (1) to mourn
C, Shiang 12,
j.31.13a (1029) |
| | | | „ | (2) mourning
chamber
L, Chiuüi,
j.1.15b (650) |
| 25. 令 | ◦liäng | to cause
C, Pref.,
j.1.7a (875) | liäng° | to command
C, Shi 9,
j.13.7a (922) |

Group E. Derived form with restricted meaning

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|--|--------|---|
| 1. 告 | kuok | to tell (superiors)
L, Chiuüi,
j.1.4a (640) | 誥 káu° | to announce (to
inferiors)
L, Lnyunn, j.7.3a,
no note by Luh |
| 2. 輕 | ◦k'äng | to be light (in weight) | k'äng° | to be careless
C, Yiin 9,
j.4.8b (887)
C, Shiang 18,
j.33.7b (1041) |
| 3. 陳 | ◦d'ien | to line up, arrange | d'ien° | (1) to line up in
battle order
C, Juang 11,
j.9.1a (903)
C, Wen 2,
j.18.6b (953) |
| | | | „ | (2) line of battle |
| 4. 少 | ◦siau | to be few | siau° | to be young |
| 5. 憶 | ◦iək | to remember | 意 i° | (1) to think |
| | | | „ | (2) thought, idea |
| 6. 呼 | ◦xuɔ | to call, name | xuɔ° | to cry out
C, Yiin 11,
j.4.12b (888)
L, Chiuüi,
j.1.5b (641) |
| 7. 厭 | ◦iam | to be satisfied, replete
C, Jau 13,
j.46.5a (1119)
C, Min 1,
j.11.1b (913) | iam° | to be oversatisfied,
tired of
C, Jau 13,
j.46.6a (1120)
C, Ding 1, comm.,
j.54.3a (1163) |

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|--|----------------|--|
| 8. 橫 | ° <i>ɣwɔŋ</i> | to be horizontal,
cross-wise
<i>C</i> , Ai 17,
j.60.5b (1203) | <i>ɣwɔŋ</i> ° | to be cross-grained,
hard to deal with
<i>C</i> , Jau 25, comm.,
j.51.4a (1145) |
| 9. 養 | ° <i>ɣaŋ</i> | to bring up, nourish | <i>ɣaŋ</i> ° | to take care of
<i>C</i> , Wen 18,
j.20.7a (968) |
| 10. 引 | ° <i>ɣjɛn</i> | to draw, drag | <i>ɣjɛn</i> ° | (1) to pull coffin
ropes
<i>L</i> , <i>Tzengtzyy Wenn</i> ,
j.6.10a (711) |
| | | | „ | (2) ropes for pulling
hearse
<i>L</i> , <i>Tarngong</i> ,
j.3.1b (673) |
| 11. 歛 | ° <i>ɣjäm</i> | to cover
<i>L</i> , <i>Tarngong</i> ,
j.3.11a (677) | <i>ɣjäm</i> ° | to dress a corpse
<i>C</i> , Yiin1, <i>Jing</i> comm.,
j.2.7b (878) |
| 12. 如 | ° <i>ɳjɛwo</i> | to resemble, be like | <i>ɳjɛwo</i> ° | to be as good as
<i>C</i> , Shi 4,
j.12.8a (918)
<i>C</i> , Ai 11,
j.58.11b (1192) |

Group F. Derived form Passive or Neuter

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|---|-----------------|--|
| 1. 覺 | <i>käk</i> | to be conscious of,
to make clear
<i>C</i> , Wen 4,
j.18.12a (955) | <i>kau</i> ° | to awake
<i>C</i> , Cherng 10,
j.26.15b (1001) |
| 2. 去 | ° <i>k'ɛwo</i> | to get rid of
<i>C</i> , Pref.,
j.1.12a (876) | <i>k'ɛwo</i> ° | to leave
<i>L</i> , <i>Yuhitao</i> , comm.,
j.9.5b (750) |
| 3. 知 | ° <i>tiɛ</i> | to know | 智 <i>tiɛ</i> ° | (1) to be wise
<i>C</i> , Wen 2,
j.18.8a (953) |
| | | | „ | (2) knowledge |
| 4. 張 | ° <i>tɣaŋ</i> | to stretch, draw
(see also A.13) | 脹 <i>tɣaŋ</i> ° | to be stretched,
distended
<i>C</i> , Cherng 10,
j.26.15b (1001) |
| 5. 治 | ° <i>d'i</i> | to govern | <i>d'i</i> ° | (1) to be well-
governed
<i>L</i> , <i>Dahshyue</i> ,
j.19.9b (858) |
| | | | „ | (2) government |

6. 動 ^c*d'ung* to move 慟 *d'ung*^o to be moved emotionally
Laenyau, Shianjinn,
子哭之慟
7. 聞 _c*m̃uan* to hear; to smell *m̃uan*^o (1) to be heard; to be smelt
C, Hwan 6, comm., j.6.10b (894)
C, Wen 15, j.19b.12b (965)
,, (2) reputation
C, Shuan 8, Jwg comm., j.22.4a (976)
8. 射 *dz'iãk* to shoot at
C, Hwan 5, j.6.6b (893)
C, Shuan 10, j.22.7b (977) *dz'ia*^o to practise archery
L, Chiu'ii, j.1.20a (653)
9. 散 ^o*sán* to scatter, release
L, Yuehjih, j.11.22a, no note by Luh *sán*^o (1) to be loose
L, Tzengtzyy Wenn, j.6.9b (711)
,, (2) sinecure
10. 傷 _o*xiang* to wound, injure *xiang*^o to mourn
L, Chiu'ii, j.1.15a (649)
11. 勝 _o*xiang* to overcome
C, Shiang 6, comm., j.30.3b (1020)
C, Jau 12, comm., j.45.20b (1117) *xiang*^o to be victorious
L, Shauyi, j.10.14b (764)
L, Yuehjih, j.11.9b (776)
12. 守 ^o*siu* to guard, maintain *siu*^o to be guarded, careful
(see also A.51, H.14) *C, Jau 27, j.52.10b (1154)*
13. 盛 _o*ziang* to fill
C, Shuan 11, comm., j.22.9a (978) *ziang*^o to be full, abundant
L, Wangjih, comm., j.4.3b (684)
14. 離 _o*lie* to separate
L, Shyuejih, j.11.1b, no note by Luh *lie*^o (1) to leave
L, Tarngong, j.2.10a (665)
,, (2) to be different from
L, Chiu'ii, j.1.2b (639)

Group G. Derived form as Adverb

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---|---|--|
| 1. 更 | <i>kong</i> | to change | <i>kong</i> ^o | again ; even more |
| 2. 並 | <i>b'ien</i> | to place side by side | <i>b'ien</i> ^o | together, even, also |
| 3. 復 | <i>b'iek</i> | to return
<i>L, Yuehjih,</i>
j.11.22a (783) | <i>b'ieu</i> ^o | again
<i>C, Yün 1,</i>
j.2.9b (879) |
| 4. 三 | <i>sám</i> | three | <i>sám</i> ^o
(alternative
reading) | thrice
<i>C, Juang 10,</i>
j.8.13a (903) |
| 5. 有 | <i>°jieu</i> | to have, exist | 又 <i>jieu</i> ^o | moreover, also |

Group H. Derived form used in compounds

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---|---|---|
| 1. 巧 | <i>°k'ao</i> | to be clever,
crafty | 淫巧 <i>iam k'ao</i> ^o | extravagant toys
<i>L, Yuehling,</i>
j.5.8b (697) |
| 2. 遣 | <i>°k'ian</i> | to send | 遣車 <i>k'ian</i> ^o
<i>ts'ia</i> | carriage for carrying
sacrifices to the
grave
<i>L, Tarncong,</i>
j.3.7a (675) |
| | | | 遣奠 <i>k'ian</i> ^o
<i>d'ien</i> ^o | sacrificial food
<i>L, Liuyunn, comm.,</i>
j.7.3a (718) |
| 3. 觀 | <i>kuán</i> | to see, regard
(see also C.1,
A.4) | 觀臺 <i>kuán</i> ^o
<i>d'ái</i> | observation tower
<i>C, Shi 5,</i>
j.12.10a (919) |
| 4. 騎 | <i>g'jie</i> | to ride
(see also A.9) | 騎賊 <i>g'jie</i> ^o
<i>dz'ek</i> | mounted bandits
<i>C, Shiuán 12, comm.,</i>
j.23.3b (980) |
| 5. 迎 | <i>ngiung</i> | to go to meet
<i>L, Yuehling,</i>
j.5.2b, no note
by Luh | 親迎 <i>ts'ien</i>
<i>ngiung</i> ^o | to meet a bride
<i>C, Juang 1,</i>
<i>Jing comm.,</i>
j.8.1b (900)
<i>L, Chiulii, comm.,</i>
j.1.30a (659) |
| 6. 中 | <i>tiung</i> | middle
(see also B.7) | 中分 <i>tiung</i> ^o
<i>piuén</i> | to divide in the
middle
<i>C, Shiang 14, comm.,</i>
j.32.5b (1031) |
| | | | 夜中 <i>ia</i> ^o <i>tiung</i> ^o
(alternative
reading) | in the middle of the
night
<i>C, Juang 7, Jing,</i>
j.8.8a (901) |

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|----|--|--|
| 7. 濯 | <i>d'ak</i> | to wash
C, Shiang 21,
j.34.7a (1045) | 濯濯 | <i>nuán°
d'au°</i> | dirty water left from
washing
<i>L, Sangdahjih,</i>
j.13.6a (798) |
| 8. 執 | <i>tsiap</i>
(see also A.32) | to grasp, catch | 犖獸 | <i>tsi° siu°</i> | hunting-beasts,
fierce beasts
<i>L, Chiulii,</i>
j.1.16a (650) |
| 9. 親 | <i>ts'ien</i> | to love | 親家 | <i>ts'ien° ka</i> | relatives by marriage
(in <i>Goangyunm</i>) |
| 10. 出 | <i>ts'iuēt</i>
(see also C.8) | to emerge | 出日 | <i>ts'wi°
niziet</i>
(alternative
reading) | the rising sun
<i>Shujing, Yaudean</i>
(135) |
| 11. 從 | <i>dz'iwong</i>
(see also D.14) | to follow | 從母 | <i>dz'iwong°
miziu</i> | mother's sisters
<i>L, Tarnong,</i>
j.2.16a (668) |
| | | | 從弟 | <i>dz'iwong°
d'iei</i> | cousins
C, Jau 29,
j.51.9b (1147) |
| 12. 生 | <i>sung</i> | to give birth;
to be born | 雙生 | <i>sang sung°</i>
(alternative
reading) | twins
C, Jau 11, comm.,
j.45.10b (1112) |
| 13. 燒 | <i>siāu</i> | to burn | 燒石 | <i>siāu° siak</i> | cooking-stones
<i>L, Linyun,</i>
j.7.3a (718) |
| 14. 守 | <i>siu</i>
(see also A.51,
F.12) | to guard, maintain | 守臣 | <i>siu°
zien</i> | officer-in-charge
C, Juang 14, comm.,
j.9.5a (905) |
| | | | 守心 | <i>siu°
siam</i> | sense of tradition
C, Shiuan 12, comm.,
j.23.13a (985) |
| | | | 守犬 | <i>siu°
k'ioen</i> | watch-dog
<i>L, Shawyi,</i>
j.10.17b (766) |
| 15. 畜 | <i>xiuk</i>
(see also A.57) | to raise (animals) | 畜牧 | <i>xiu° mau°</i>
(alternative
reading) | herding
C, Jau 9, comm.,
j.45.3b (1110) |
| 牧 | <i>muk</i> | to herd ¹ | | | |

¹ *Grammata Serica* gives *mjuk* for this character, following the *Chiehynun*. Luh Derming in the above reference says it is pronounced like 目, which seems to agree with the *Chiehynun*. However, elsewhere (e.g. *L, Wanggyh*, j.4.3b (684)) he says it is pronounced like 木 *muk*. This would agree better with the derived word.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN YANG JU 楊朱 AND CHYNTZYY 禽子

By A. C. GRAHAM

YANG JU is one of the Chinese philosophers of whom we know least. In the fourth century B.C. his doctrines and those of Mohtzyy 墨子 were the two most successful rivals of Confucianism.¹ In the literature of the next century his school is rarely mentioned, perhaps because it had been absorbed into Taoism.² The most familiar summary of his teaching is that of Mencius: 楊子取爲我,拔一毛而利天下不爲也。墨子兼愛,摩頂放踵利天下爲之。

'Yangtzyy was in favour of "every man for himself"; if he could have benefited the Empire by pulling out one hair he would not have done it. Mohtzyy loved without discrimination; if he could have benefited the Empire by wearing himself smooth from the crown to the heels he would have done it'.³

How literally are we to take this accusation? Did Yang Ju actually profess a purely amoral egoism, or is this simply the gibe of a Confucian for whom the cultivation of personal life and refusal to take office are mere selfishness? The answers which scholars have given to this question depend on their attitude to the following passage from the *Yang Ju* chapter of the *Liehtzyy* 列子: 楊朱曰,「伯成子高不以一毫利物,舍國而隱耕。大禹不以一身自利,一體偏枯。古之人,損一毫利天下,不與也。悉天下奉一身,不取也。人人不損一毫,人人不利天下,天下治矣」。

禽子問楊朱曰,「去子體之一毛,以濟一世,汝爲之乎」楊子曰,「世固非一毛之所濟」。禽子曰,「假濟,爲之乎」。楊子弗應。

禽子出,語孟孫陽。孟孫陽曰,「子不達夫子之心。吾請言之。有侵若肌膚獲萬金者,若爲之乎」。曰,「爲之」。孟孫陽曰,「有斷若一節得一國,子爲之乎」。禽子默然有閒。孟孫陽曰,「一毛微於肌膚,肌膚微於一節,省矣。然則積一毛以成肌膚,積肌膚以成一節。一毛固一體萬分中之一物,奈何輕之乎」。

禽子曰,「吾不能所以荅子。然則以子之言問老聃關尹,則子言當矣。以吾言問大禹墨翟,則吾言當矣」。孟孫陽因顧與其徒說他事。

¹ *Mencius* (Legge), 3B/9, 7B/26.

² cf. Ferng Yeoulan 馮友蘭, *Jonggwuo jershyue shyy* 中國哲學史, 8th ed., Commercial Press, 1947, 1/173.

³ *Mencius* (Legge), 7A/26.

'Yang Ju said: "Borcherng Tzyygau would not benefit others at the cost of one hair; he renounced his state and retired to plough the fields. The Great Yeu would not reserve any part of himself for his own benefit; he (worked to drain the Flood) until one side of his body was paralysed. A man of ancient times, if he could have benefited the Empire by the loss of one hair, would not have given it; and if everything in the Empire had been presented to him alone, would not have accepted it. When no one would lose one hair, and no one would benefit the Empire, the Empire was in good order".

Chyntzyy asked Yang Ju: "If you could help the whole world by sacrificing one hair of your body, would you do it?"

Yangtzyy answered: "Of course the world is too big to be helped by one hair".

Chyntzyy said: "But supposing it did help, would you do it?"

Yangtzyy did not answer him.

Chyntzyy went out and told Menq Suenyang. Menq Suenyang said:

"You do not understand what is in the Master's mind. Let me explain. If you could win ten thousand pieces of gold by injuring your skin and flesh, would you do it?"

"I would."

"If you could gain a kingdom by cutting off one limb at the joint, would you do it?"

Chyntzyy was silent for a while. Menq Suenyang said:

"It is clear that one hair is a trifle compared with skin and flesh, and skin and flesh are trifles compared with one joint. However, enough hairs are worth as much as skin and flesh, enough skin and flesh is worth as much as one joint. One hair is certainly one item among the myriad parts of the body; how can one treat it lightly?"

Chyntzyy said: "I am not able to answer you. I can only say that if one were to ask Lao Dan and Guanyiin about your opinion they would agree with you, and if one were to ask the Great Yeu and Moh Dyi about mine, they would agree with me".

Menq Suenyang thereupon turned to his disciples and changed the subject.¹

The *Yang Ju* chapter of the *Liehtzyy* puts a hedonist philosophy in the mouths of spokesmen who are unlikely to have been hedonists in fact . . . Goan Jonq 管仲 and Yanntzyy 晏子 as well as Yang Ju himself. Modern Chinese scholars are almost unanimous in relegating it, with the rest of the book, to the third or fourth century A.D., although several Western sinologists

¹ *Liehtzyy*, 7/4B, 5A. (Unless otherwise stated, all references to texts are to the editions in the *Syhbuh tsongkan* 四部叢刊.) The two occurrences of 然則 (normally 'if so, then . . .') present difficulty. Yang Borjiunn 楊伯峻 takes them as equivalent to 然而 'however' (*Liehtzyy jyishyh* 死子集釋, Shanghai, 1958, 146).

put the whole of the *Liehtzyy* back to the third century B.C.¹ Ferng Yeoulun² and the authors of the recent *Jonggwō sysheang tongshyy* 中國思想通史³ consequently ignore the evidence of this passage. But there are also scholars⁴ who suspect that the dialogue with Chyntzyy is older than the main part of the chapter, and who infer from it that Yang Ju did formulate his egoism in the way that Mencius presents it.

Whatever the date of the *Liehtzyy* in its present form, it is a heterogeneous collection containing much material also found in extant pre-Hann and early Hann works such as the *Juangtzyy* 莊子 and *Hwainantzyy* 淮南子, and in others now lost. (The fourth-century preface of Jang Jann 張湛 mentions, among books with passages in common with it, the *Shenntzyy* 慎子 and the *Shytzyy* 尸子, both now known only by quotations.⁵) The hedonism of the *Yang Ju* chapter itself differs so radically from the Taoism of the rest of the book that it must come from a separate hand, although it is not necessarily much earlier than the final editing of the *Liehtzyy*. Further, it contains several passages which conflict with its predominant hedonism and must come from other sources.⁶ The dialogue with Chyntzyy is certainly one of these. The egoism advocated here is that, not of a voluptuary, but of a recluse. Borcherng Tzyygau is commended for 'renouncing his state and retiring to plough the fields', and Yang Ju's doctrine is expressly identified with that of Laotzyy.

Further, while this passage shows no trace of hedonism, neither is there any trace of its philosophical egoism in the rest of the chapter. It is true that the hedonist author rebels violently against all moral restraints which interfere with the enjoyment of life; he even prefers the tyrants Jye 桀 and Jow 紂, who had the sense to use the resources of the state for their own pleasure, to

¹ of. Yang Borjiunn, ut sup., 185-245. Jang Shinocherng 張心激, *Weyshu tongkao* 偽書通考, Commercial Press, 1957 edition, 818-33. Defenders of the pre-Hann origin of the *Liehtzyy* include H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, Paris, 1927, 491 f.; Arthur Waley, *Three ways of thought in ancient China*, London, 1939, 257-9; B. Karlgren, *Poetical parts in Lao-tzu*, Goteborg, 1932, 26. But H. G. Creel (*JAS*, LXXVI, 3, 1956, 151) agrees with the predominant Chinese opinion, which I also share.

² op. cit., 1/168-79.

³ Peking, 1957, 337-60.

⁴ Jiang Jwujuang 蔣竹莊, *Yang Moh jershyue* 楊墨哲學, Commercial Press, 1928, 14; Men Chuiming 門啓明, *Yang Ju pian her Yangtzyy jy bujwaw yangjiou* 楊朱篇和楊子之比較研究 (*Guushyy biann* 古史辨, 4/592-609); Arthur Waley, *The Way and its power*, London, 1934, 34 f.

⁵ *Liehtzyy*, Preface, 1B/4.

⁶ The story of Yang Ju and the King of Liang 梁 (7/5B/11-6A/3) is also found in the *Shuoyuann* 說苑 (7/17B). The section on the 'preservation of self' (存我, 7/6A/8-6B/2) resembles certain chapters of the *Leushyh chuenchiou* which may be connected with Yang Ju (of p. 294 below), although it discusses the relation between self and outside things from a slightly different point of view. The conclusion (7/7A/6-10) was clearly added by an editor to modify the uncompromising rejection of 'reputation' (名) by the hedonist author. (The pairing of quotations from Yuhzyy 鬻子 and Laotzyy, 7/7A/6, is found elsewhere in the *Liehtzyy*, 2/9A/5-9, 6/4A/13f.)

the sages who made themselves miserable trying to improve the world.¹ But although he rejects *li* 禮, 'propriety', and *yi* 義, 'right', which force us to confine and distort our natural inclinations, he does not attack *jen* 仁, 'benevolence', the active principle of benefiting others.² He believes that 'each of us should pity the living and abandon the dead' (生相憐, 死相捐); we should not waste on funerals things which can give pleasure to the living, but 相憐之道, 非唯情也。勸能使逸, 饑能使飽, 寒能使溫, 窮能使達也。

'The way to pity others is not simply to feel for them. When they are toiling we can give them ease, hungry we can feed them, cold we can warm them, in difficulties we can help them to get through'.³

One of the heroes of the *Yang Ju* chapter, Duanmu Shwu 端木叔, gives away the whole of a vast fortune as soon as he is too old to enjoy it, and dies without the money to pay for medicine or his funeral. His beneficiaries then make a collection for his funeral and the support of his family.⁴ The hedonist author is very far from refusing to give a hair to benefit others; for him the supreme value is the utmost enjoyment of 'the prime of life' (當年),⁵ and it is better to die miserably than to hold on to things which can still give pleasure to those young enough to use them.

Is it possible that the dialogue with Chyntzyy comes from the original school of Yang Ju? Before answering this question, we must consider what other evidence we have as to the manner in which Yang Ju himself (not hostile witnesses such as Mencius) formulated his doctrine. Outside Mencius there are only two other early references to his egoism:

陽生貴己

'Yang Sheng valued self'⁶

全性保真, 不以物累形, 楊子之所立也而孟子非之

'Keeping one's nature intact, preserving one's genuineness, not letting one's body be burdened with outside things, these were the doctrines of Yangtzyy, but Mencius denied them'.⁷

As Ferng Yeoulan has pointed out, the phrases 'valuing self', 'keeping one's nature (or 'life'⁸) intact', and 'not letting one's body be burdened with outside things', strongly suggest the doctrines of certain sections in the first two chapters of the *Leushyh chuenchiou* 呂氏春秋, 'Taking life as fundamental' (本生), 'Giving weight to self' (重己), 'Valuing life' (貴生), and 'Passions and desires' (情欲). Their basic principle is that the preservation

¹ *Liehtzyy*, 7/5A/5-5B/11.

² ut sup., 7/3A/12, 14, 3B/3, 5B/7.

³ ut sup., 7/2A/11-14.

⁴ ut sup., 7/3B/13-4A/13.

⁵ ut sup., 7/1B/9, 3B/5.

⁶ *Leushyh chuenchiou*, 17/18B/2. The late Hann commentator Gau Yeou 高誘 identifies Yang Sheng with Yang Ju. The Yang Tzyyjiu 陽子居 of *Juangtzyy*, 7/28A/7, 9/17A/5 appears in *Liehtzyy*, 2/8B/1, 9 as Yang Ju.

⁷ *Huainantzzy*, 13/7A/12-7B/1.

⁸ The phrase is often written 全生, cf. *Leushyh chuenchiou*, 1/4A/9, 2/5A/5, 7f. (of. 1/5A/8); *Goantzzy* 管子, 21/2B/5-8.

of life and self is more important than the possession of outside things. We are advised to ensure that we keep our health and live out our natural span, by indulging the senses only in moderation, and by refusing to risk life, which is irreplaceable, for the sake of outside things, which are not.

There is a passage in *Harn Fei tzyy* 韓非子 referring to this type of doctrine: 今有人於此,義不入危城,不處軍旅,不以天下大利易其脛一毛。世主必從而禮之,貴其智而高其行,以爲輕物重生之士也。

夫上所以陳良田大澤,設爵祿,所以易民死命也。今上尊貴輕物重生之士而索民之出死而重殉上事,不可得也。

'Now take the case of a man who considers it his duty not to enter a threatened city or serve in the army, who would not exchange one hair of his shank for a benefit as great as the Empire itself. The rulers of the age will certainly in consequence pay him courtesy, honour his wisdom and exalt his conduct, and consider him a man who treats outside things as less important than life.

The reason why a prince offers good lands and great mansions and provides high rank and salary is because in exchange for them men will fight to the death for him. Now if a prince honours men who treat outside things as less important than life, he cannot expect people to go out and die for him, and think it important to give their lives in the service of their prince.'¹

Here it is clear that 以天下大利 means 'for a benefit as great as (ruling) the Empire', or perhaps 'for the greatest benefit in the Empire', certainly not 'for a great benefit to the Empire'. Guh Jyegang 顧頡剛² notes the connexion with the passage from *Mencius* quoted at the beginning of this essay, and concludes that the latter should be understood in a similar way: 'If he could have enjoyed the benefit of ruling the Empire by pulling out one hair, he would not have done it'. But this is scarcely an acceptable interpretation of the sentence even in isolation, and, as Ferng Yeoulun³ notices, the parallelism with the next sentence puts it completely out of the question. Ferng Yeoulun modifies Guh Jyegang's proposal in a way which makes it quite acceptable; the *Harn Fei tzyy* reports what the school of Yang Ju actually maintained, *Mencius* gives a Confucian interpretation of it.

It is quite easy to see how this could happen. The section 'Valuing life' in the *Leushyh chuenchiou* contains several stories (also found in the chapter 'Abdicating the throne' 讓王 in the *Juangtzyy*) of men who refuse the Empire, a kingdom, or a rich present because in the circumstances they expect harm rather than benefit from it. The first of these may be taken to illustrate the

¹ *Harn Fei tzyy*, 19/8B/4-8, accepting variant 宅 for 澤 (*Harn Fei tzyy jyushyh* 韓非子集釋, edited Chern Chyiyou 陳奇猷, Peking, 1958, 1091).

² *Tsornj Leushyh chuenchiou tuesteh Laotzyy jy cherngshu nianday* 從呂氏春秋推測老子之成書年代 (*Guushy biann*, 4/493f.).

³ *op. cit.*, 1/170.

principle of 'not exchanging a hair of one's shank for a benefit as great as the Empire': 堯以天下讓於子州支¹父。子州支父對曰,「以我爲天子猶可也。雖然,我適有幽憂之病,方將治之。未暇在天下也」。天下重物也,而不以害其生,又況於他物乎。惟不以天下害其生者也,可以託天下。

'Yau abdicated the Empire to Tzyyjou Jyfuh. Tzyyjou Jyfuh answered:

"There is no reason why you should not make me Emperor. However, just now I have a serious ailment. I am just going to get it treated, and have no time to concern myself with the Empire".

The Empire is an important thing, but he would not harm his life for the sake of it, still less for other things! Only one who will not harm his life for the sake of the Empire deserves to be entrusted with the Empire.'²

Tzyyjou Jyfuh does not, like the heroes of many Taoist stories, refuse on principle to accept a throne; he is simply afraid to risk his health. From the point of view of the school of Yang Ju, he shows his regard for the value of life and his refusal to 'burden himself with outside things'. But a Confucian considers it his duty to accept office or a throne, not for his own benefit, but to benefit the world. If, then, Yang Ju would refuse to accept a throne at the cost of one hair, he will not suffer the least injury to his person even to benefit the world. Mencius is not guilty of deliberately misrepresenting the doctrine of Yang Ju; from his own point of view, he is merely showing it in its true light.

It is likely, therefore, that the dialogue with Chyntzyy comes from a hostile source which takes an attitude like that of Mencius to the teaching of Yang Ju. There are several points which suggest that the story comes from the school of Mohtzyy. Chyntzyy is Chyn Guuli 禽骨蓋,³ the chief disciple of Mohtzyy, and he expressly mentions 'the Great Yeu and Moh Dyi' as his masters. It is noticeable that, although he fails to refute Menq Suenyang's argument, he is given the last word in both of the conversations. (In the first 'Yang Ju did not answer him', in the second 'Menq Suenyang thereupon turned to his disciples and changed the subject'.) Further, it is significant that he should be called Chyntzyy; the habit of calling him by his surname with the postfix *tzyy* given to philosophers seems to have been confined to the Mohists.⁴ Yang Ju,

¹ Emending after *Juangtzyy*, 9/18A/5.

² *Leushyh chuenchiou*, 2/3B/5-10.

³ The first syllable of the personal name is also written 滑, 屈, and its reading is uncertain. Cf. Suen Yiranq 孫詒讓, *Mohtzyy shyanguu* 墨子閒詁 (Basic Sinological Series 國學基本叢書), 306.

⁴ Among the pre-Hann and Hann texts indexed by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Centre d'Études Sinologiques de Pekin, he is called Chyn Guuli in the *Juangtzyy*, *Leushyh chuenchiou*, *Shuoyuann*, *Shyyjih* 史記, and *Hannshu* 漢書, Chyntzyy in the *Mohtzyy* alone. In one chapter found, with variations, in both the *Mohtzyy* and the *Leushyh chuenchiou*, he is called Chyntzyy in the former (1/7A/2), and Chyn Guuli in the latter (2/10B/8f.). In the *Liehtzyy* itself, he is always called Chyn Guuli in other parts of the book (5/7B/9), including the *Yang Ju* chapter (7/4A/10f.).

on the other hand (although twice similarly called Yangtzyy), is twice called by his surname and personal name, and the first conversation begins: 'Chyntzyy asked Yang Ju'. Again, Yang Ju's introductory statement presents his doctrine in relation to the Great Yeu, the patron sage of the Mohists. To represent his own point of view, Yang Ju chooses Borcherng Tzyygau, who protested against Yeu's introduction of government by rewards and punishments, and resigned the fief he had held under Yau and Shuenn.¹

Although the schools of Mohtzyy and Yang Ju stand at opposite poles, they have one thing in common; both value conduct, not by traditional standards, but by the 'benefit' (利 *lih*) resulting from the action—in one case the benefit to humanity, in the other to oneself. The antipathy to the word *lih* expressed in the opening passage of the *Mencius* is linked with Mencius' opposition to both the schools, which agreed in subjecting the values of the ancients to a utilitarian test. Arguments about the balancing of relative advantages, very characteristic of the Mohists, were also used by the philosophers who 'valued life'; thus we read that a certain Tzyy Hwatzzyy 子華子, having convinced the Marquis of Harn 韓 that he would not sacrifice one of his arms to win the Empire, persuaded him not to 'injure his life' (傷生) for the sake of winning territory from Wey 魏.² The fondness of both for this type of dispute explains the fact, at first sight surprising, that the *Juangtzyy* mentions the disputes (辯) of 'Yang and Moh' almost as though they were one school.³ Nevertheless, the form of the dialogue with Chyntzyy suggests that it was reported by a Mohist; for in phrasing as well as thought it is very close to a saying in the *Mohtzyy*, which itself seems to be directed against some defender of egoism: 子墨子曰, 萬事莫貴於義。今謂人曰, 「予子冠履而斷子之手足, 子爲之乎」, 必不爲。何故。則冠履不若手足之貴也。又曰, 「予子天下而殺子之身, 子爲之乎」, 必不爲。何故。則天下不若身之貴也。爭一言以相殺, 是貴義於其身也。故曰, 萬事莫貴於義也。

'Tzyy Mohtzyy said: Nothing whatever is more valuable than right. Now should I say to someone: "If I give you a cap and shoes on condition that you cut off your hands and feet, will you do it?", certainly he will not do it. Why? Because cap and shoes are not as valuable as hands and feet. Again, should I say, "If I give you the Empire on condition that you let me take your life, will you do it?", certainly he will not do it. Why? Because the Empire is not as valuable as one's life. That men kill each other contending over a single word shows that they value right [i.e. the duty of defending their honour] more than their lives. Hence I say: Nothing whatever is more valuable than right.'⁴

¹ *Juangtzyy*, 5/7B/4-8A/4.

² *Juangtzyy*, 9/20B/7-21B/2, *Leushyh chuenchiou*, 21/7A/3-7B/2.

³ *Juangtzyy*, 4/3B/4-6, cf. 4/22B/5-23A/3; 5/21A/1; 8/28A/5, 29A/2.

⁴ *Mohtzyy*, 12/1A.

If the dialogue with Chyntzyy comes directly or indirectly¹ from a Mohist source, it must be earlier than the final victory of Confucianism and Taoism over the 'Hundred Schools' during the Former Han dynasty. Whether or not the particular meeting described is a historical fact, we may assume that real controversies between the rival schools are reflected in it. The main body of the dialogue seems to represent the views of both sides without distortion, although the introductory summary of Yang Ju's teaching is obscured by a Mohist bias. In the dialogue proper, the conversation with Menq Suenyang seems illogical at first sight. Menq Suenyang gets Chyntzyy to admit that he would not cut off a limb to gain a kingdom, and then argues that the reasons for refusing a limb apply also to a single hair. The conclusion is surely that he should not sacrifice even a hair to win a kingdom, and this is what all we know of Yang Ju's teaching would lead us to expect. Yet Chyntzyy is attacking the claim that one should not sacrifice a hair to *help* the world. Why, then, is Chyntzyy so impressed by this answer? May he not object that, although he would not cut off a limb to gain a kingdom, he would do so to help the world?

This difficulty vanishes when we notice that, in the dialogue proper, Yang Ju and Menq Suenyang do in fact imply only that one should not accept a kingdom at the cost of a single hair. When Chyntzyy asks 'If you could help the whole world by sacrificing one hair of your body, would you do it?', he is objecting that Yang Ju's position is selfish, since possession of a kingdom is not only a benefit to oneself which one has the right to renounce, but also a means of benefiting others by good government. To take office is a duty, to refuse a public career is a proof, not of high-mindedness, but of indifference to the good of society—the fundamental objection of the Mohists and of Mencius to Yang Ju, and of later Confucians to Taoists and Buddhists. Yang Ju is embarrassed by this accusation. Menq Suenyang, however, regains the offensive, showing that Chyntzyy himself would not accept a kingdom at the cost of losing a limb. Chyntzyy is reduced to silence; for if he would refuse a kingdom rather than mutilate his own body, he would also renounce the opportunity of benefiting its people.

To introduce the dialogue, the Mohist author presents a garbled version of Yang Ju's doctrine. In this the essential principle is once stated without distortion: 'A man of ancient times, . . . if everything in the Empire had been presented to him alone, would not have accepted it'. But except in this case, it is replaced by the principle which the Mohists, like Mencius, considered its necessary corollary, with the result that at least two sentences seem pointless:

'Borcherng Tzyygau *would not benefit others* at the cost of one hair; he

¹ It is perhaps worth noticing that the lost *Shytzyy*, which had passages in common with the *Liehtzyy* (cf. p. 293 above) and was perhaps one of its sources, contained a large Mohist element. The surviving quotations include the story of Mohtzyy and Gongahu Ban 公輸般, a list of philosophers in which Mohtzyy comes first and Confucius second, a reference to Yeu rejecting prolonged mourning, and a couple of references to 'universal love' 兼愛 (*Shytzyy*, *Sykhuh beyyau* 四部備要, A, 14B-15B; A, 14B/3; B, 2B/8-10; A, 12B/1, 16A/8).

renounced his state and retired to plough the fields. . . . When no one would lose a hair, and no one *would benefit the Empire*, the Empire was in good order'.

These sentences make much better sense if we rephrase the statements about losing one hair in the form in which, judging by the passage quoted above from the *Han Fei tzyy*, Yang Ju would be more likely to make them :

'Borcherng Tzyygan *would not accept any external benefit* at the cost of one hair ; he renounced his state and retired to plough the fields. . . . When no one would lose a hair, and no one *would accept a benefit as great as the Empire*, the Empire was in good order'.

It is hardly necessary to emend the text in support of this interpretation ; the Mohist author may well be reporting the doctrine of Yang Ju in his own words rather than misquoting a written text.

The dialogue with Chyntzyy is thus a document of some importance, the longest of the few direct accounts of Yang Ju's teaching, and the only record of a dispute between his school and that of Mohtzyy. It also adds to the little evidence we have about the date of Yang Ju.¹ But it does not, as those who appeal to it generally suppose, confirm the summary of his doctrine given by Mencius. For Yang Ju, one's life, self, body, is always more important than the possession of outside things. One should never sacrifice any part of oneself, even a hair, for the sake of any external possession, even the Empire. He does not deny that one should help others, and sacrifice possessions to do so ; 'not pulling out one hair' is (even for Confucians, who are required to keep intact the body received from their parents) quite a different thing from the English 'not lifting a finger'. But he does imply that one should not contribute to the good government of the Empire at the cost of the least injury or risk to one's person ; and for Confucians and Mohists, this is the essence of egoism.

¹ If the hedonist author wrote this dialogue, it is almost worthless as evidence that Yang Ju was the contemporary of a disciple of Mohtzyy ; for elsewhere (7/2A/14) he presents a dialogue between Goan Jonq (died 645 B.C.) and Yanntzyy (died 493 B.C.). He can hardly have failed to know that these two were not contemporaries ; his stories, like others in the *Juangtzyy* and *Lichtzyy*, are evidently offered frankly as parables and not as history. But if the dialogue with Chyntzyy comes from an older source, it may be taken as confirming the evidence of a statement in the *Huainantzyy* (13/7AB, partly quoted p. 294 above) that Yang Ju criticized Mohtzyy and was in turn criticized by Mencius. The King of Liang with whom Yang Ju is said to have conversed (*Shuoyuann*, 7/17B, *Lichtzyy*, 7/5B) was not necessarily the King Huey 惠 (370-319 B.C.) visited by Mencius (*Mencius*, 1A/1), who was the first ruler of Liang with the title of King ; the title was sometimes given retrospectively to earlier rulers of a state (Maa Shiuhluen 馬敘倫, *Laotzyy jiaoguo* 老子校詁, Peking, 1956 edition, 13).

THE HP'AGS-PA ALPHABET

By GERARD CLAUSON

THE first publication of an inscription in the hP'ags-pa alphabet by a European scholar was made about 120 years ago by H. C. von der Gabelentz in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Halle), II, 1, 1839. Books and articles relating to the subject have been appearing intermittently ever since, but finality has not yet been reached on the exact shape and phonetic value of some letters in the alphabet. With the recent appearance of two publications of capital importance in this field the stage has been set for an attempt to establish finally the exact shape of each letter in its earliest and most correct form, and its exact phonetic value, in so far as it is possible in the twentieth century to fix anything as intangible and evanescent as a sound current in the thirteenth century.

So far as the shapes of the letters are concerned, the material available is sufficient to reach absolute certainty regarding all the letters except perhaps one, and so incidentally to correct one or two errors of transcription in even the latest publications.

So far as their phonetic values are concerned, it seems to me possible to fix the phonetic values of all the letters used in Mongolian texts, and those of the consonants used in the Chinese texts. So far as the vocalization of the Chinese texts is concerned, however, I cannot do more than set out the whole of the evidence which is available, leaving it to others more competent than myself in this field to interpret it.

The first of the two publications just referred to is Professor N. Poppe's book *The Mongolian monuments in hP'ags-pa script* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 8; Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1957). It is a comprehensive edition of almost all the Mongolian texts in this alphabet which have survived, with facsimiles, transcriptions, translations, and a copious introduction, commentary, and list of words. In my frequent references to it I shall quote it as P, followed by a page number, and the texts in it by a roman number for the text, followed by an Arabic number for the line. In the hope that Professor Poppe will ultimately complete this *magnum opus* with a supplement containing copies of the texts not yet included I attach an Appendix to this paper making a few suggestions for amendments in the present volume.

The second publication is Professor L. Ligeti's paper 'Le *Po kia sing* en écriture 'phags-pa' (*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, Vol. VI, 1956, pp. 1-52). It is an edition, with a facsimile, commentary, and indexes, of a hP'ags-pa transcription, character by character, of the well-known list of Chinese family names. I shall quote it as 'Ligeti, op. cit.', followed by a page number; the individual hP'ags-pa transcriptions I shall quote as L, followed by the number given in the paper; and the original text as a whole I shall refer to as *PKS*.

Besides these two publications I have also studied the MS in the British

Museum (Or. 6972) of the *Mêng-ku tzü-yün*, dated A.D. 1308, which I shall refer to as *MKTY*. This MS, which has now lain in the British Museum for nearly 50 years, contains evidence of major importance not only regarding the hP'ags-pa alphabet but also regarding the history of Chinese phonetics. It is a matter of urgency that it should be published in full, or at any rate in summary form, and it is good news that Professor Ligeti (op. cit., p. 37) is now proposing to devote his attention to it.

Many of the problems discussed in this paper have been discussed already by distinguished scholars now deceased like Pozdneev, Dragunow, Pelliot, and Lewicki, and by others still happily with us like Poppe and Ligeti. The fact that I do not quote their views on various points at length does not mean that I have not read their works, or lack respect for their achievements; it merely means that I think that there is advantage in approaching the whole subject *de novo*, on the basis of all the surviving texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Mongolian and Chinese alike, and attempting to solve the problems which arise by a process of logical deduction from these documents.

The history of the invention of the hP'ags-pa alphabet and its adoption as the official alphabet of the Yüan dynasty is well known. It is set out summarily in P, pp. 3-7. It may be apocryphal on some points of detail, but fundamentally it rings true. It is easy to imagine that Qubilay, the first Mongol ruler with any serious claim to literacy, must have suffered daily from a double feeling of frustration when he ascended the throne. On the one hand the Mongolian official correspondence of his empire was conducted in the old Mongolian Official Alphabet adopted by Chinggis in about A.D. 1204. This was simply a late form of the old Uyğur alphabet, which by that time contained no more than 14 letters, most of them polyphonic and several easy to confuse with one another, especially in the middle and at the end of a word. Incomprehensible and ambiguous words, and misreadings of them, in documents in this alphabet must always have been, and indeed still are, frequent.¹ On the other hand his Chinese official business was carried on in Chinese, a language which his Mongol kinsmen and principal officers might perhaps speak, but could certainly not read. Thus, whichever way he looked at it, what he wanted urgently was a good 'one letter, one sound; one sound, one letter' alphabet, easy to read and suitable for writing both the official languages of his empire. In hP'ags-pa Lama, to give him his usual short title (I shall refer to him in future as 'hPL' and to the alphabet which he invented as 'hP'), a Tibetan monk with a good Buddhist education, with all that that implies in the way of a solid grounding in the niceties of Indian phonetics, and an adequate acquaintance with Chinese culture, he had a man well equipped to give him exactly what he wanted.

¹ A re-examination of this alphabet, with the particular purpose of establishing the phonetic value of the letters at the time when it was adopted for Mongolian is much overdue. I hope to produce a paper on this subject shortly.

Someone, at some time during the Yüan period (A.D. 1280-1368), probably towards the end of it, wrote a brief monograph in Chinese, which I shall refer to in future as 'the monograph', on the origin and nature of this alphabet. It has come down to us in several forms, unhappily all more or less garbled. It is not a very competent document, particularly as regards phonetics, but it is our only authority for the number and order of the letters of the alphabet, and throws some light on the problem of the 'A letters' discussed below. The stemma of transmission of this monograph would be an interesting subject for a piece of literary detective work, but the important thing is to reconstruct its original form. One chain of transmission ends with the section in the *Fa-shu k'ao* reproduced in P, pp. 10-11. An intermediate stage in another chain of transmission was the section in the *Shu-shih hui-yao*, written in A.D. 1376, reproduced in P, pp. 12-13. The section in the latter work was later copied into the *Yüan-shih lei-pien*, also called the *Hsiu-hung chien-lu*, which was the authority used by G. Pauthier in his paper 'Observations sur l'alphabet de P'a-sse-pa, et sur la tentative faite par Khoubilai Khan au XIII^e siècle de notre ère, pour transcrire la langue figurative des chinois au moyen d'une écriture alphabétique', *Journal Asiatique*, v^e Sér., XIX, 1862, pp. 1-47. Better versions of the texts reproduced in P seem to exist in the British Museum and the School of Oriental and African Studies, but even in the best of them imperfections occur, more particularly in the forms of the various letters, which have suffered a progressive deterioration at the hands of successive copyists. A reproduction of the equivalent page in the School's manuscript of the *Shu-shih hui-yao* is attached on p. 321. It will be noticed that in this manuscript the table of letters and transcriptions is complete. Later at some point in this chain of transmission the corner of the page bearing the Chinese phonetic representation of letters No. 6, 12, and 18 was torn off, and these are lacking in the copy reproduced in P, pp. 12-13. On the other hand at some point in the *Fa-shu k'ao* chain the whole document, and especially the final paragraph, was much abbreviated. However, by comparing the various versions, an archetype can be reconstructed which can be translated as follows, passages omitted in the *Fa-shu k'ao* chain being enclosed in (round brackets) and words necessary to complete the sense in [square brackets]¹:

'(Our) Imperial Yüan established its foundations in the North Country, and its [people's] customs were still primitive. They carved wood into tallies, just as [the ancient Chinese] tied knots. Later they made some use of the alphabet of Pei-t'ing [Béç balık, the capital of the later Uyğur dynasty] and wrote on sheep-skin, just as [the ancient Chinese wrote] on bamboo strips. (Now Heaven was about to revolve the ages [i.e. set up a new dynasty] and

¹ This translation is based on those given in P, p. 14, and has been checked by Professor W. Simon. I take this unduly unobtrusive opportunity to express to him my sincere gratitude for his help in this and many other matters, and in particular for introducing me to the *MKT Y*.

restore the [good] old times.) Then they possessed all China, (but did not yet have leisure to create [an alphabet].) Then [the Emperor] commanded (the National Preceptor) P'a-ssu-pa to take the Fan¹ writing as a model and create a national alphabet, (which was no mean contribution.) The letters are 41² in all.

Table

The 41 principal letters of the alphabet (see below), each accompanied by a Chinese transcription.

The [initials of the] Chinese characters appended [to the individual letters] are to be pronounced with a final -a [irrespective of their actual finals]. For transcribing Chinese omit three letters, Nos. 25, 35, and [30 or 38, see below], and add four letters, Nos. 37A, 27A, 29A, and 24A. The spelling is mostly based on Fan rules. (Sometimes one [hP] letter alone constitutes a [Chinese] word. Sometimes two or three [hP] letters joined together constitute a [Chinese] word. For example *t'en t'ien* ('heaven'), *di ti* ('earth'), *šin jên* ('man'), *duŋ tung* ('east'), *hi hsi* ('west'), *nam nan* ('south'), *bué pei* ('north'). Note that one and the same [hP] scription represents a Chinese word in the level, rising, or falling tone. They do not [differentiate] the entering tone [i.e. they do indicate any final sounds for words in the entering tone]. After all if the entering tone is pronounced lightly it is identical with the level tone.) All edicts, decrees, and memorials are written in this alphabet.'

At first sight the statement that the four 'A letters' are added to the alphabet for transcribing Chinese contradicts the theory that the alphabet was originally devised, *inter alia*, for this purpose, but there is, I suggest, a simple explanation of this apparent contradiction. When hPL received his orders, he set about constructing a 'one letter, one sound; one sound, one letter' alphabet based on the Tibetan alphabet with such additional letters as seemed to him, as a phonetician with an Indian background, to be required to represent sounds which he heard in Mongolian and Chinese, but which were different from the sounds represented by the Tibetan letters. As a first approximation, therefore, he added no more than five letters, Nos. 35-39, to the Tibetan original. But later when some person or persons, probably the members of the special academy set up in A.D. 1275 (see P, p. 6), went more deeply into the problem of the scientific transcription of written Chinese, it was found that the phonetic dictionaries currently in use³ distinguished between certain shades of sound for which separate letters did not exist in

¹ Fan is by origin the Chinese transcription of Brahma; it meant rather vaguely India or Indian religion; it would not be positively wrong to translate it here as 'Tibetan', but it would be unduly precise.

² This is the reading of the best texts and is the correct figure.

³ Professor Ligeti (op. cit., p. 37, footnote) has pointed out that the *MKTY* is in effect a transcription of the *Ku chin yun-hui*, which is a work of this kind.

the basic alphabet. Accordingly 'A forms' of four letters were devised, so that a similar distinction could be made in the *hP* transcriptions. It is for the experts in the history of Chinese phonetics to determine whether these distinctions represent real phonetic distinctions in thirteenth century Chinese, or whether the 'A forms' were devised merely to create an appearance of symmetry with the Chinese system; but, to anticipate the discussion later in this paper, it is hard to believe that there really were two *y* sounds at this period, even if the possibility of the existence of two *ŕ*'s, two aspirates, and two palatal sibilants is perhaps more plausible. It is probable that the system for transcribing Chinese vowel sounds, which, as will be shown below, is much more complicated than that for transcribing Mongolian vowel sounds, was also devised at this period.

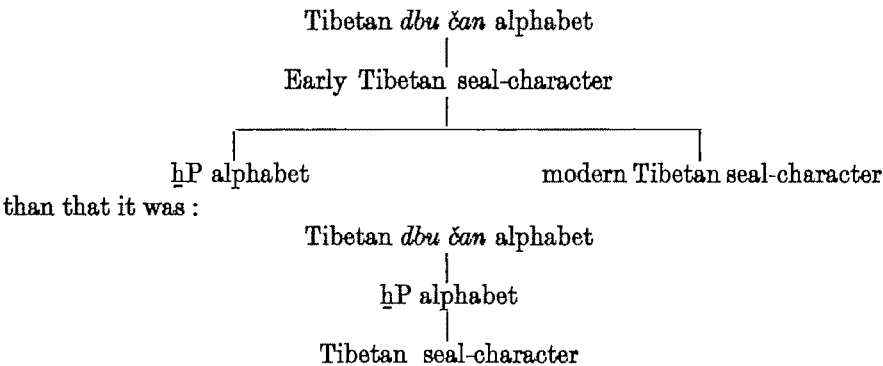
Whether *hPL*, when he invented this alphabet, contemplated that it would also be used for transcribing Tibetan and Indian texts cannot now be determined, but it was in fact used in the great hexaglott inscription of A.D. 1345 for transcribing a Sanskrit or quasi-Sanskrit *dhāraṇi*, and this may well not have been the first venture of this kind. So far as Tibetan was concerned, the alphabet contained counterparts of all the Tibetan letters, and the only problem which could arise was the one which was from the first inherent in the alphabet, the shift from a horizontal to a vertical arrangement. So far as Sanskrit is concerned, one problem, that of representing long vowels, must have been solved in the original alphabet, since Mongolian too had long vowels (see below). The other problem, that of representing the cerebral sounds, was solved, as it had been in Tibetan, by reversing the corresponding dental letters.

It has always been recognized that the basis of the *hP* alphabet was the Tibetan alphabet, but the question of the exact form and *ductus* of that alphabet which was chosen has never been considered. The Chinese milieu in which the alphabet was to be used obviously imposed a vertical, as opposed to a horizontal, arrangement, just as it had earlier imposed a similar alteration on the Uyğur alphabet, but the problem of adjustment was a more serious one than it had been in that case. It would have been greatly simplified if there already existed a Tibetan seal character in which the letters were arranged vertically.

Although some work has been done on the history of Tibetan sphragistics (see, for example, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 476; 1910, p. 1205; 1911, p. 207; 1915, pp. 1, 465; 1929, p. 117; 1957, p. 151, and various articles quoted therein) we do not really know very much about the subject. So far as I am aware, there are no examples of seal impressions on the early (eighth century and following) Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan. The earliest Tibetan seal impressions which can be firmly dated seem to be those of the mid-eighteenth century published in *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 466 ff.; but by ancient tradition (*JRAS*, 1915, p. 1) the seal character used in them, and arranged vertically, was called *Hor yig* 'Mongolian script', and the story is that it was invented by the Saskya hierarch Kun dga rgyal mtsan (A.D. 1182-1252), who

presented it to the Mongols. This person seems to be the uncle of hPL mentioned in the story of the invention of the hP alphabet. As Professor Simon has pointed out to me, it is hardly credible that the Tibetans should have been long in contact with Chinese culture without acquiring the habit of making and using seals; it is very unlikely that they went without a seal character until the middle of the thirteenth century and then invented one solely for the purpose of giving it away. It is much more probable that well before this date they felt the need of seals and, when they did so, followed the Chinese precedent of developing a special form of the alphabet suitable for enclosure in a rectangular frame, and they may well also have followed the Chinese tradition of arranging their seal inscriptions vertically instead of horizontally. It seems very likely that the model which hPL followed when he invented his alphabet was a seal character of this kind. This theory is supported by the fact that the script on the Tibetan seals known to us does not seem to be a linear descendant of the classical hP script. Some letters (especially ts, ts', dz, and w) have quite different outlines, and the arrangement of letters in syllables does not always follow the orthographic rules of hP. Sometimes, it is true, the letters of each syllable are joined together in a cluster, and gaps are left between syllables in the hP manner; but sometimes each letter is written separately and syllables are divided from one another by a horizontal bar corresponding to the Tibetan *tseg*, and sometimes each cluster contains more than one syllable. The letters in the copy-book of which the first three pages are reproduced in P, pp. 16-18, conform to the seal character and not to standard hP. Only the first 30 letters of the hP alphabet, that is those corresponding to the basic Tibetan alphabet, are included; the 31st is the same as the first with a vowel sign added. The book, in fact, seems to be a copy-book for Tibetan seal character, and not hP proper, and is therefore hardly relevant to the main purpose of the book.

It is not possible to bring forward a positive proof, but it seems much more probable that the stemma of these alphabets was:



In compiling the table at the end of this paper I have tried to find for each letter the form nearest to the presumed original alphabet produced by

hPL. Most of them are taken from the earlier inscriptions reproduced in Prince Roland Bonaparte's *Documents de l'époque mongole*, Paris, 1895. For letters not found in these inscriptions I have generally taken the form in *MKTY*, since this is older and generally more accurate than Ligeti's copy of the *PKS*, but the latter preserves the better tradition at any rate for No. 33. One or two remarks on certain letters are necessary.

No. 8 is fairly common in *MKTY*, from which the form shown is taken; the only other known example seems to be in L, No. 181.

Nos. 14 and 15 are so much alike that the difference between the two has not hitherto been defined. No. 15 is built up of six straight lines meeting at right angles. In No. 14 the lower horizontal line sags to the right and joins the right-hand vertical line at an acute angle. This is the form in the Chü-yung kuan *dhāraṇī* and occurs once in the *PKS* (L, No. 308). In the *MKTY* the lower line generally sags a little, but the principal difference is that the letter is bulbous rather than rectangular (the second form in the table). Unfortunately the other occurrence of No. 14 in the *PKS* (L, No. 49) is indistinguishable from No. 15, and L, No. 82, which is really No. 15, has a sagging bottom line. It is therefore not surprising that Ligeti read all these letters as b and so spoilt the symmetry of his table on p. 47, where the b shown against *Fou* should be p'. Even in the inscriptions the bottom line of No. 15 sometimes sags if it is written above a curvilinear letter like the lower part of No. 32.

In all known Tibetan alphabets, including the Tibetan seal character already referred to, the prototypes of Nos. 17 to 19 are merely Nos. 5 to 7 with a diacritical mark, a superscribed tick in *dbu-čan*, a vertical line to the right in the seal character. In hP the outlines of the two series are quite different. There is no obvious explanation of this.

No. 20, the original Tibetan prototype of which is shown in the table, is really a combination of Nos. 23 and 40, h-wa. The earliest form of the prototype of No. 23, also shown in the table, had a kind of 'ear' top right. Later the 'ear' in No. 23 disappeared, but that in No. 20 remained but changed its shape, so that the modern *dbu-čan* letter looks like, and is commonly said to be, a combination of Nos. 26 and 15, l-ba. Indeed the seal character form is even more like l-ba. The latest discussion of this subject is in Dr. Géza Uray's excellent paper 'On the Tibetan letters BA and WA—contribution to the origin and history of the Tibetan alphabet', *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, v, 1-2, 1955.

No. 24 is common to the Mongolian and Chinese texts. No. 24A occurs only in the latter and is distinguishable only in the *MKTY*. No. 24, like its Tibetan prototype, is made up of two components, one with a rounded bottom on the left and one with a pointed bottom on the right. In the *MKTY* versions of No. 24A the right component usually, but not always, has a rounded bottom also, and the vertical line in the middle usually, but not always, has a kink to the right at the top. When the two are entered side by side they can usually

be told apart, but when one only is entered it is often impossible to tell which is meant except by looking at the characters which it transcribes.

No. 27 is common to the Mongolian and Chinese texts, No. 27A is peculiar to the latter. No. 29 has a 'tooth' pointing left in its tail, while the tail of No. 29A is a smooth curve. Oddly enough it is the latter, not the former, which conforms to the Tibetan prototype, and it has not been realized previously that there is any difference between the two letters. The difference between the two can always be seen in the *MKTY*, and sometimes but not always in the *PKS*.

The forms of Nos. 31 to 34 are those used when they represent initial vowels. For medial vowels the horizontal bar at the top is omitted. In Tibetan the prototypes of Nos. 31, 33, and 34 are superscribed over the letter to which they belong, and that of No. 32 is subscribed under it, but when they are used to represent initial vowels they are attached to the prototype of No. 30. In *hP* all four are subscribed, and they are only very rarely attached to No. 30 to represent an initial vowel.¹ The horizontal bar was an invention of *hPL*, no doubt for the sake of simplicity, but it is odd that he did not adopt the same device for No. 39, the only vowel sign which he invented. The possible phonetic significance of this distinction is discussed below. The vertical line in No. 34 is used only when it is required to attach another letter in the same syllable; when it is the end of a syllable the line is omitted.

The difference between Nos. 37 and 37A (both used only in Chinese) is the same as that between Nos. 29 and 29A. It is clearly visible in *MKTY*, but it is doubtful whether it can be observed in any other text.

The exact outline of No. 38, which cannot be reconstructed from any known texts of the monograph, is discussed below, and a justification offered for the form suggested.

Generally speaking there is no difficulty in distinguishing between the different letters, except Nos. 24, 27, 29, and 37 and their respective 'A forms', in the inscriptions, but the same is not true of the MSS and block-prints. In badly written texts Nos. 11 and 12 are liable to be confused with Nos. 39 and 31 respectively; in well-written texts the down-stroke of No. 11 leaves the top line at a different point from that of No. 39 and the loop of No. 12 is closed while that of No. 31 is not. In the *MKTY* No. 33 has a form indistinguishable from that of No. 40, an acute angled isosceles triangle pointing left, and only the context can decide which letter is meant. It is also sometimes hard to decide whether a particular letter is meant to be No. 39 or 41 or perhaps even 40. There are other examples of misshapen letters and errors in this MS, e.g. Nos. 29/29A used for Nos. 37/37A. In Ligeti's block-print of the *PKS*, which is much superior to the other surviving texts of that work, there is even

¹ There is only one exception in the Mongolian texts. There are a few words in Chinese texts in which the lower part of No. 32 is attached to No. 30; in P, XII, 7 the Turkish (ultimately Sanskrit) loan-word *ṣr-ti-ni* is twice written with initial No. 30 with the lower part of No. 33 beneath it,

greater distortion of some letters. In particular there are several cases where an apparent No. 39 should probably be read as No. 41 and vice versa ; for example L, No. 2 should almost certainly be read as **gya** not **ge** ; the same Chinese character is quite clearly transcribed **gya** in L, No. 197.

Before proceeding to discuss the phonetic values of the individual letters, it will be useful to show which letters are used in Mongolian and which in Chinese texts, particularly since this may throw some light on the statement in the monograph about the basic characters not used in Chinese texts.

In the table below the second column shows how the letters are used in Mongolian texts. M indicates that the letter is used in transcribing Mongolian words, the M being enclosed in (brackets) if this usage is very rare. If these letters, other than those marked (M), are also used in transcribing Chinese and other (Turkish, Sanskrit, etc.) loan-words the fact is not mentioned ; but if the letter is used only, or almost only, in loan-words this is shown by entering C for Chinese and O for other loan-words. The third column shows whether the letter is used in Chinese texts. In this column letters which are used only in the medial but not the initial position are marked C^m.

No. 1. (M), C, O	C	No. 16. M	C	No. 29. M	C
2. M	C	17. —	C	29A.—	C
3. M	C	18. C, O	C	30. M	C(?)
4. M	C	19. C, O	C	31. M	C ^m
5. C, O	C	20. C	C	32. M	C
6. M	C	21. C	C	33. M	C ^m
7. M	C	22. (M), C	C	34. M	C
8. —	C	23. M	C	35. M	—
9. C, O	C	24. M	C	36. C, O	C
10. M	C	24A.—	C	37. C	C
11. M	C	25. M	—	37A.—	C
12. M	C	26. M	C	38. ?	?
13. C, O	C	27. M	C	39. M	C ^m
14. —	C	27A.—	C	40. C ^m	C ^m
15. M	C	28. M	C	41. C ^m	C ^m

The point which immediately arises is that the only letters which are not used in Chinese transcriptions are Nos. 25, 35, and another which must, *prima facie*, be No. 38. But all the letters used in the Mongolian texts are accounted for by those marked M in the second column, that is apart from Nos. 25 and 35 there is, *prima facie*, no letter used in Mongolian which is not also used in Chinese texts. Thus apparently No. 38 is not used in either kind of text. None of the copies of the monograph gives this letter a recognizable outline. As will be shown shortly, the sound attributed to it in the monograph is practically identical with the sound attributed to No. 30 ; the main part of the two Chinese characters used is the same in both. Now it so happens that the usage of No. 30 differs in the Mongolian and Chinese transcriptions. In

Mongolian it is used to represent initial a- (as in P, *vrhb*, 2) and also as a 'prop' for No. 39 in certain contexts. In Chinese transcriptions it is never used to represent initial a- but it is used as a 'prop' for Nos. 39 and 40, and occasionally for the lower part of No. 32. It therefore seems possible that No. 30, like Nos. 31 to 34 in the original alphabet, was regarded purely as representing an initial vowel (and thus as not used in Chinese texts) and that No. 38 was substantially the same letter used only as a 'prop'. If experience in regard to the 'A letters' is any guide, it must have been practically identical with No. 30 but with a slight variation of form. In that case the third letter mentioned in the monograph as not used in Chinese transcriptions would actually be not No. 38 but 30. This is not a wholly satisfactory solution of the problem, but will have to serve unless and until a more accurate copy of the monograph turns up. The shape given to this letter in the table, a modification of that of No. 30 (for which there is ample evidence) is taken from one or two examples of the letter in *MKTY*.

In the table of the alphabet in the monograph each letter is accompanied by a Chinese character purporting to give its phonetic value. As these equivalents go back to the Yüan period, though probably rather late in it, they are obviously relevant to a discussion of the sounds represented by the individual letters. In the table below I have substituted for these characters their phonetic value in Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese (hereafter called AC), as shown in his *Grammata Serica recensa*, Stockholm, 1957 (hereafter called *GSR*), followed by the usual Wade transcription (with the initial *ch-* complex broken down into its three constituent parts, *ch-*, *k-*, and *ts-*):

No. 1	2	3	4
<i>kat</i> > ko	<i>k'at</i> > k'o	<i>χjwei</i> (?) > hui ¹	<i>ngá</i> > wo
5	6	7	8
<i>tsja</i> > chê	<i>ts'ja</i> > ch'ê	<i>tsja</i> > chê	<i>ngiei</i> > ni/i
9	10	11	12
<i>tât</i> > ta	<i>t'ât</i> > t'a	<i>d'ât</i> > ta	<i>nâ</i> > na
13	14	15	16
<i>puât</i> > po	<i>pjwot</i> > fa	<i>muât</i> > mo	<i>ma</i> > ma
17	18	19	20
<i>tsân</i> (?) > tsan ²	<i>nât</i> > na ³	<i>ñja</i> > jo	<i>b'iwak</i> > fu
21	22	23	24
<i>ñjak</i> > jo	<i>sât</i> > sa	<i>·â</i> > o, a	<i>ja</i> > yeh
25	26	27	28
<i>râ</i> > ro ⁴	<i>lâ</i> > lo	<i>sjât</i> > shê	<i>ša</i> > sha
29	30		
<i>χâ</i> > ho	<i>·a</i> > ya		

¹ The character used is not in *GSR* nor Giles' dictionary; the transcription is based on the assumption that the 'mouth' radical is not part of the character, but a sound modifier, cf. No. 25.

² A rare word not in *GSR*.

³ Obviously an error, probably for *ts'âi* < *tsai*, No. 942d in *GSR*.

⁴ *Lâ* < *lo*, as in No. 26, with a 'mouth' radical attached, the normal way of representing *r-* in Chinese transcriptions,

31	32	33	34
·i > i	·uo > wu	·iei > i	·uo > wu
35	36	37	38
γa > hsia	γd > hsia	pīwvp > fa	·ák/uo > o/wu
'with a heavy/ light expiration' ¹			
39	40	41	
ia > yeh	k'wá > kuo/k'uo	ia > yeh	
		'with a light expiration'	

The most cursory scrutiny of this table will show that the transcriptions are hopelessly chaotic. Fortunately we have much better evidence in the *MKTY*.

The table on pp. 5^a, ^b of that work, though at first sight it seems to be of the same kind as that in the monograph, is in fact exactly the opposite; it is a list, with *hP* transcriptions, of the 36 *tzü mu* used in phonetic dictionaries and the like to represent the initial sounds of words, see Karlgren, *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, Leiden, 1915-26, p. 24, and specifically the 32 *tzü mu* listed therein, pp. 100 ff., with the second labial series mentioned in pp. 57 and 553.

The order of these *tzü mu*, like that of the letters in the Tibetan, and consequently the *hP*, alphabets is based on an Indian model but follows a rather different tradition. In the table below I have replaced the *tzü mu* in the same way as in the preceding table.

No.	3	2	1	4
1. <i>kien</i> > kien	2. <i>k'iei</i> > k'i	3. <i>g'iuem</i> > kün	4. <i>ngji</i> > i	
11	10	9	12	
5. <i>tuan</i> > tuan	6. <i>t'ou</i> > t'ou	7. <i>d'ien</i> > ting	8. <i>niei</i> > ni	
7	6	5	8	
9. <i>t'ie</i> > chih	10. <i>t'iat</i> > ch'ê	11. <i>d'ien</i> > ch'êng	12. <i>niang</i> > niang	
15	13	14	16	
13. <i>puang</i> > pang	14. <i>p'uang</i> > p'ang	15. <i>b'ien</i> > ping	16. <i>miwang</i> > ming	
37A	37	37A	20	
17. <i>pjwei</i> > fei	18. <i>p'iu</i> > fu	19. <i>b'iwong</i> > fêng	20. <i>mjwei</i> > wei	
19	18	17	28	
21. <i>tsiang</i> > tsiang	22. <i>ts'iang</i> > ts'ing	23. <i>dz'iwong</i> > ts'ung	24. <i>siam</i> > hsin	
22	7	6	5	
25. <i>zia</i> > hsieh	26. <i>tsidu</i> > chao	27. <i>ts'iwon</i> > chu'an	28. <i>dz'iang</i> > chuang	

¹ In *Fa-shu k'ao* 'heavy', in *Shu-shih hui yao* 'light'; the character for 'expiration' is miscopied in P, p. 12, but shown correctly in the *Yuan-shih lei-pien* in the British Museum.

27A	27	29	36
29. <i>šim</i> > shên	30. <i>šän</i> > shan	31. <i>χieu</i> > hsiao	32. <i>γap</i> > hsia
			29A
23	30	26	21
33. <i>·im</i> > ying	34. <i>·u</i> > yü	35. <i>lai</i> > lai	36. <i>·äxät</i> > jih
24	24A		

There is in the margin a list of letters No. 31–34 and 39–41 with a statement that they are used only in combination with other letters, that is not as initials.

This is obviously a much firmer foundation than the table in the monograph for discussion of the phonetic values of the letters of the alphabet, but neither is very helpful regarding the values of the vowel sounds, and vocalization will be discussed separately.

We can reasonably start from the position that as Nos. 1–34 and 40, 41 are reproductions of the equivalent Tibetan letters, they have *prima facie* the same phonetic values as those letters. But of course, and this applies particularly to Nos. 23 and 30, we do not know exactly how Tibetan was pronounced in the thirteenth century, though in most cases we can make a pretty good guess.

We can conveniently start the discussion with the four series of plosives and nasals and the affricates, letters No. 1 to 19, corresponding to *tsü mu* Nos. 1 to 16, 21 to 23, and 26 to 28 in the *MKTY*, since these all share the same peculiarities.

The first point which strikes the eye in comparing the two tables is that while the order 'unvoiced unaspirated, unvoiced aspirated, voiced' is the same in the Tibetan, and consequently the *hP*, alphabets and in the *tsü mu*, this order is reversed in the *hP* equivalents in the *MKTY*, so that what corresponds to, for example, *k*-, *k'*-, and *g'*- in the *tsü mu* is letters No. 3, 2, 1 not 1, 2, 3. Several scholars have already pointed out that this does not, of course, mean that the *hP* letters should be so transcribed, but merely that, to the trained ears of the compilers of the *MKTY*, *kien* sounded more like *gien* and *g'juen* more like *kün*. It is generally agreed that the initial aspirated plosives like *k'* in modern standard Chinese (*Gwo yeu*) are unvoiced; but it does not seem to be generally agreed whether the unaspirated plosives can best be described as voiced, half-voiced, or something else. Wade transcribed them as unvoiced, *Gwo yeu* transcribes them as voiced. What emerges from this study is that the compilers of the *MKTY* heard both sounds, but in a transitional stage in which the old (AC) unaspirated unvoiced plosives had become voiced and the old aspirated voiced plosives had become devoiced. The transcriptions in the monograph table show a much more muddled picture. In the first and second columns (unvoiced unaspirated and aspirated) the transcriptions are consistently also unvoiced unaspirated and aspirated, but the third column is a complete muddle, the compiler was obviously quite at sea with voiced sounds. It is interesting to note that in the *MKTY* both what Karlgren calls the palatal plosive (*t'*-, etc.) and what he calls the palatal affricate series (*tš*-, etc.)

are transcribed *ö*, *ö'*, and *ɰ*, that is that no sufficient difference between the two series still existed to justify the creation of a series of 'A letters'. On the other hand the old single labial series had bifurcated into a plosive (*tzü mu* 13 to 16) and a spirant (*tzü mu* 17 to 20) series. No problem arises regarding the nasals, letters No. 4, 8, 12, and 16. Accordingly we can confidently write in against letters Nos. 1 to 19 the traditional transcriptions of the equivalent Tibetan letters. It should be noted that in Mongolian texts Nos. 1 to 3 were used only with front vowels, that is to represent post-palatal *k*-, *k'*-, and *g*-; as will appear later, velar sounds were represented differently.

Morphologically Nos. 37 and 37A are combinations of Nos. 29 (and 29A) and 40, that is, broadly speaking, *h-wa*, and in fact in some Chinese transcriptions in *MKTY* and *PKS* a letter indistinguishable morphologically from No. 37 is used to represent *hw*-, but there is no doubt that Nos. 37 and 37A did not have this sound; they represented labial spirants (or fricatives, according to the terminology employed) of some kind. According to Karlgren, *Études*, p. 554, this sound change had probably occurred by the eleventh century. If *tzü mu* 17 to 19 corresponded rigidly to the corresponding *tzü mu* of the previous series they should represent respectively an unvoiced unaspirated, an unvoiced aspirated, and a voiced aspirated sound, of which the first and third might have changed places by the thirteenth century; but the first and third are both represented by the same *hP* letter, No. 37A. This means either that No. 37 represented an aspirated and No. 37A an unaspirated sound, or No. 37 an unvoiced and No. 37A a voiced sound. The discussion of the labial series in Karlgren's *Études*, pp. 544 ff., does not show any example of an aspirated spirant but words spelt with the *tzü mu* 'Ping' (p. 549) do begin with *v*- in the modern Wu dialects. Accordingly it would not appear wholly erroneous to transcribe No. 37 as *f* and No. 37A as *v*, with the reservation that in the dialect actually represented by the *hP* transcriptions these sounds may really have been two *f*'s of a slightly different quality rather than clearly unvoiced and voiced sounds.

As regards letter No. 20, and No. 40, which is merely its subscript form, there is general agreement that the phonetic value both of these and of their Tibetan prototypes was a bilabial semi-vowel, the English (not continental) *w*.

As regards the sibilants (in Karlgren's terminology fricatives) the position is a little more confusing. In the dental series the sibilants *s* and *z* (letters No. 28 and 22 respectively) are still distinguished in Chinese transcriptions but not reversed as the affricates *ts* and *dz* are; that is to say the *hP* equivalents of Tibetan *s* and *z* correspond to AC *s* and *z*, a distinction still surviving in the Wu dialects, see Karlgren's *Études*, pp. 538 ff. *Z* is not usually regarded as a Mongolian sound, but it is used, oddly enough, in one word *zara* 'a month' and in that often enough to make it clear that this spelling was deliberate.

In the palatal series the position is complicated by the earlier existence of a nasalized palatal sibilant, *ñz*-, *tzü mu* No. 36. This is transcribed with letter No. 21, the Tibetan prototype of which represented a voiced palatal sibilant *ž*;

we can be reasonably confident that the nasalization had disappeared by the thirteenth century and transcribe No. 21 *ž*. What then are we to make of the distinction between Nos. 27 and 27A? Now it is No. 27 which reproduces the shape of the Tibetan prototype, undoubtedly representing the unvoiced palatal sibilant *š*, and is also the form invariably used in the Mongolian texts where equally it must represent *š*. But awkwardly enough it is No. 27A which corresponds to *tzü mu* No. 29 representing AC *ś* and No. 27 to *tzü mu* No. 30 representing AC *ž*. Either therefore the unvoiced and voiced variants had changed places as they had in the plosive series, or the two sounds had already converged and the distinction between the two *tzü mu* had really disappeared and the distinction between the two letters was a purely conventional one. Of the two alternatives the latter is the more probable, since it is hard to see what sort of intermediate sound can have existed between *ž* (No. 21) and *š*. We can therefore safely transcribe No. 27 *š* (or for greater precision *š*¹) and No. 27A *ś* (or *ś*²).

Next we can conveniently take letters No. 23, 24 (and 24A), and 30. It will be noted that in the *MKTY* table two alternative transcriptions are provided for *tzü mu*'s Nos. 30 and 34, viz. letters No. 23 and 24 and 30 and 24A respectively, the second member of each group obviously being the 'yodicized' counterpart of the first. Mr. Yoshitake and I discussed the question of the phonetic values of Nos. 23 and 30 at some considerable length in our paper 'On the phonetic value of the Tibetan characters [No. 30] and [No. 23] and the equivalent characters in the *hp'ags-pa* alphabet', *JRAS*, 1929, pp. 843 ff. This article is now merely of historical significance; we had much less material at our disposal than is now available; and Dr. Géza Uray (op. cit.) has pointed out that our ideas of the pre-history of Tibetan No. 23 are probably wrong. Nevertheless I think that one or two of our conclusions still stand. We showed that in Tibetan No. 30 originally represented the glottal stop and No. 23 before a vowel the smooth vocalic ingress (it had other values in other contexts), and also that in the early (eighth to tenth centuries) transcriptions of Chinese in Tibetan characters there was a very pronounced tendency for words which in AC begin with a glottal stop to be spelt with No. 30 and those with a smooth vocalic ingress to be spelt with No. 23. We could not, however, find any evidence for the survival of this distinction in *hp* and it seemed to us that the distinction between the two letters was more a matter of orthography than one of phonetics.

So far as Mongolian is concerned this conclusion still holds good. There is some difference of usage but no phonetic difference. No. 30 (like Nos. 31-34) is used to represent an initial vowel, *a-*; it is also, as already stated, used as a 'prop' for No. 39. No. 23 is used in three ways. First it is used, but more rarely, as a 'prop' for No. 39 and very rarely for the lower half of No. 31, but clearly has no phonetic value, as two words (*ihēn* and *ügehū*) are spelt with both initials. Secondly, it is used to represent the inter-vocalic hiatus, as in *üge*[23]*ū* (Classical *üger*). Finally, as will be shown below, it is used to indicate the presence of a long vowel.

So far as the Chinese transcriptions are concerned, the only two of the five letters (Nos. 30-34) used to represent initial vowels in Mongolian texts which are so used in Chinese texts are Nos. 32 and 34. No. 30 is used only as a 'prop' for the lower half of 32 (a usage unknown in Mongolian) and also for Nos. 39 and 40. No. 23 is used for initial *a-* (as in L, No. 85) and for other initial vowels with the appropriate vowel signs attached. At first sight there is in these transcriptions, unlike the Mongolian ones, a clear phonetic distinction between the two letters. All words beginning with *tzü mu* No. 33 (*·iang* > ying), which Karlgren considers to represent a glottal stop are transcribed with No. 23 (or 24), and all words beginning with *tzü mu* No. 34 (*ü* > yü), which Karlgren considers to represent a smooth vocalic ingress, are transcribed with No. 30 (or 32, 34, or 24A). It will be observed that this is exactly the opposite procedure to that which Mr. Yoshitake and I discovered in the Tibetan alphabet. On the other hand in the table in the monograph both Nos. 23 and 30 and also Nos. 31-34 and 38 are all transcribed with characters beginning with a *·* in AC. The question whether both a glottal stop and a smooth vocalic ingress existed in AC is one which has been bitterly debated in recent years; that is a controversy in which I am neither willing nor competent to take part. In order not to prejudice the issue I suggest that we should use for Nos. 23 and 30 the traditional (British) transcriptions of their Tibetan prototypes, viz. *h* and *'* (and *i*, *u*, *é*, and *o* for initial Nos. 31-34) on the understanding that this is a purely graphic convention without phonetic implications. These seem preferable to the transcriptions used by Poppe and Ligeti, which differ from one another, and, in the first case, even lack internal consistency.

As regards Nos. 24 and 24A, if it had not been for the *MKTY* no one would ever have realized that this letter had two forms, and, as already pointed out, even there it is often impossible to decide which form is intended without looking at the characters transcribed. Whether or not there is a real phonetic difference between Nos. 23 and 30, it is hard to believe that initial *y-* can have had two separate sounds, and it is likely that the two forms were devised for no better reason than to create an appearance of symmetry with the *tzü mu*. Both alike can safely be transcribed *y* (or *y*¹ and *y*² if greater precision is required); so too can No. 41, which is merely the same letter in subscript form.

There has never been any doubt that Nos. 25 and 26, like their Tibetan prototypes, should be transcribed *r* and *l* respectively.

This leaves us with only Nos. 29, 29A, 35, and 36, apart from the vowels which will be discussed later. I should like to introduce this difficult discussion by putting forward a few propositions which cannot, I think, be denied:

- (1) The whole character of the alphabet requires that each of these letters should have one sound only and that all the four sounds should be at least slightly different.
- (2) As No. 29A is merely a graphic variety of No. 29 it must have a sound pretty close to that of that letter.

- (3) As No. 36 is the 'straight' and No. 29A the 'yodicized' transcription of *tzü mu* No. 32, these two letters also must represent sounds pretty close to one another.
- (4) As the name Mongol is spelt **Mon**[35]ol on the official Yüan seal recently published by Professor Simon,¹ and **Mon**[36]ol in the transcription of the title of the *MKTY*, a purely Chinese work, in which No. 35, a letter used only in Mongolian texts, would not have been understood, these two letters also must have fairly similar sounds.
- (5) As No. 35 is used only with back vowels it must represent a velar sound.

This seems the appropriate point at which to mention a particular difficulty which confronts Mongolists in dealing with the *hP* texts. No. 35 is the *only* letter representing velar sounds in these texts; and proposition (1) above denies the possibility that it might be polyphonic. In nearly every known dialect of Mongolian there are *two* velar sounds, one unvoiced, and it is generally agreed originally a plosive, usually transcribed *q*, though now a fricative, usually transcribed *x*, in most dialects, and one voiced, usually transcribed *ɣ*, regarding the original quality of which, plosive or fricative, there is less general agreement. (Actually it is rather difficult to pronounce a deep voiced velar without making it a fricative.) Thus it is disconcerting to find apparently only one velar letter in the *hP* alphabet. But there is other evidence that this represents a true state of affairs. Exactly the same position prevails in two other documents representing the Mongolian spoken in China in the Yüan period. Almost immediately after the fall of the dynasty, when there was a sudden outbreak of interest in the Mongolian language in China, a commission of scholars was instructed by the new Emperor to compile a Mongolian-Chinese glossary and to transcribe the whole of the 'Secret history of the Mongols' into a Chinese transcription.² The work was probably carried out between A.D. 1380 and 1390. In these works too there is no trace of more than one velar sound. In the transcription of the 'Secret history' (see E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 185) what is generally agreed to be a simple aspirate *h*- occurring as an initial before both back and front vowels but never used medially, is represented by about 25 characters, some of them homophonic, the choice of the character to be used depending on the sounds following the *h*-. Nine of these, and 14 others, including homophones, differentiated by a small *chung* 'posterior' or the like to indicate that the sound is modified, are used to represent a velar sound. The characters (transcribed as before) represent: *ɣáp* > ho; *ɣwa* > hua; *ɣái* > hai; *ɣái* > hai; *ɣám* > han; *ɣán* > han; *k'áng* > k'ang; *ɣua* > huo; *ɣuát* > huo; *ɣuán* > kuan; *ɣuán* > huan; *ɣwang* > huang; *máng* > mang [*sic*]; *ɣuət* > hu; *k'uat* > k'u; *ɣuái* > hui; *kuan* > kun; *ɣuan* > hun. In the glossary

¹ Walter Simon, 'A *hPhags-pa* seal of 1295', *Asia Major*, NS, vi, 2, 1958, p. 203.

² See M. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle*, Wrocław, 1949, pp. 8-9.

produced by the same commission, the *Hua-i i-yü* of A.D. 1389, of which a facsimile was published in Lewicki, op. cit., much the same system of transcription is employed (op. cit., pp. 28 ff.). The differentiated characters are, however, fewer, and not all the same. In addition to *yáp* > ho; *yái* > hai; *yám* > han; *ẏán* > han; *ẏuát* > huó; *ẏuət* > hu; *ẏuđi* > hui; *ẏuən* > hun; and *kuən* > kun, which are used in the 'Secret history', *kán* > kan; *kuo* > ku; *k'ái* > kai; *k'uat* > k'uo and *·uən* > wên [sic] are also employed. It must be emphasized that no correlation can be established between the voiced and unvoiced initials in this list (if indeed the AC difference still survived in the fourteenth century) and supposedly voiced and unvoiced initials in the Mongol words transcribed. The arbitrary way in which the various characters are used shows that they were all regarded as having the same initial sound, that sound, as the attached *chung* indicates, being somewhat different from their normal sound. Thus whatever is finally determined to be the phonetic value of No. 35 some transcriptions which result will look horrible to purists who regard, for example, *yurban* and *ẏučin* as the only possible spellings for 'three' and 'thirty' and *qoyar* and *qan* for 'two' and 'Khan'.

After this digression we can return to our main theme. Very often some light can be thrown on a problem of this kind by looking at the spelling of foreign loan-words, the sounds of which are beyond dispute. There are in the Mongolian texts one Persian word *bağ* 'a garden' and one Turkish word *jarlığ* (a dialect form of *yarlığ*) 'a command', both of which end with a voiced velar fricative, and one Turkish word *burxan* 'Buddha' (spelt in *hP* with a *p*-), containing an unvoiced velar fricative. These are spelt in *hP*, the first two with No. 35, the last with No. 36. This is not of course conclusive evidence for the value of these two letters; words are sometimes altered when they are borrowed, though not usually in opposite ways; but it does constitute a *prima facie* case for transcribing No. 35 *ɣ*, or better still *g*, as this does not imply either plosive or fricative quality, and No. 36 *χ* or, typographically more convenient, *x*. The next step is to consider whether these tentative transcriptions, the first for a solely Mongolian, the second for an almost solely Chinese sound, conform to the general phonetic make-up of the languages concerned.

So far as No. 35 is concerned, a voiced velar sound not only is not inconsistent with the other facts to be taken into account, but is also practically demanded by them. In the first place we have the evidence of the grammatical terminations. Mongolian, being a language in which back and front vowels are rigorously segregated and never occur together in the same word, has two distinct sets of terminations, one containing back vowels and one containing front ones. In three cases the terminations in the second set contain a voiced post-palatal: (a) *-gfi*; (b) *-tügey*; (c) *-gsen*; in all these cases the equivalent terminations in the other set contain No. 35.¹ It is incredible that an unvoiced velar sound should correspond to a voiced post-palatal sound in such a context.

¹ Examples are: (a) both terminations *P*, viib, 2; viib, 2; (b) front *P*, i, 18; ii, 18 and 20; back *P*, i, 8 and 16; ix, 5; (c) front *P*, i, 8; xiii, 3 and 13; back, *P*, xii, 1 and 7.

In the second place there is overwhelming evidence that in the Mongolian of the *hP* texts final plosives were invariably voiced. This is true not only of the labials, as in *eldeb*, where there is no alternative, since *p* is not a Mongolian sound, but also of the dentals, as in *t'erged* and the post-palatals, as in *burk'ig* (for *bürk'ig*). It is incredible that this rule should not have applied also to the velars. The validity of the rule is confirmed by the treatment accorded to Turkish and other loan-words in Mongolian. Loan-words in which the final plosive is voiced, e.g. *čérig*, are taken over unchanged. If the final plosive is unvoiced, the normal practice is to add a vowel at the end; e.g. *k'üčü* from Turkish *kitç*, *erke* from Turkish *erk*, *kökö* from Turkish *kök* (the last two words occur in the 'Secret history', but not in the *hP* texts). Less often an unvoiced final plosive is voiced, e.g. *adišdid* from Sanskrit *adhiṣṭhita*, *bodisiwid* from Sanskrit *bodhisattva*, through Sogdian and Turkish *bodisvut*. The conclusion that No. 35 was a voiced velar sound is inevitable, but as its quality, plosive or fricative, is uncertain, the transliteration suggested above, *ğ*, seems the most appropriate.

No. 36 must be a fricative and not a plosive (proposition (3) above); it cannot be a voiced fricative, unless recourse be had to the counsel of despair that the distinction between it and No. 35 is between fricative and plosive; moreover in that case there would be difficulty in finding a letter to represent the unvoiced velar fricative, which undoubtedly existed in Chinese. There is no good reason for resisting the conclusion from its use in the equivalent of the Turkish word *burxan*, that it was an unvoiced velar fricative, to be transcribed *χ* or *x*, according to taste. The only apparent objection to this solution is that it is used to transcribe *tzü mu* No. 36 and the AC distinction between that *tzü mu* and *tzü mu* No. 35, which is transcribed with letter No. 29, is that the former represents a *γ*- and the latter a *χ*-. But if No. 36 represented a voiced sound it is hard to explain why its yodized counter-part is a secondary form of No. 29, which on this assumption would represent an unvoiced sound, and in any case there is ample evidence to show that by the thirteenth century the sounds of the two *tzü mu* in question had converged, for example in the indiscriminate use of words with both initials in the transcription system of the 'Secret history' and the *Hua-i i-yü*. Moreover there is no trace in the modern dialects, even of the Wu group, which retains voiced sounds like *z* and *v*, of the survival of a voiced velar fricative (see Karlgren's *Études*, p. 373). There is ample evidence from Tibetan and from the Mongolian texts that No. 29 represents a simple, or fairly simple, aspirate, to be transcribed *h* (or, if necessary to distinguish it from No. 29A, *h¹*); and the most reasonable explanation is that the difference between the thirteenth century *tzü mu*'s Nos. 35 and 36 is between an aspirate, *h*, and a fricative *χ* (or *x*) and that No. 29A represents a sound somewhere between the two, which can be transcribed, for the sake of precision, *h²*.

We can now proceed to the question of vocalization, and it will be more convenient to discuss Mongolian and Chinese separately. The Tibetan alphabet

made provision for five vowel sounds : **a**, which following the Indian tradition, was regarded as inherent in every consonantal letter and was not written, and **i**, **o**, **u**, and **é** (a closed *e* as in French 'été'), for which separate signs were provided. As Tibetan had no long vowels, or at any rate it was not felt necessary to distinguish between them and short vowels, the alphabet had no separate signs for long vowels. But it was found necessary to distinguish the long vowels in Sanskrit words, and for this purpose the device was adopted of subscribing the prototype of No. 23 to the consonant of the syllable containing a long vowel. This device was taken over for the **hP** also. The adoption of a vertical instead of a horizontal arrangement of letters did not affect the situation. Each syllable, instead of being enclosed between dots, as in Tibetan, was written as a single vertical cluster, but the order of letters remained unchanged, the subscribed letter preceding the vowel sign (if any) and the independent letter or letters which were also subscribed. How exactly the system worked can be seen most clearly in the **hP** versions of the two Sanskrit (or quasi-Sanskrit) *dhāraṇī*'s in the hexaglott inscription of Chü-yung kuan, the accompanying Mongolian texts of which are published as P, XII and XIII. (The *dhāraṇī*'s themselves can best be studied in the reproductions in Prince Roland Bonaparte, op. cit.) Thus *svāhā* was written **swḥ-hh**, i.e. *swā-hā*, and *bhrūṃ* (in which *m* represents a superscribed *anusvāra*) was written **m̐bhḥru**, i.e. *bhrūṃ*.

This device proved useful in dealing with Mongolian which also had at least two long vowels. The Mongolian vowels were :

Back **a** (and **ā**), **o**, **u**

Front **e** (and **ē**), **é**, **ö**, **ü**

Neutral **i**

It has been suggested that in an earlier stage of the language there had been a back **i** (in Turkish orthography **ı**) and a front **i** and that these later converged in neutral **i**. Be that as it may, they had certainly converged, if they ever had a separate existence, before the thirteenth century, since the device used for writing something like a back **i** in the Chinese texts is not used in the Mongolian ones. But provision did have to be made for writing the open **e** and the two rounded front vowels. The first was made by inventing a new letter, No. 39. As regards the second, the problem had arisen centuries earlier in regard to Turkish. In the Turkish texts in Brahmi characters the front vowels are written with the back vowels preceded by **y**, i.e. **ö** and **ü** were written **yo** and **yu**. In the Uyğur alphabet, probably in imitation of that device, they were written **oy** and **uy**, but only in the first syllable, it being assumed that, if the vowel in that syllable was a front one, all the rest would be. None of these devices (except that of writing front vowels only in the first syllable) were possible in **hP**, since this would have caused confusion in the Chinese transcriptions. As an alternative **ö** and **ü** were written **eo** and **eu**.¹

¹ If a word contained a post-palatal sound it necessarily contained front vowels, and in such words the **-e-** was usually omitted. It was also sometimes omitted in words beginning with labials.

The difference between the Tibetan and the *hP* system of writing initial vowels has already been mentioned. Separate letters are provided and are habitually used for writing *a-* ('*a-*'), *i-*, *u-*, *é*, and *o*. Initial *i-* is normally written with No. 31, as in P, XII, 1 and 3, and XIII, 3, but in II, 2, III, 2, IV, 5, and XIII, 7 with No. 23 and the lower part of No. 31.¹ Initial *ö-* is written '*eo-*', initial *ü-* usually '*eu-*', less often '*heu-*'. Initial *é-* is relatively common, but initial *e-* is practically unknown; the fact that No. 39 is only in a medial form probably means that *hPL* did not regard it as a possible initial sound (though he might have thought of the representation of *ö-* by *eo-* and *ü-* by *eu-*). In fact it occurs, written with No. 39, in *eldeb* (P, XIII, 5) and in two texts not republished in P (see P, p. 122).

It is important to note the different functions of No. 23 according to the way in which it is used. Initially it is merely a 'prop' for the vowel attached to it. Attached to a preceding letter it indicates a long vowel, e.g. *ḡān* (spelt *ḡhn*) 'Khan' (P, II, 3, etc.); *ḡā-nu* (spelt *ḡh-nu*) 'of the Khan' (P, I, 2, etc.). At the beginning of a medial syllable it represents the inter-vocalic hiatus, e.g. *hi-ru-her* 'benediction' (P, I, 8, etc.). Mr. Yoshitake and I (op. cit.) proved this nearly 30 years ago; it is a matter for regret that Professor Poppe, while very courteously mentioning this paper (p. 23, n. 4), did not accept its conclusions.

Finally mention should be made of the diphthongs ending with *-y* (*-i*) which occur in Mongolian. This sound is represented by *-yi* if the preceding vowel is *-a-* or *-e-*, e.g. *a-t'u-ḡayi* (P, I, 8, etc.), *é-hud-beyi* (P, XII, 5), and in other cases by *é*, e.g. '*a-hué*' (P, XII, 2). Both these spellings are apparent breaches of the rule that a syllable cluster cannot contain more than one vowel (or vowel sign), but seem reasonable methods of representing the sound concerned.

Chinese vocalization in the thirteenth century was a much more complicated matter, poised precariously between the relatively simple vocalization of to-day and Professor Karlgren's reconstruction of AC, some of the examples of which, for instance *ngjwie*, look more like algebraical formulae than representations of actual sounds which proceeded from human lips.

As I said at the beginning of this paper, I am not competent to interpret the evidence which is available, and I should hate to undertake a task on which Professor Ligeti has already announced that he is engaged, but it may be of interest, particularly to those who are Mongolists and not Sinologists, if as an interim measure I set out in tabular form the full range of vocalization which is found in the *MKTY*, if only to show how complicated it is. In the table below I have adopted a simple letter for letter transliteration.

Pages 7^{a, b} of the *MKTY* give a list of 15 *dzuy uru* 'final sounds', comparable to the list of *tzü mu* on an earlier page. It contains 15 Chinese characters, each with a *hP* transcription, representing 'rhymes'. They are substantially the

¹ The reason for this was probably the difficulty of distinguishing between No. 31 and No. 12.

same as the 13 finals which form the basis of Karlgren's exposition of AC and are conveniently set out in *Études*, pp. 694 ff., but two of these, *kouo* and *chan*, are each split into two. The rest of the book is made up of 15 chapters, each containing a selection of the Chinese characters with the rhymes concerned arranged in groups under hP transcriptions.

The following table shows the full range of 'rhymes' listed in the book :

-a		-wa	-ya	-e	-we	-ei	-wé
-am			-yam	-em	-yem	ém	
-an		-wan		-en	-wen	-ein	én
-aŋ	-haŋ	-waŋ		-eŋ	-weŋ	-eiŋ	
-aw		-waw		-ew	-wew	-eiw	éw
-ay		-way	-yay				
-i	-hi	-wi		-o	-ō	-wo	-ü
-im	-him						
-in	-hin	-win		-on		-ön	-ün
-iŋ	-hiŋ		-yiŋ	-oŋ		-uŋ	-wüŋ
-iw	-hiw			-ow		-uw	
-iy	-hiy					-ué	-üé

Professor Ligeti (op. cit.) has already pointed out that **-h-** does not represent an aspirate in this context, but modifies the quality of the vowel following ; **-hi** is obviously a back i, the sound represented in the Wade transcription system by *-i* (in such words as *chih*) and *-ü* (in such words as *tzü*) ; but it is hard to grasp its function in *-haŋ*. The combination **-ei**, with or without a final consonant, occurs only after **k-**, **k'**, **g-**, and **h-** and represents the sound represented by *ê* (as in *kêng*) in the Wade system. There are one or two words ending in **-a**, e.g. *ba* 'eight', in the *MKTY*, and several more in the *PKS*, but this whole section was inadvertently omitted by the copyist in copying the *MKTY* ; the fifteenth chapter (*ma*) begins with **-e**. Some of these rhymes are very rare, and one or two are included for one character only. For example **-wüŋ** occurs only in *hwüŋ* 'still deep water' (*rwong* > *hung*) and **-ō** only in *bō* 'jewel' (*pâu* > *pao*). On the other hand one or two rhymes occur twice either in the same chapter (e.g. **-an** and **-un**), or in different chapters (e.g. **-uŋ**), which presumably means that some changes in pronunciation had occurred between the dates at which the *MKTY* and its Chinese prototype were compiled.

APPENDIX

Suggested minor amendments and additions to Professor Poppe's *The Mongolian monuments in hP'ags-pa script*.

P, 1. The heading in large characters over the inscription seems to read *ğā-nu su-dur* 'by the grandeur of the Khan'.

[illegible]

THE HP'AGS-PA ALPHABET

1.	ཀ	ཀ	k	24.	ཡ	ཡ	y ¹
2.	ཁ	ཁ	k'	24A.	ditto	ཡ	y ²
3.	ག	ག	g	25.	ར	ར	r
4.	ང	ང	ŋ	26.	ལ	ལ	l
5.	ཅ	ཅ	ɕ	27.	ག	ག	ʃ ¹
6.	ཆ	ཆ	ɕ'	27A.	ditto	ག	ʃ ²
7.	ཇ	ཇ	ʃ	28.	ས	ས	s
8.	ཉ	ཉ	ñ	29.	ཏ	ཏ	h ¹
9.	ཏ	ཏ	t	29A.	ditto	ཏ	h ²
10.	ཐ	ཐ	t'	30.	ཨ	ཨ	'(a)
11.	ད	ད	d	31.	[ཀ]	ཀ	i
12.	ན	ན	n	32.	[ཁ]	ཁ	u
13.	པ	པ	p	33.	[ཀ]	ཀ	é
14.	ཕ	ཕ, ཕ	p'	34.	[ཁ]	ཏ ཏ	o
15.	བ	བ	b	35.	—	པ	ǧ(γ)
16.	མ	མ	m	36.	—	པ	x(X)
17.	མ	མ	ts	37.	[ཁ]	པ	f
18.	མ	མ	ts'	37A.	ditto	པ	v
19.	ཇ	ཇ	dx	38.	—	[པ, ཏ]	'(p)
20.	མ [ཁ]	མ	w	39.	—	པ	e
21.	མ	མ	z	40.	མ	པ	-w
22.	མ	མ	z	41.	མ	པ	-y
23.	མ [ཁ]	མ	h				

Line 3 must begin at the same height as lines 1 and 2. Comparing the text with that of P, rv, I suggest that it should be read **t'ay xon dzhi han** (sic, clearly, not **han**) **si 'wan** 'the great Huang-tzü, King of An-hsi'.

Line 4. A Turkish parallel to the phrase **yorö'igün yabuğun élč'ine** appears in a *Yarlığ* of Mengili Girey Khan of Krim dated A.D. 1467 and published in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, Vol. iv, 1934, p. 103, line 3, as **yürür eşür elçi**, which seems to mean 'foot and mounted messengers', or less probably 'ordinary and express couriers'.

P, rv. The heading in seal character reads **t'ay xon t'ay xiw hi ji**. It is interesting as being one of the very few surviving specimens of **hP** seal character. Another is the official Yüan seal recently published by Professor Simon, op. cit. Pages 6^a, ^b of the *MKTY* give a rather miscellaneous collection of specimens of this script in no particular order, with two or three variants for some letters.

P, v. Everyone who has studied the Mongolian part of this inscription, the Chinese part of which is dated A.D. 1283, has seen that it is a copy of scraps, probably of a rescript on paper, put together in the wrong order and incised on the monument to make it look more impressive. So much has gone that it is impossible to suggest what the original text was, but I can at any rate suggest a date for it. The word before **jil** seems to me to be clearly **bars**. This must be A.D. 1278, the last Tiger Year before A.D. 1283. The preceding one, A.D. 1266, would be too early, since **hP** did not become an official alphabet till A.D. 1269.

P, xii. Line 1. The word read **dunda** is clearly **dumda**, as indeed it should be.

Line 5. **Maqarapnu·ud** is an error for **mağaračnuhud**.

ARABIC DOCUMENTS OF NORTHERN NIGERIA ¹

By A. D. H. BIVAR

(PLATES I-IV)

INTRODUCTION

THE present article is based on photographs of nineteenth-century Arabic official letters, made by the author while carrying out conservation work on manuscript material for the Nigerian Department of Antiquities at the Northern Nigerian centres of Sokoto and Bauchi. Thanks to conscientious local custody, and the moisture-free atmosphere which these districts enjoy for most of the year, the greater number of these papers were still in remarkably good condition. At the same time, progressive embrittlement of the fibres was making direct handling of the sheets undesirable, and some protection was felt necessary. The custodians of these collections had therefore been in touch with the Department of Antiquities, and it was decided as a first step to mount the most delicate and valuable specimens between sheets of glass, to be sealed at the edges with passe-partout and enclosed in light wooden frames.² Since photography was likely to be more difficult after the completion of this work, the documents selected for treatment were first recorded upon 35 mm. film.

This occasion was not, of course, the first on which the historical importance of Nigeria's Arabic records has been recognized. As long ago as 1927, translations of selected Arabic documents of the Sultanate of Sokoto were published by Mr. H. F. Backwell in his work *The occupation of Hausaland*.³ The interest here was chiefly centred upon the subject matter, and the book does not contain any discussion of the original Arabic terminology, nor, in the absence of facsimile reproductions—barely possible in the Nigeria of 1927—of the appearance of the documents, the arrangement of the authenticating seals, or the relation of this material to the body of Islamic chancery documents. Moreover, the selection had been made with the special purpose of illustrating the events which led up to the British occupation of the Nigerian Emirates. There is consequently little overlapping with the present study, which concentrates upon the older material illustrative of relations between the Muslim powers of the area.

A photographic reproduction of a single letter of one of the Saharan Emirs had indeed been used by Sir Richmond Palmer in his work *Bornu Sahara and*

¹ The writer owes much to Dr. S. M. Stern for help with points of reading and interpretation, and for verifying transcripts of the Arabic texts. Malam Haliru Binji of Zaria has provided many essential introductions, and contributed several valuable suggestions to the translation. Malam Andu Mahmud Bauchi, of the Nigerian Antiquities Department, and Malam Abubakar Katsina, of Jos, both rendered much patient assistance in the initial examination and selection of documents, and the study of the present texts.

² It is hoped eventually to replace the glass by sheets of unplasticized Perspex, when this material can be obtained. This would not only give better protection against accidental breakage, but also reduce any risk of condensation.

³ Lagos, Government Printer, 1927.

Sudan.¹ The first application of this indispensable method to the Sokoto material is, however, due to the Waziri of Sokoto, Malam Junaidu, who reproduces in his book entitled *Tarihin Fulani* ('The history of the Fulanis')² several documents which throw light on relations between Sokoto and Bornu in the nineteenth century. The present writer is happy to record his thanks to the Sultan of Sokoto, Sir Abubakar b. 'Uthmān, G.B.E., C.M.G., and to his Waziri for their ready assistance with the arrangements for the work here described, and for advice and encouragement in regard to the many questions of Arabic scholarship and Nigerian history which arose out of it.

Apart from the Nigerian examples here mentioned, few specimens of Arabic chancery correspondence from the Sudanese zone are available in published facsimile. Yet it is clear that at certain periods written Arabic was extensively used in Inner Africa. From the Nile Valley, royal grants of certain later Fung rulers of Sennar were recently published with facsimiles by Mr. Sadik Nur.³ Unlike the Nigerian material, these documents employ a phraseology strongly suggesting Mamluk influence. They are headed by seals which display *naskhi* calligraphy reminiscent of Persia,⁴ and the script of the text is an orthodox Eastern *naskhi*. From further west in the 'Sudan', no facsimile reproductions are known to the writer, but certain documents are available in transcription. These include the text preserved by al-Qalqashandi⁵ of a letter from the Sultan of Bornu, Abu 'Amr 'Uthmān bin Idris, received in 794/1391-2 by the Mamluk Sultan Barqūq, and the earliest attested example of Sudanese correspondence; the written order of the Songhai Sultan al-Hājj Muḥammad Askia quoted in the *Tarikh al-jettach*⁶; while nearer in date to the subject matter of the present article is the famous correspondence between Muḥammad al-Amīn of Bornu (A.D. 1812-35) and Muḥammad Bello of Sokoto (A.D. 1817-37), quoted by the latter in his history *Infāq al-maisūr*.⁷ The possibility of there existing or

¹ London, 1936; plate VIII, facing p. 62, with a translation at p. 69. It should perhaps be noticed here that none of the 'Bornu Mahrams' edited by Sir Richmond Palmer in the work under reference has the appearance of being an original document, even the interesting 'Mahram "M"': and that in particular none seems to bear an official seal, though several have the appearance of being correct copies of early originals.

² In Hausa. Published by the North Regional Literature Agency, Zaria, Northern Nigeria, 1956. The writer greatly regrets that his insufficient acquaintance with the Hausa language has prevented his deriving full benefit from this work.

³ 'Land tenure during the time of the Fung', *Kush*, iv, 1956, 48 ff.

⁴ The Persian aspect of certain Fung calligraphy will be further discussed at a later date; Eastern styles seem to have become fashionable in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Egypt, and may have reached the Nilotic Sudan in this way.

⁵ VII, 116: 'And it was on a square sheet of paper, each line being close to the next (*al-satru ilā jānibi 'l-satru*), in Maghribi writing, and there was no margin either at the top, or at the side; the text was concluded on the reverse, starting from the foot of the page'.

⁶ Mahmūd Kāti, *Tarikh al-jettach* (ed. Houdas and Delafosse, Paris, 1913), translation, p. 139.

⁷ Ed. C. E. J. Whitting, London, 1951, 124-66. This work will henceforth be quoted as 'Whitting'. Also important for the study of this material is E. J. Arnett, *The rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, Kano, 1922, 102-20, which will be quoted as 'Arnett', and which provides a paraphrase of the *Infāq* which is most valuable, especially since Whitting's edition has no systematic division into chapters, and is far from easy to use.

having existed in the Western Sudan earlier Arabic correspondence of the Murabīṭ, Malli, and Songhai dynasties thus provides a fertile topic for investigation, though it must be admitted that the Arabic correspondence of the Muslim dynasties of the Maghrib is far more readily available for study than is that of the Sudan.¹

The official library at Sokoto contains a total of about 400 nineteenth-century documents in Arabic, and include extensive files of dispatches concerned with the affairs of the Emirates of Kano, Zaria, Misaṇ, Katagum, and Adamawa, together with smaller groups of papers relating to Bauchi, Zamfara, Gobir, Katsina, Kontagora, and elsewhere. There were also letters from certain foreign powers, and semi-official or personal letters addressed to the former Waziri, Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, to whom the preservation of the archives seems in a large measure due.² There are also a number of letters from Sultans of Sokoto. Forty-two of these documents have so far been protected by framing in the manner described.

The Bauchi collection of early letters is small by comparison. Here only seven documents were submitted to the writer for photography and conservation, but in addition to these a number were previously microfilmed by the University College Library at Ibadan.³ Yet this small collection contains one specimen remarkable amongst the documents so far reported equally for its historical content, its early date, and the prestige of its writer, no less a personage than Muḥammad Bello, Sultan of Sokoto (A.D. 1817-37). The writer is greatly obliged to the Emir of Bauchi for having afforded this opportunity to study so exceptional a document, together with the other papers from his collection. There can be no doubt that similar collections of Arabic documents, each with its individual points of interest, exist or have once existed in all the principal Nigerian Emirates, and perhaps also in the establishments of District Heads and private persons in many parts of the country. It is to be hoped that in course of time the documentary record may be carried back by further research, beyond the decade of the 1820s which forms the upper limit of the material under examination here. The present selection will be confined to three main classes of documents :

(a) correspondence of the Kānemi Shaikhs (Shehus) of Bornu, and tributary states ;

(b) correspondence of the Fulani Sultanate of Sokoto ;

¹ E. Tisserant and G. Wiet, 'Une lettre de l'Almohade Murtaḍ'ā au pape Innocent IV', *Hesperis*, vi, 1928, 27-53 ; M. A. Alarcon y Santon and R. Garcia de Linares, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid, 1940 ; E. Lévi-Provençal, 'Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades', *Hesperis*, xxviii, 1941, 1 ; M. Nehilil, *Lettres chérifiennes*, Paris, 1915.

² Some account of the Waziri al-Bukhārī will be found in *The occupation of Hausaland*, preface (see p. 324, n. 3). He is said by Arnett, *Sokoto gazetteer*, p. 9, to be the author of an historical work entitled *Ta'nīs al-ikhwān*.

³ W. E. N. Kensdale, *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria*, Ibadan, 1955-8, pp. 19-20, and especially nos. 18, 19, and 20, which may be original copies of the author's time, and possibly autographs.

(c) correspondence of foreign, i.e. non-Nigerian, powers, including that relating to the Sudanese Mahdiya. (It is proposed to discuss the documents relating to the Mahdiya separately at a later date.)

The much more voluminous correspondence of the Fulani Emirates tributary to Sokoto must, for reasons of space, be excluded from the present study.

THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENTS

The documents under examination here are written exclusively in Arabic, apart from a very restricted use of vernacular proper names and technical terms. So far there is not one recorded in Hausa or any other vernacular idiom. With the single exception of a lithograph (not discussed here), all are hand-written on paper sheets of moderate size, 9 in. × 6 in. or 13 in. × 8½ in. being the most popular. The paper is a somewhat rough, hand-made paper, commonly watermarked with vertical rulings, or a design in the form of three crescents,¹ or three top hats. None of the documents bears a written signature, a date, or a statement of the place of origin. In the last two respects, therefore, the practice differs from that usual in other parts of the Islamic world. The nearest approach to an explicit date is provided by the dated seals of the Kānemi rulers of Bornu.²

The use of seals in Nigeria was originally confined to the rulers of paramount states, or states with a tradition of former paramouncy. Such seals, which are used to apply an ink impression, as in other Muslim countries, are therefore found upon documents issued by the Sultans of Sokoto and Bornu, and the rulers of Katsina, Gobir, and Agades, besides certain claimants to paramount status in other places. There are no seals on the letters of other Emirs tributary to Sokoto (with the possible exception of the Emirs of Gwandu, whose correspondence still awaits investigation); nor on letters issued by the Waziris of Sokoto in their own names, even when sent out through the official chancery. For dispatch, the letters appear to have been merely folded in four, and the address written on the outside, the formula, e.g. [يعقوب بن داد] بيد امير بوش being almost invariable. No envelopes or wax seals were used, and if there was any device to prevent the unauthorized inspection of the letters in transit, I have not been able to discover it.

Each of the letters under examination begins with a religious invocation, usually commencing with the *bismillah*. It will be noticed that in certain cases a particular formula is shared by members of the same dynasty (e.g. the Kānemis), and in others it is varied from reign to reign (as with the Sultans of Sokoto). I am inclined to deduce that these invocations correspond to the well-known 'alāma of the North African chanceries,³ and served to designate

¹ This watermark is mentioned by M. Hiskett, 'Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their Jihād', *BSOAS*, xix, 3, 1957, 550; cf. E. Heawood, *Watermarks*, I, no. 870 ff. (Venice c. 1725); Labarre, *Dictionary and encyclopaedia of paper and papermaking*, p. 342, figs. 48 and 130.

² See below, p. 329.

³ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, s.v. 'alāma.

the writer of the letter, the more so since in the case of Sokoto the name of the Sultan is not written in the text, and the impressions of the seals are frequently illegible. In more recent times, these opening invocations have tended to become stereotyped and conventional; this may explain why I have not been able to obtain confirmation of my hypothesis from local scholars of Arabic. These invocations are discussed in detail below.

As far as the script of the letters is concerned, this presents a considerable variety of forms, especially in the Fulani Emirates, and will be discussed further under the several sections below. It must be noted here, however, that the pointing of all letters of Nigerian origin, whether from the Sokoto or Bornu sphere, is uniformly Maghribi, the letter-forms ف (fā), ق (qāf), ل (joined *alif*), ا (initial lengthened *alif*), د (dāl, with hooked lower portion), ص (šād, without final tooth) being especially noticeable. This Maghribi origin is a feature of some significance if we come to consider the diffusion of the tradition of Arabic scholarship prevailing in Nigeria, and which seems, until recent times, to have had a strong Maghribi orientation.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE KĀNEMI RULERS OF BORNU

It comes as a pleasant surprise to discover that the Sokoto archives contain a fragmentary letter from the chancery of the first of the Kānemi dynasty, the redoubtable Muḥammad al-Amīn (A.D. 1812-35). The most striking feature of this elegant document is the form of script employed, which is one closely related to the ancient Kufic. Subsequent letters of the Kānemis, as we shall see, employ an obviously similar script, which we may regard as the standard official writing of Bornu in the nineteenth century. The letters are fully pointed (in the Maghribi manner) and where necessary vowelled. It is not easy to find close analogies for so archaic a handwriting amongst the better-known schools of Arabic calligraphy. The closest are no doubt to be found amongst the varieties of the Maghribi script examined long ago by O. Houdas, in an article which is still perhaps the most complete treatment of the subject.¹ Of the four varieties which are there defined, the scripts of Kayrawān, Andalusia, Fez, and Timbuktu, it is the first and most archaic, that of Kayrawān, which bears the most obvious resemblance to the Bornu court hand as illustrated here. It is not easy to see through what channels the script of Kayrawān could have been transmitted, after a degree of modernization, to Bornu. The fuller investigation of the script of Timbuktu, especially in its earlier stages, is likely to clarify the problem, and reveal the links, passing back, perhaps, through the Empire of Malli and the Murabit period in the Western Sudan, which connect the 'Kuficizing' and angular writing to Timbuktu with that of Kayrawān, in marked contrast to the more

¹ 'Essai sur l'écriture magrebine', *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Paris, 1886, 85-115.

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله



مر عبد الله تغلر محمد الامير محمد الكافي
 الامير فومه و مالكا ارضه انقام مقام الولد البار الطابع والنايب
 مناب العبد المعيد النافع لاميير محمد امير متوقما صاحب تقبض السلام
 التام ورحمت الله تغلر ويكاته اما بعد فانك ذكرت لنا انك اخرجت
 لنا نصيبا من الغنيمة التي غنمتها من بلاد كا جكل: الرعية ذاك
 مما اخرجته لنا ونسيت له الارواحها هو الفادى عليك حاكم كتابنا
 هذه انصار بابك ابنه عمر سلحه الله فاد خالبيه نصه ما حصل من
 ثمر الرقيق والنصف الا

LETTER I: MUHAMMAD AL-AMIN OF BORNU TO MUHAMMAD DAN TANOMA OF GUMEL

flowing, slender, and 'modern' scripts of Andalusia and Fez.¹ The systematic examination of the many old copies of the Qur'ān preserved in Nigeria and French West Africa will also be illuminating; for the time being it can only be said that the late survival of 'Kuficizing' script in Bornu is still to be explained.²

So far as the seals of the Bornu rulers are concerned, these present no comparably archaic traits. The use of a black ink seal at the head of a royal document would seem to reflect the practice of the Sharifian Sultanates in Morocco.³ It is a further indication of the Moroccan connexions of the engravers of these seals that their pointing is also of the Maghribi type; even more cogent is the fact that on the seal of Muḥammad al-Amīn the Arabic figure 'eight' has a form similar to that of the European cipher ('eight'), a feature found in no other part of the Arab world except Morocco. The octagonal shape of the seal, however, seems not to be paralleled in the chanceries of the Maghrib, and the only analogy which I can find is the considerably later seal of the Sudanese Mahdi.

I

From Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānemi, Sultan of Bornu (A.D. 1812-35) to Muḥammad b. Tanoma—better known in the Hausa form, Muḥammad Dan Tanoma—Emir of Gumel (A.D. 1825-43): a fragment, probably the half, measuring 9 in. × 6 in.; watermark, vertical rulings at one inch intervals. Sokoto archive. Plate I.

(a) Text:

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله

[SEAL]

من عبد الله تعالى محمد الأمين بن محمد الكانمي

(2) إلى أمير قومه ومالك أرضه القائم مقام الولد البار الطابع والنائب (3) مناب العبد المفيد النافع لأمير محمد ابن تنوما صاحب تمبى السلام (4) التام ورحمت الله تعالى وبركاته.

أما بعد فأنك ذكرت لنا أنك أخرجت (5) لنا نصيباً من الغنيمة التي غنمناها من

¹ Since a great number of fine examples of the 'Andalusian' script were in fact written at Fez, confusion of terminology needs to be avoided.

² It may be noticed that the angular Nigerian book-hands of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, to which the name of *Ajami* is applied by Hiskett (*BSOAS*, xix, 3, 1957, 550), seem to derive from the Bornu script.

³ The earliest mark of authentication in the Maghrib appears to have been the calligraphic '*alāma*', and the use of such formulae as *وكتب في التاريخ* or *صح ذلك*. States of Turkish origin have all used the *tughrā*. The Persian Safavids used an ink seal at the head, but this seal was flame-shaped on formal documents. Other dynasties employing seals generally placed them below the text.

بلد كَاجَكُلِي... الى غير ذلك (6) مما اخرجت لنا ونسيت عده الان وهاهو
 القادم عليك حامل كتابنا (7) هذا انسان بابك¹ ابني عمر اصلحه الله فادخل
 بيده نصف ما حصل من (8) ثمن الرقيق... والنصف الثاني] ادخله بيد...

(b) Seal :

ما شاء الله كفى
 بالله ثقة لعبده محمد
 الامين بن
 محمد الكانمي
 عام ١٢٣٨

What Allah wills. Allah
 sufficeth. Confidence in his servant Muḥammad
 al-Amīn bin
 Muḥammad al-Kānemi
 Year 1238

(= A.D. 1822)

(c) Translation :

Praise be to Allah, and prayer and peace for the prophet of Allah.

[SEAL]

From the servant of Allah the Exalted, Muḥammad al-Amīn bin Muḥammad al-Kānemi / to the prince of his nation and the possessor of his land, the governor of a province, the dutiful son, the obedient, the legate / of a territory, the profitable servant, the beneficent, the Emir Muḥammad bin Tanoma, Lord of Tumbi, perfect peace / and the mercy of Allah the Exalted and his blessings.

After this, inasmuch as you have explained to us that you have remitted / to us a portion of the booty which you obtained from the town of Kājakuli ; and apart from that / that you have forgotten the total of what you have remitted to us. Now the man who is coming to you carrying this letter of ours / is a member of your household, my son 'Umar—Allah grant him health. Put into his hand a half of what is realized from / the price of the slaves ; and put the other half into the hand of

(d) Commentary :

The small state of Gumel is situated in the north-east of Kano Province, but throughout the nineteenth century it was tributary to Bornu. Dan Tanoma (to quote his name in its Hausa form) was one of its most distinguished rulers,

¹ I translate as the Arabic بَابِكَ 'your Gate', 'your court', but it is possible that we have here some vernacular word, or literal rendering of a vernacular expression.

and was appointed to the Emirate by Muḥammad al-Amin after the latter's execution of Dan Hawa, the brother of Dan Tanoma, on suspicion of treachery. The capital of the Emirate was then the town of Tumbi, where Dan Tanoma spent the first nine years of his reign.¹ Since the use of this place-name in the title of the Emirs seems to have persisted through archaism long after the transfer of the headquarters to Gumel, it is dangerous to rely on its occurrence in the present text as evidence that this must necessarily date from the period of Dan Tanoma's residence at Tumbi. Yet the probability does seem to be that this letter falls in the earlier part of the reign of Dan Tanoma, perhaps not long after his installation, and in any event it must be earlier than the death of Muḥammad al-Amin in A.D. 1835. As might therefore be expected, although Barth² describes two visits to the town of Gumel, and has a mention also of Tumbi (which he spells Týmbi), his account does little to elucidate the present text. His earlier visit fell at the very end of the reign of Dan Tanoma, while the document which we are now considering must refer to considerably earlier events. Neither have I been successful in identifying the site of Kājakuli although one may deduce from the context that it lay in the general vicinity of Tumbi.³

Since the letter is not, of course, addressed to Sokoto, its survival there is a matter of some curiosity. One can only suppose that it was intercepted by a Fulani supporter in the course of transmission, or after the death of Dan Tanoma at Gumel in 1850, during the subsequent vicissitudes of the town. It is, indeed, not improbable that an examination of the Sokoto archives proceeds a covering letter may come to light from one of the Fulani chieftains of this border area, explaining how the document fell into his hands, and the reason for its transmission to the *Sarkin Musulmi*.⁴

Without doubt, however, the chief interest of this document lies in its remarkable form. The opening invocation, which does not include the *bismillah*, is precisely, and the formula of greeting, substantially, similar to those found in two of the three dispatches of Muḥammad al-Amin quoted in the *Infāq al-maisūr* of Muḥammad Bello, ed. Whitting, viz. p. 162 (= Arnett, p. 114) and p. 164 (= Arnett, p. 115). The earlier example, Whitting, p. 124 (= Arnett, p. 102), though a more elaborate composition, is markedly analogous. The chancery tradition was no doubt firmly established in Bornu. Not only do these opening formulae substantially reflect the usage of the medieval Islamic chanceries,⁵ but the physical appearance of the document attests a

¹ W. F. Gowers, *Gazetteer of Kano Province*, p. 25. The site of Tumbi is now included in the French-administered Territoire du Niger.

² II, 165; v, 374; Tumbi, v, 376.

³ For this reason we can probably exclude any connexion with the town of Kakali or Kakala, mentioned by Barth, III, 193 ff., as a venue of slave-raids. Kakali was situated south of Dikwa, in the territory of the Musgus, and presumably far from Dan Tanoma's sphere.

⁴ *Sarkin Musulmi* is the usual Hausa designation of the Sultans of Sokoto, corresponding to the Arabic usage of *amīru 'l-mu'minīn*.

⁵ Whitting, p. 157 (= Arnett, p. 112), *وهاهو مرسول آلتخ*. Presumably these words are quoted from the Kānemi dispatch, though the division of the text is not clear in Whitting's edition.

hitherto unsuspected uniformity of the Bornu scribal tradition over a period of some 60 years. This standard format and script may well have been inherited from the preceding administration of the Mais of Bornu, and extend back to an antiquity which has still to be determined. It is also interesting to notice that the phrase هاهو القادم عليك of line 6 closely echoes another quoted by Muḥammad Bello from a dispatch of Muḥammad al-Amīn in his *Infāq al-maisūr*¹; it was no doubt typical of Bornu chancery phraseology.

II

From 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Amīn, Sultan of Bornu (A.D. 1835-53, 1854-80) to Mu'āzz b. Muḥammad Bello, Sultan of Sokoto (A.D. 1877-81): a folded sheet, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. when opened, and with writing upon only one of the four sides; watermark, vertical rulings at one-inch intervals, together with a design of three top hats. Sokoto archive. Plate IIa.

(a) Text:

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله

[SEAL]

من عبد الله تعالى عمر بن محمد الأمين الكانمي

(2) الى حضرة الاجل الافضل... الاغر الاحرم الاكل... امير (3) قومه... ومالك زمام ارضه... محبنا السلطان معاذ (4) ابن التقي محمد بِلَوِّا المرحوم السلام التام ورحمت (5) الله تعالى وبركاته.

اما بعد، فاذا وصل اليك (6) كتابنا هذا فالذى نعلمك به ان ابننا ابا بكر (7) قد اعلمنا بانقطاع التنازع بينه وبين وزيرك (8) صاحب كِتَاقُمْ في شان الحدود التي بيننا (9) وبينكم فان ثَبَّتَ على ما تَوَافَقَا عليه ورضيت (10) به... فقد استقام الامر ورجع السيل الى اصله... (11) ولا يكون من جهتنا ان شاء الله تعالى الا الخير (12) وتأكيد العهد والامانة على الوجه السابق (13) هذا ما اعلمتك به وفقنا الله واياكم على (14) رعاية العهد والميثاق... الى يوم اللقاء والتلاق... (15) يحياه افضل الخلق على الاطلاق... سيدنا محمد (16) عليه صلاة المَلِكِ الخلاق... امين... والسلام

(b) Seal:

ما شاء الله كفى

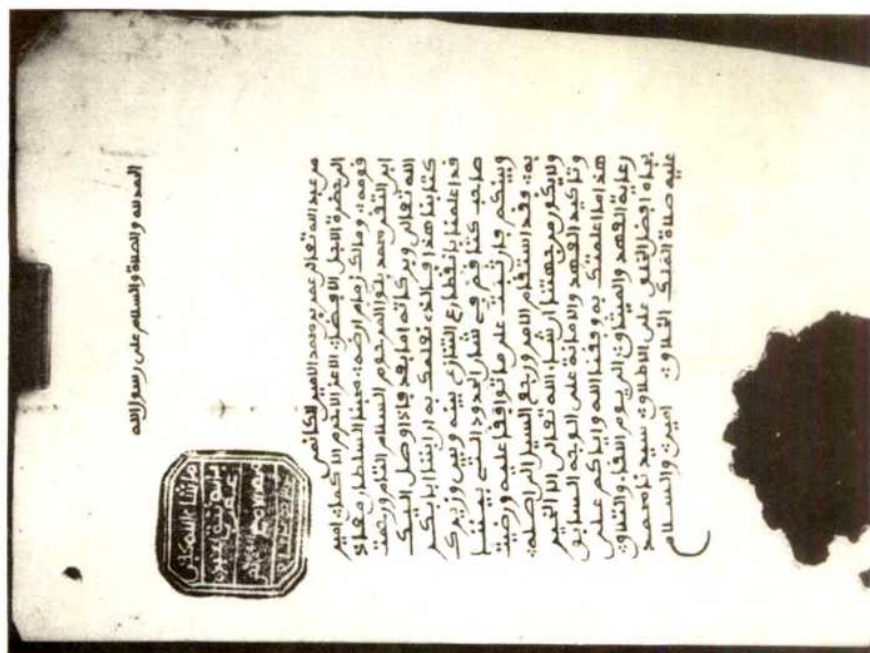
بالله ثقة لعبده

عمر بن

محمد الأمين الكانمي

عام ١٢٥٣

¹ See n. 5, p. 331.

LETTER II: 'UMAR B. MUHAMMAD AL-AMĪN OF BORNU
TO MU'AZZ OF SOKOTOLETTER III: HASHIM B. 'UMAR OF BORNU TO ABU BAKR
OF GUMEL

What Allah wills. Allah
sufficeth. Confidence in his servant
'Umar bin
Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemi
Year 1253

(= A.D. 1837)

(c) Translation :

Praise be to Allah, and prayer and peace for the prophet of Allah.

[SEAL]

From the servant of Allah the Exalted, 'Umar bin Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemi / to His Most Noble and Gracious Majesty (*hadhrat*) ; the most powerful, most sacred, most perfect ; prince / of his nation ; possessor of the authority of his land ; our beloved Sultan Mu'āzz / son of the late Muḥammad Bello the pious, perfect peace, and the mercy / of Allah the Exalted and his blessings.

After this, and if this letter of ours reaches you, / we have to inform you that our son, Abu Bakr, / has notified us of the outbreak of disturbances between him and your Minister, / the Lord of Katāgum, in the matter of the boundaries which exist between / us and you ; and if you confirm what the two agreed upon, and if you are satisfied / with it, then the matter is settled, and the torrent has receded to its source. / Now if Allah the Exalted wills, there shall not be from our side anything but good, / and reliance on the treaty, and security upon the former basis. /

This is my message to you, and may Allah assist us, and assist you : /

In observing the treaty and the understanding,

To the Day of Meeting and Encounter, /

By his influence who is unreservedly the best of those created,

Our Master Muḥammad / for whom be the prayer of the Creator Lord.

Amen ! And greetings.

(d) Commentary :

The date of this communication is fixed within certain limits by the short reign of Sultan Mu'āzzu, 1877-81. It is interesting to note that the same seal had been in use throughout the long reign of Shehu 'Umaru. The ruler of Katāgum referred to is Muḥammad al-Hājj bin Muḥammad Dankāwa (1868-96), and the episode with which the letter is concerned is a frontier skirmish such as that briefly mentioned by the *Gazetteer*,¹ if not that actual incident. The Shehu's² letter conveys the impression of being a largely formal recognition

¹ W. F. Gowers, *Gazetteer of Kano Province*, London, 1921, 31. The Sokoto archives contain a number of letters from Muḥammad al-Hājj, and it is not unlikely that these, when studied, may give some further information about the incident in question.

² Shehu, the form used in Hausa for the Arabic title *shaikh* (شيخ), was a specific title of the Kānemi rulers in Bornu, and that by which they are most generally known to-day. The same title is applied to the Fulani leader Usuman Dan Fodio. It is difficult to be entirely consistent in the present context with the use of Arabic and vernacular forms of proper names, but I have tried to retain Arabic forms in transliteration. The question of transliteration is further complicated by the fact that in Nigerian usage the Arabic inflections are pronounced, though in European practice they are commonly not transcribed.

of arrangements already concluded between the leaders on the spot. The closing phrases of the text are rhymed, but suggest spontaneous rhyming prose, rather than a quotation, particularly since the sentiments expressed are of a somewhat commonplace nature.

III

From Hāshim bin 'Umar, Sultan of Bornu (A.D. 1885-93) to Abu Bakr bin Muḥammad Dan Tanoma, Emir of Gumel (A.D. 1872-96) : the sheet measures 9 in. × 6½ in. and is watermarked with horizontal rulings ; the centre of the sheet had been patched with modern paper, which has now been removed so as to bring the two halves into closer register. Sokoto archive. Plate IIb.

(a) Text :

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله

[SEAL]

من عبد الله تعالى هاشم بن عمر الكانمي

(2) الى الامثل الوجيه الاحرم النبيه السلطان ابى بكر (3) ابن السلطان محمد دانتنومه صاحب مدينة تمبى (4) السلام التام ورحمت الله تعالى وبركاته.

وبعد (5) فاذا وصل اليك كتابنا هذا، فالذى نعلمك به ان (6) السلطان تنيم¹ قد اعلمنا بانك . . . رددت اليه بقراته (7) كاملا مكملًا فان كانت عندك بقية منها فارددها (8) اليه على التمام والاكمال ولا تتعرض الى جهته (9) بسوء بعد ذلك واذا كانت بقرات ارضك تسرح (10) الى جهته فاضمم اليها راعيا فان كانت لهم (11) عادة معلومة جارية على الارض فليفعلاهم (12) الراعى ولا يمنعهما وبذا يصلح الامر ومثل هذا (13) الامر امرناه في كتابنا المبعوث اليه وفق الله (14) الجميع بما فيه الخير والصالح عامين.

والسلام

(b) Seal :

ما شاء الله كفى

بالله تعالى عبده

هاشم بن عمر

الكانمي

عام ١٣٠٣

What Allah wills. Allah
the Exalted sufficeth. His servant

¹ sic legi.

Hāshim bin 'Umar

al-Kānemi

Year 1303

(= A.D. 1886)

(c) Translation :

Praise be to Allah, and prayer and peace for the prophet of Allah.

[SEAL]

From the servant of Allah the Exalted, Hāshim bin 'Umar al-Kānemi / to the most exemplary, the most respected, the most sacred, the illustrious Sultan Abu Bakr, / son of the Sultan Muḥammad Dan Tanoma, Lord of the city of Tumbi, / perfect peace, and the mercy of Allah the Exalted and his blessings.

Afterwards, / if this letter of ours reaches you, we have to inform you that / the Sultan Tanim¹ has now notified us that you . . . have returned to him his cattle / whole and entire. If you have any of them left, send them back to him completely and entirely, and do not meddle in his direction with malicious intent. Furthermore, if there are any cattle from your territory which are straying / in his direction, send a herdsman with them ; and if his people possess / any currently recognized rights over the land, let the herdsman comply with their requirements, / and let him not deny them, and thus may the matter be settled. We have communicated an order similar to this / in the letter which we have sent to him. May Allah accomplish / all as may be most good and right.

Amen, and greetings.

(d) Commentary :

As nominal overlord both of Gumel and of Damagaram (Zinder), the Sultan of Bornu was in a position to arbitrate in the disputes between the two states. It is doubtful, however, whether he was able to exercise effective jurisdiction at the date of this letter, since the influence of Bornu, especially over Damagaram, had continued to weaken in the later years of the century. Hāshim, of course, was the antagonist of the terrible Rabeh, who a few years later was to fall upon Bornu, and was to destroy the administration of the ancient kingdom. At the date of this letter, however, the blow had not yet fallen, and the Shehu may still have been able to exercise some restraining influence over his western vassals. None the less we may wonder whether the complacent tone of this letter was entirely justified, for the grazing dispute discussed here between the two states was soon to develop into major hostilities which resulted in severe damage to Gumel.² If the earlier disputes were so quickly patched up as the

¹ Owing to the break in the paper which comes across this line, the reading is doubtful in one or two places. It seems obvious that the Sultan mentioned must be Tanimu of Damagaram, of whose name there are variant spellings, as there are for other rulers of Damagaram. I am inclined to think that the form used here may be Tanīmī تنيمى which I have not seen in other documents, but which seems a possible variant. The last letter of the word in question here can scarcely be *mīm*, of which, elsewhere on this page, the final stroke is nearly vertical, though it could conceivably be *nūn*. In any event, no other contemporary name seems to fit the requirements as well.

² W. F. Gowers, *Gazetteer of Kano Province*, 32.

Shehu seemed to hope, it is evident that they were not long in breaking out afresh.

It is noteworthy that even in these last years of the Bornu chancery at Kukawa, the form of both letters and seals is scarcely changed from the days of Muḥammad al-Amin. The outlines of the letters are a trifle more slipshod, and there is a small change in the wording of the seal inscription, yet it is the uniformity of layout that makes the strongest impression, and attests a firmly established protocol, with a standardized course of training for the official scribes.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FULANI SULTANS OF SOKOTO

As might be expected, correspondence of the Sultans of Sokoto themselves forms only a small proportion of the papers preserved at Sokoto. The search for these documents must be carried further afield, to the archives of the persons to whom they would have been addressed, in the main either the rulers of the other Emirates under the suzerainty of Sokoto, or, we need hardly doubt, those of private persons, whether notables or scholars, whose ancestors were in a position to have received communications from the Sultans of Sokoto.

As a first glance at plate III will show, the official correspondence of the Sokoto Sultanate was strikingly different in appearance from that of the Kānemis of Bornu. Instead of the rectilinear 'Kuficizing' hand, their script is virtually *naskh*, of a straightforward type which but for minor details would not have seemed out of place in the eastern part of the Islamic world and which seems to have made its first appearance in Nigeria in the early nineteenth century. At the same time, the characteristics diagnostic of the Nigerian origin of this script should not be overlooked. The pointing of the letters *fā* (ف) and *qāf* (ق) adheres to the tradition of the Maghrib.¹ The *alif* is formed with a downstroke of the pen, and where attached to the preceding letter, this downstroke is prolonged below the point of attachment (هـ). The letter *ṣād* lacks the familiar 'tooth' (ص). These are features typical of Moroccan scripts, and will indeed also be noticed in the Kānemi material; in the East, however, the *alif* is almost invariably formed by an upstroke, which in the *ḍivānī* and *shikasteh* hands results in its being ligatured at the top to the following letter. Moreover, in the following example the form of *kaf* frequently approximates to the Kufic outline (ك), although the straight form also occurs (ك). The script of document IV is in fact typical of the style of writing characteristic of the leaders of the Fulani *jihād* and their pupils and successors. It is that found in early manuscripts of the works of 'Uṭhmān bin Fūdi and his circle, distinct on the one hand from the rounded, somewhat formless script of the Gobir Emirate in the eighteenth century, and from the angular *Ajami* of present-day

¹ It is interesting to notice that Abdallahi bin Fūdi, the brother of 'Uṭhmān, whose writing is of the type in question, used the Mashriqī pointing of *qāf* (ق), but not of *fā*.

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وحلى الله على النبي الكريم
وعلى الر ومحمد الغرير انتخبوا نفعهم العفو

[illegible]

مفلسون به
و با اسم و مكانه
و نصيبه

copyists. We shall see that there is, indeed, a distinct possibility that document IV is actually an autograph of Muhammad Bello himself.

The seal-impressions of the Sokoto documents also differ from those of Bornu. Sokoto seals are always circular; in the nineteenth century the lettering appeared in white upon a background of black ink, and the impression was placed at the head of the letter, beneath the opening invocation, and close to the right-hand margin. The inscription followed the formula *amīru 'l-mu'minīn X bin Y bin Z, naṣarahū Allāh, āmīn* 'Commander of the Faithful X, son of Y, son of Z, may Allah assist him, Amen', and was read from the top downwards. Certain minor variations of this formula seem to have been adopted in order to distinguish between the seals of rulers with similar names, but I have not yet succeeded in analysing the practice in these cases. As in the case of the Bornu documents, each letter began with a form of religious invocation. It will be seen that the exact principles governing the choice of these invocations are not quite clear, but it seems that while successive members of the Kānemi dynasty continued to make use of the same invocation, the Sultans of Sokoto were accustomed to change the invocation in use at the beginning of each reign. Other variations of the invocation used seem also to have been possible under certain circumstances. Since, however, the seal-impressions were not always easily decipherable, and the letters were unsigned, the value of the invocation as a means of designating the sender would no doubt have been considerable.

IV

From Muhammad Bello, Sultan of Sokoto (A.D. 1817-37) to Ya'qūb bin Dādī, Emir of Bauchi (A.D. 1805-43): 13 in. × 8½ in. Possession of the Emir of Bauchi. Watermarks, if any, not recorded. Plate III.

(a) Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على النبي الكريم
وعلى آله وصحبه الذين انتهجوا نهجه القويم

[SEAL]

الى امير بوش يعقوب بن داد الف تحية والف سلام
وبعد فباعث [الرسم¹] اليكم اعلامكم (2) باحوالنا وما نحن بصدده اليوم من اهم
امور الاسلام والمسلمين وهو انا خرجنا الى الجهة (3) الشمالية لمصلحة الدواب وغزو
تَادَغَوُ مع الجيلاني وقد اخذنا اهبتنا من بيوت الجلود (4) والقرب وما يصلح للسفر.
وعيننا الخروج عشرين من شعبان وامرنا اخواننا الذين يتجاوروننا باتباعنا (5)
والخروج معنا بالدواب مع اهبة الغزو وان لا يتخلف احد من اصحاب الدواب ولا من
الغزاة كايضا (6) من كانوا الا من دخل في غزو بَانَاغَ والحاصل انا حملنا الجماعة
احد امرين في هذا الاوان اما ان يلحقوا (7) الغزاة الى جهة بَانَاغَ ويحاصروه حتى

¹ Two letters have been lost, but the text is supplied by analogy (see commentary below).

نقدم ان شاء الله واما ان يلحق بنا من يريد الغزو الى (8) تَادَعَوْا واما الرعاة اصحاب البقر فلا يتخلف احد عَنَّا الا ما لا بُدَّ منه.

وامرناهم ايضا (3) بالتزام الحزم ليلا ونهارا فانها سببا للمجاهدين وفرق بين رجال الله والبطالين والمنافقين (10) لان هذا امر مُهِمٌ جامع من امور [اسلام] والمسلمين لا يكاد تحصى فوايده، فمن كان طايعا راغبا (11) فليخلوه . . . ¹وطاعته ورغبة ومن تساهل او تكاسل فليشدوا له حتى ينشط (12) ومن ابى فليهددوه حتى ينزجر وان لم ينزجر [†]فعلتموني به وباسمه ومكانه ونسبه [‡] (13) اللهم الا ان ينتدب لمحاصرة بَانَاغَ. هذا (14) وقد امرتهم ان يحذروا من عذره الشرع فلا سبيل الى التعرض له «ليس على الضعفاء ولا على (15) المرضى ولا على الذين لا يجدون ما ينفقون خرج اذا نصحوهم لله ورسوله ما على المحسنين من (16) سبيل والله غفور رحيم ولا على الذين اذا ما اتوك لتحملهم قلت لا اجد ما احملكم عليه (17) تولوا واعينم تفيض من الدمع حزنا ألا يجدون ما ينفقون انما السبيل على الذين يستاذنونك (18) وهم اغنياء رضوا بان يكونوا مع الخوالف وطبع الله على قلوبهم فهم لا يعلمون» [§] انتهى.

واما (19) المطلوب منكم انتم فلتقتدوا — اذا وصل اليكم — ما نحن عليه بان تشمروا ذبولكم الى جهاد الكفار (20) في اهم جهاتكم «وليجدوا فيكم غلظة» [¶] «ولا تهنوا ولا تحزوا وانتم الأعلون» [¶] وفي الخرى «لغدوة في (21) سبيل الله او روحة خير من الدنيا وما فيها» [¶] ولا تفارقوا الحزم وكنوا رجال الله وعليكم بتمشير (22) دوابكم وانظروا لها من المواضع ما يصلح لها لكونها آلة الجهاد. والسلام

(b) Seal :

This impression is the only example of the seal of Muḥammad Bello so far recorded, and although it is not clear throughout, the reading may be substantially reconstructed as follows :

امير المو	Commander of the Faith-
منين محمد	ful Muḥammad
بن عثمان بن فو	son of 'Uthmān bin Fū-
دى [نصره	dī, assist him
الله	Allah . . .

¹ A word is deleted.

² A line of text is deleted, and in the margin is added the word بيان 'explanation', followed by the words inserted between the *obelisks* († . . . †)

³ *Qur'ān*, ix, 92-3. For ما يجدون خزنا we might expect حزننا

⁴ *Qur'ān*, ix, 124.

⁵ *Qur'ān*, iii, 135.

⁶ A *hadīth* which has been frequently attested with minor variants, cf. Wensinck, *Concordance de la tradition musulman*, s.v. روحة.

It does not appear that Sultan Bello employed his Fulani sobriquet (Bello) upon this seal inscription, although it is used by several of his descendants upon their seals in the genealogical formula. Apart from this, his successors follow the wording of Bello's seal extremely closely.

(c) Translation :

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate,
and may Allah bless the noble prophet,
and his family and his companions, who followed his righteous path.

[SEAL]

To the Emir of Bauchi, Ya'qūb bin Dādi, a thousand valedictions and a thousand greetings.

After which, the reason for [this message] is to inform you of our circumstances, and of what we are engaged in to-day of the important affairs of Islam and of the Muslims. That is, that we have gone out in the direction of the North, because of the affair of the beasts, and the foray against Tādagħaw, with al-Jilānī. We have taken our equipment, consisting of tents of hide, and water-skins, and all that is required for a journey.

We have ordered the expedition for the twentieth of Sha'bān, and we commanded those of the brethren who adjoin us to follow us, and to march out with us bringing their beasts and military equipment. There is not to stay behind a single one of the owners of beasts (*aṣḥābu 'l-dawwābi*), nor of the *ghāzis*, whoever he may be, excepting those who have embarked upon the campaign against Bānāgha. The result is that we have imposed upon the community at the present time one of two alternatives: either they should join the *ghāzis* on the Bānāgha front, and besiege it until we arrive, if Allah so will; or for whoever may prefer the expedition to Tādagħaw to accompany us. As for the cattle-owning herdsmen (*al-ra'ātu aṣḥābu 'l-baqari*), not one of them must fail to join us, unless there is no help for it.

We have also commanded them to adhere to their resolve, day and night; for that is the mark of the warriors (*al-mujāhidīn*), and the distinction between the heroes of Allah (*rijālū 'llāhi*), and the idlers and hypocrites; for this enterprise is important, embracing all the affairs of Islam and of the Muslims, and its advantages are scarcely to be numbered. So whoever is obedient, and diligent, him they must leave alone in his obedience and his diligence. Whoever idles and is lazy, him they must treat severely until he becomes active; and if he refuses, they must threaten him, until he is chastened; and if he is not chastened, †inform me of it, and of his name, and his situation, and of his origin†—except if he volunteers for the siege of Bānāgha.

Moreover, we have commanded them to have regard for those whom the Law has excused, for there is no way to interfere with them: 'It is not for the weak, nor for the sick, nor for those who cannot find the means to contribute, any sin, provided they be sincere towards Allah and towards his apostle. Nor is there any way against those who do good works, for Allah is forgiving

and merciful. Nor against those to whom, when they came to you for you to mount them, thou didst say "I cannot find resources to mount you"; they turned their backs, and their eyes poured forth tears, for grief that they could not find the means to contribute. There is only a way against those who ask thee leave to stay at home when they are rich, content to be amongst the stay-at-homes. Allah has set a seal upon their hearts, and yet they do not know'. [The quotation] is finished.

As for what is required of you yourself, you must follow our example—when this reaches you—and gird up your skirts for the sacred war (*jihād*) against the infidels upon your most important fronts and 'let them find strength in you', and 'do not give way, and do not be discouraged, for you shall have the upper hand'; or rather 'a morning upon the road of Allah, or a day's march is better than this world, and what is in it'. So do not turn aside from your resolve (*al-ḥazm*) but be heroes of Allah (*rijāl al-'uḥā*). Incumbent on you too is the multiplication of your beasts, and the seeking out for them of grazing-grounds that are suited to them, since they are the instruments of the sacred war. Greetings.

(d) Commentary :

Through the kindness of Malam Ladan Alu of Wurno, who has most generously made available for my inspection specimen documents from his collection, I have been able to form the opinion that the Bauchi letter here published was not only issued by Muḥammad Bello, but is in fact an autograph written by his own hand. Not only do the rapid and well-formed characters suggest that the writer was a proficient scholar. Their shape, when compared with three of the documents shown by Malam Ladan Alu, strongly suggest that the writer was the same. To these three Wurno letters there adheres a strong tradition that they are in the hand of Sultan Bello, whose long residence at Wurno is of course well-known. This is not the place for a lengthy discussion of the Wurno documents, but they may be briefly specified as follows :

1. *Kitāb al-qawli 'l-man'ūti fi 'l-naḥaqati wa 'l-qasmi fi 'l-mabūt*,¹ in two folios.
2. A copy of a letter to an unknown addressee, who is reproved for undutiful behaviour, in three folios.
3. Hastily written copy of a speech, perhaps a sermon, in five folios.

Only the last of these three documents contains a statement that it was copied by Muḥammad Bello, and the writing in this case differs somewhat from the other two : but not more than might be accounted for by the extreme haste in which it was evidently written. The first two documents strongly resemble that of Bauchi in their letter-forms, and are far from improbably in the same hand, allowing for a possible interval of time of several years.

¹ This title is no. 64 in the list of Bello's works published by W. E. N. Kensdale, 'Arabic literatures of the Western Sudan', *JRAS*, 1958, 56. See also the same author's *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria*, p. 20, no. 18.

I am therefore inclined to accept the Wurno tradition that all the three documents shown there are written by Muḥammad Bello, and to suggest that the Bauchi letter is by the same hand.

The invocation :

The material at present available is not sufficient to justify any far-reaching analysis of the principles which governed the choice of the opening invocation in Sokoto chancery usage under Muḥammad Bello, or the significance of the several variations. A comparison with the letters from Muḥammad Bello quoted in the *Infāq al-maisūr* shows that in a total of six texts six distinct formulae are used.¹ It is true that the second of the quotations in the *Infāq* begins with a formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وكفى وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى اما بعد فن محمد بل نجل امير المؤمنين عثمان بن فودى الى الحاج الامين . . .

which also forms part of the beginning of the work *al-qarāḥi 'l-man'ūti* just mentioned. At the same time, in the *Infāq* a formula very similar to that of our present text is found, a little unexpectedly, in a letter not from Bello but from another source. At this point² there appears to be some confusion in the texts of the *Infāq* both as given by Arnett and by Whitting, but although the originator of the letter in question is not quite clear, from the fact that a date, 1225/1810 is quoted, it is likely to have been the Sultan of Morocco, Sulaymān (A.D. 1795-1822). The opening invocation of this Moroccan document is closely similar to that of our Sokoto letter, and is given by Arnett as follows :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلوات الله على سيدنا محمد المصطفى الكريم وعلى آله واصحابه الذين انتهوا بهجة القويم.

There is therefore some possibility that this form of invocation was introduced at Sokoto as a result of correspondence with the Moroccans, and that the date of this innovation could be determined. It should be borne in mind that the varied formulae of the correspondence quoted in the *Infāq* date from before Bello's assumption of full sovereignty, and may not reflect the royal usage ; also, that this correspondence with al-Kānemi was of exceptional importance, and probably less stereotyped than the routine dispatches. Naturally, however, many more official documents of Bello's reign will need to be examined before conclusions can be reached as to the relevance of the formula of invocation to the problems of chronology. The same may be said of the usage of seals, for although a certain number of documents attributable to Bello altogether

¹ The references to the *Infāq* are as follows : (a) Whitting, *Infāq al-maisūr*, p. 128 (= Arnett, *Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, p. 103) ; (b) Whitting, p. 135 (= Arnett, p. 108) ; (c) Whitting, p. 139 (= Arnett, p. 109) ; (d) Whitting, p. 142 (= Arnett, p. 110) ; (e) Whitting, p. 181 (= Arnett, p. 113). These concordances are given because the contexts are not easy to find, but it should be noted that the texts of the two editions do not entirely correspond.

² Whitting, p. 180 (= Arnett, p. 122).

lack a seal-impression, it is not yet possible to determine when the use of the seal was introduced, or whether the presence or absence of impressions would be relevant for the dating of individual documents.

1. 1 الف تحية والى سلام وبعد فباعث [الرسم] اليكم اعلامكم باحوالنا.

This phraseology corresponds with that employed in two letters drafted by Muḥammad Bello, one for Shaykh 'Uṭhmān, to send to Muḥammad al-Amin of Bornu, and quoted in the *Infāq al-maistūr*.¹ The second of these supplies a word which exactly fits the outline for the lacuna in our text, and makes possible its restoration. The forms of address were no doubt conventional, as in other Islamic chanceries.

1. 2 الاسلام والمسلمين.

The regular formula to describe the Sultanate of Sokoto, just as المسلمين is the usual term for the subjects of the Sultanate.

1. 3 غزو تاداغو مع الجيلاني

I have not succeeded in locating the town of Tādaghaw, nor any further reference to the personage named al-Jilānī. He was a namesake of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, the founder of the *Qādarīyya* movement (to which Shaykh 'Uṭhmān belonged) and in all probability a member of the family of the Shaykh. The practice of assuming the *nisba* of some famous religious figure seems to have been fashionable amongst the learned of Sokoto, to judge by the example of al-Bukhārī: the *ism* of the person in question would no doubt have been 'Abd al-Qādir, just as the *nisba* al-Bukhārī was given as a nickname to persons named Muḥammad.

1. 5 الخروج معنا بالدواب . . . وان لا يتخلف احد من اصحاب الدواب

It does not seem quite clear whether baggage animals, or riding animals, presumably horses, are meant, though this would have been known to the addressee. Below there is reference to herdsmen owning cattle, and these are no doubt the well-known Fulani pastoralists of the savannahs, who live a nomadic life, and range with their herds over enormous distances. They do not nowadays possess horses, and whether they are the same persons as the *ashābu*

¹ Whitting, p. 160 (= Arnett, p. 113) : بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليماً الحمد لله وحده ولا اله غيره والصلاة والسلام على من لا نبي بعده فن أمير المؤمنين و سلطان المسلمين سيدنا و وسيلتنا الى ربنا عثمان بن فودي الى العالم العلامة محمد الامين بن محمد الكائمي بالف تحية والى سلام اما بعد فباعث الرسالة اليك اعلمك بما نحن فيه . . .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليماً فن محمد بن محمد بن نجل الشيخ عثمان الى الحاج الامين الف تحية والى سلام اما بعد فباعث الرسم اليك اعلامك بانى . . .

It is possible that in both texts we should emend الف تحية into تحية بالف with the present document, but a change is not strictly necessary.

'*l-dawwābī*, and to be thought of as having in Bello's time been also in possession of horses is a matter for investigation.

1. 6 فِي غَزْوِ بَانَاغَ

The town of Bānāgha, if we follow strictly the spelling used by Muḥammad Bello, or, as it appears on the modern map, Banaga, is situated some 35 miles south of the district headquarters of Anka, on the southern boundary of Sokoto Province.¹ It should not, of course, be confused with Banga (spent by Bello (بَنَغ), which is also in Sokoto Province not far from Gusau. I have found no specific reference to the operations against Banaga here mentioned in the historical literature available to me, though clearly such a reference would enable us to date the document under discussion very closely. There is, apparently, a mention of Banaga in the *Infāq al-maisūr*, but this appears in a verse context and is not closely datable²:

فَفِي بَاكِي أَرْبَعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ قَتَلُوا وَفِي شَانَا أَرْبَعٍ وَعِشْرُونَ يَذْكُرُ
ثَلَاثُونَ عِدَّةً أَهْلُ بَانَاغَ أَمَةً عَلَى شَرْكَ أَرْدِينَاهُمْ فَتَعْفَرُ

It may be conjectured that the campaign against Banaga did not occur during the lifetime of Shaykh 'Uṭhmān, but only after the death of the latter, and the accession of Muḥammad Bello to the full sovereignty. There is confirmation of this belief in the fact that our seal gives to Bello the full title of *amīru 'l-mu'minīn*, which would scarcely have been possible while Shaykh 'Uṭhmān was alive. In this case the events could not have been narrated in the *Infāq al-maisūr*, which covers the earlier period of the *jihād*, only down to about A.D. 1810. The most likely possibility is that the campaign against Banaga formed part of the operations against the Dakarkeri people in the southern part of Sokoto Province undertaken by Bello in A.D. 1820.³

It is of interest that the title of Sarkin Banaga 'King of Banaga' is held by the District Head of Maru, in Sokoto Province.⁴ In accordance with the normal practice by which titles were allotted in the Fulani Empire, it is probable that the ancestor of the present District Head received this unusual title as a result of having earned distinction in the campaign against Banaga. We may therefore hope to find further details of this campaign preserved amongst the family traditions of the District Heads of Maru, yet it seems likely that for the time being at least the document published here is the only source of information about the campaigns of Tādagḥaw and of Banaga.

¹ *Gazetteer of place-names on the map of Nigeria*, Zaria, 1949, p. 18, s.v. Banaga.

² Whitting, p. 98, who, however, reads يَانَاغَ (Yānāgha). We should probably prefer to follow Arnett, p. 80, in reading 'Banaga', though it must be noted that there are other discrepancies between the two editions at this point.

³ E. J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Sokoto Province*, London, 1920, p. 31: 'In 1820, Gunki, Sarkin Gobir, was killed in battle at Kadaye. Bello unsuccessfully attacked Bakura, and the Dakarkeri Country'.

⁴ *idem*, p. 8. I first learnt of this interesting circumstance in conversation with Mr. Adrian Webb and Malam 'Umaru Jabka at Maru Teacher Training Centre.

V

Transcript of a letter from Yūsuf Pāshā Karamānli, Pasha of Tripoli (A.D. 1795/6–1832) to Muḥammad Bello, Sultan of Sokoto (A.D. 1817–37); 2 fols. measuring 8½ in. × 6½ in. approx. Sultan's Library, Sokoto. Plate IVa, b.

I am indebted to the Chief Alkali of Sokoto for selecting this document from the Library of the Sultan with the gracious consent of the Sultan, and making it available for me to examine and record. The folios on which the copy is written seem to be old, and the script is an elegant and unusual Maghribi hand, for which I know no close analogy in the Sokoto archives, and which may therefore be foreign. At the same time, the appearance of the folios is not such as one would expect for the original dispatch of an Ottoman Governor. Thus it will be noted that there is no mark of authentication, 'such as a *tughrā*, seal impression, 'alāma, or signature. We should not anticipate that an official communication would be written on separate sheets of paper, in the manner of a book, since this arrangement provides no safeguard against fraudulent alteration; it should rather be upon a single sheet, or a continuous roll. Nor is this script the formal *divānī* or *ruq'a* of the Ottoman chanceries. Yet since the opening phrases of the letter are couched in conventional rhyming prose, and are elegantly conceived, it seems highly probable that we have here none the less an authentic text, and the possibility emerges that the document is some sort of transcript, or office copy. This hypothesis is confirmed by certain other features of the document, which are best discussed at this point.

First, the opening words of the text *وصلی الله علی سیدنا و مولانا محمد و علی* *عاله و صحبه وسلم* are in every way exceptional, since it appears that the *bismillah* which should precede this formula is wanting. An explanation might be sought by supposing that the *bismillah* had been written by itself on a previous page, no longer to hand. Yet such a method of writing the *bismillah* is unheard of in chancery practice. A far more plausible explanation seems to be the following: in the case of chancery documents and *firmāns* written upon rolls, it has always been the practice to roll them up, without the use of any wooden or cardboard core, beginning from the head. Inevitably the head of the document has to suffer more wear and tear than the remainder, and so it is found that a surprising number of early *firmāns* have the first few inches torn or mutilated.¹ The opening formulae, and even the *tughrās* which follow them are not infrequently lost. It is therefore entirely likely that the document with which we are here concerned was also originally in roll form, and as a result of this process of attrition had already lost the portion containing the *bismillah*. The deteriorating condition of the document may well have attracted the attention of its custodians, and

¹ e.g. Bibliothèque Nationale No. 2334, a Persian *firmān* of Ahmad Jalair dated Tabriz, 773/1372, of which the entire heading is lost, and which commences only with the matter, as is clear from photographs in my possession; cf. H. Massé, 'Ordonnance rendu par le Prince Ilkhanien Ahmad Jalair', *JA*, cccxxx, 1938, 465. Also BM Or. 4934 (iii).

وصل الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم
 الموضع الاسم الاول الاحصى فقام الخليفة في الاشارة والمصالح
 الامم من العترة الباهرة والوفاء بالظواهر في جميع الجبيل والذين
 انشأ من اولاده وشرف الصرا للدين في طاعة الامام والدين
 الشريعة في ارضه النعمانية في جميع السيف والظلم وتضلع
 بالظفر المصطفى والعترة الطاهرة في طاعة الله والدين
 في السراية والدين على جميع الاخر او محبنا على السمع
 السلطان بكون صاحب والدين السواد اذ اذ الامم والدين في
 واخره في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين
 يسلمون في سيمه وكنهه في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين
 مع الرحمة والرحمة في مائة السور والرحمة في مائة السور
 وتطهر اليدين والاسم في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين
 انه في اول الامر من الاولاد في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين

LETTER V: YÜSUF PASHA KARAMANLI, PASHA OF TRIPOLI, TO MUHAMMAD BELLO OF SOKOTO

وقصا في حبس اجتماع الارواح وارتباط اجسادها وانهم
 انصارنا الماعز والذين في الحروب الذين في طاعة المصطفى
 عرجاء رحيم وروايتهم في حكمه في طاعة المصطفى واولادهم
 في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين في طاعة الله والدين
 منه في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين في طاعة الله والدين
 المذاكر في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 حلا في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 العز في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 من في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 عرجاء رحيم وروايتهم في حكمه في طاعة المصطفى واولادهم
 في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين في طاعة الله والدين
 منه في ايامه التي جملته بضمه وكنهه امير المؤمنين في طاعة الله والدين
 المذاكر في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 حلا في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 العز في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين
 من في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين في طاعة الله والدين

necessitated the preparation of a transcript to preserve the text. On this theory, our transcript will be anyway some decades later than the original, and we must suppose that the copyist began with the first words extant upon his archetype.

Forewarned by these observations, we shall not be unduly surprised to discover after examining the text, that at one or two points in the transcript the reading is unsatisfactory, and that it is sometimes necessary to emend. Such a procedure would be rash in the case of an official original, but those who have experience in transcribing the difficult cursive hands of the Ottoman chanceries will readily appreciate that an unpractised copyist can be forgiven for going astray. The manifest errors are shown in the footnotes to the text, and they help to confirm the other evidence that we have to do with a transcript of a more formal document, and not with the original itself.

(a) Text :

وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم
المقام الاسماء، والملاذ الاحمى، مقام الخليفة الارشد، والهيام (2) الاسعد، ذى
المثائر الباهرة، والحلال الظاهرة، ينبوع الفضل الذى (3) لا تنضب موارده، وكوثر
العدل الذى لا يظمى وارده، الامام الذى (4) انتشر فضله وعدله فى جميع الاقطار،
حتى صار واضحاً كوضوح (5) الشمس فى رابعة النهار، الحائز رتبتي السيف والقلم
وتضلع (6) العلوم المعقولة والمنقولة فكان فيها مفرد علم الذى فاق (7) فى الرياسة
والبلاغة على جميع الاقران، محبنا على السماع (8) السلطان بيلو¹ صاحب ولاية
السودان، ادام الله دولته ووجوده، (9) واخفق فى رايات العز جنوده،² بمنه وكرمه
عامين.

اما بعد سلام (10) يسابق النسيم ويجارى بركة انفاسه التسنيم، يهدى اليكم (11)
مع الرحمة والبركة، فى حالتى السكون والحركة، ما تعاقب الملوان، (12) وتكرر
الجديدان، لاسيما اتنا من اهل حبكم، وطالبي قربكم، بحيث³ (13) انه فى قلبنا لكم
من الوداد ما لا يكدر صفاه البعاد، والله سبحانه (page 2) وتعالى يقضى باجتماع
الارواح وان تباعدت الاجساد.

هذا وانه (15) اتصل بنا الاعز جوابكم، والعذب اللذيذ خطابكم، المثبتي (16) عن
صفاء حبكم وبواعث قربكم، فتلقيناه بالقبول واقام عندنا (17) قيام الرؤية النظرية،
لذاتكم البشرية، واعظم ما استفدنا (18) منه بقاء ذاتكم الكريمة النجاراً، العزيزة

¹ The Pasha does not adopt the Nigerian spelling بل.

² It is assumed here that a word has fallen out of the text before جنوده.

³ Read بحيث.

بغناوان (19) اللذان ارسلتم لنا صحبة الاجل المحترم صهركم القايد
ا ذكرتكم كثر الله خيركم وشكر سعيكم والواصل الينا مع (21)
جعبتين وزرج² غدارى كل واحده (22) فيها جعبتين يبلغوكم
على اسر حال، واتم (23) منوال، ونحن وانتم على المحبة الكاملة،
لوا³ (24) عن ذلك المحال، ما دامت الايام واليالى، والله مطلع
بر، وما تخفيه الضماير.

حاجة فى هذا (26) الجنب عرفنا بها نقضوها بحول الله و قوته
لكم الخيرات، والسعادة⁴ الاوقات، بحمة صاحب المعجزات،
سلم وعلى ماله واصحابه الكمات، عدد ما مضى وما هوامات.
نب عن اذن امير اللواء صاحب ولاية طرابلس الغرب عبده

(b) Translation :

And may Allah bless our Lord and Master Muhammad
and his companions, and welcome them.

The elevated presence (*al-muqām*) and inviolable sanc
most orthodox Caliph and most fortunate hero : he of de
and manifest virtues : fountain of grace whose conduits :
of justice whose frequenter never thirsts : *Imām* whose gra
are diffused in every quarter, until they are displayed
of the noonday sun : master of the two degrees of the sw
doctor of the sciences, intellectual and traditional—as
them is that distinction⁵ which has surpassed all contem
and eloquence—our well-beloved through repute, Sultan
province of the Sudan (may Allah prolong his reign and h
He cause [the standards of] his armies to wave among
victory, by His grace and generosity, Amen!).

Now after salutations which outrun the zephyr, and ex
fragrance the nectar : it is communicated to you, in additio
mercy and blessing [upon you], in both states of rest a
long as night and day succeed one another, and light and
especially that we are amongst the adherents to your frie
those seeking close relations with you. So that there is tow

¹ The text suggests a corruption at this point. The expression الجارة
with كريمة النجار and this unnaturalness suggests that there may be

² Read جوز.

³ Dr. Stern tells me that this unclassical form is a typical Maghribi co

⁴ The copyist has deleted the definite article of السعادة as the gram

⁵ The translator has some doubt whether the syntax is correctly fo

that affection which distance cannot cloud. Allah (may He be glorified and exalted) ordains the union of the spirits, even of those who in the flesh are separated.

Moreover, there has been transmitted to us your most respected letter, and the delicious draught of your discourse; indicating the purity of your affection for us, and the reasons for your community of interest with us. We have received it with approval, and it has provided us with the equivalent of a visual glimpse of your actual person. From it our greatest benefit has been [to learn of] the survival of your noble self, our cherished neighbour. The two slaves (*myghnāwān*),¹ whom you sent to us with the respected nobleman, your son-in-law,² the Commander (*al-qā'id*) Mādī, reached us as you explained. May Allah increase your riches and fructify your endeavours³! There reached us at the same time as the above⁴ a shotgun with two barrels, and a pair of pistols, each of which has two barrels. May they find you in a state of abundance, enjoying the happiest circumstances, and the most perfect conditions, with us and you remaining on terms of complete friendship and constant affection. May we never vary this relationship, as long as days and nights continue! As Allah surveys what is in our secret thoughts, and all that is hidden in our consciences.

Whatever requirement may occur to you from this Governorate, inform us of it, and we shall supply it, by God's might and power. So may you endure, and may there endure for you all that is best, and fortunate times, through the sanctity of the Lord of Miracles, whom Allah bless and welcome, with his family and his brave companions, as often as days have passed, and are to come!

So greetings. This was written at the instruction of the *amīr al-liwā'*,⁵ Ruler of the Province of Tripoli, North Africa, His slave,⁶ Yūsuf Pāshā Karamānli.

(c) Commentary:

The content of this official letter is of a somewhat formal nature, and its interest centres largely in its establishing the fact of correspondence between

¹ The unfamiliar word *myghnāwān* is not Arabic. Its meaning is not clear, but a suggestion (originating with Malam Audu Mahmud) is that it may be a Kanuri phrase, *mai gana* 'small king', Arabized as a single word. Alternatively, Mr. D. Cowan has suggested a connexion with the Moroccan Arabic word *ghnāwī* 'Guinean'.

² 'Brother-in-law' is also an admissible translation. The relationship of this personage to Sultan Bello will no doubt be precisely established as more documents become available.

³ i.e. 'Thank you for the gift'.

⁴ Strictly, the text would signify that the firearms had arrived, presumably from Sokoto, in the same convoy as the slaves and the emissary Mādī. Yet the sense seems to require reference rather to a return present from the Pasha to Sultan Bello, since there is an implication that the firearms are to reach Bello. It is intrinsically improbable that Bello would send a present of firearms to Tripoli, where such products were more easily obtainable, and less valued. I therefore understand the text as translated above.

⁵ The Ottoman title of rank, 'Commander of a Standard' 'Sanjakbay'.

⁶ i.e. of God.

Sultan Bello, and the Pashas of Tripoli. There seems some possibility of determining to within a few years the date and circumstances under which this correspondence began. The district of the Fezzan had intermittently formed a part of the Governorate of Tripoli under the predecessors of Yūsuf Pāshā, but Karamānli control having lapsed, the Pasha found it necessary in 1813 to dispatch his commander Muḥammad al-Mukni to re-occupy the oases. This operation was so successfully carried out that in 1817 al-Mukni was able to mount a raid against the frontiers of Bornu, and to bring back a substantial booty of slaves.¹ Apparently as a consequence of this feat, he earned the persistent enmity of the Bornu Sultan (at this time Muḥammad al-Amīn), and when after prolonged dissensions the Fezzan tribes under 'Abd al-Jalīl were in 1826 once more able to throw off the suzerainty of Tripoli, the Bornu element of the population is said to have played a leading part in the revolt.² Since after 1817 both Sokoto and Tripoli were on terms of hostility with Bornu, it is easy to understand that knowledge of their common interest could have led to the establishment of relations between them. It is conceivable that this correspondence of the Pasha with Sokoto, to be dated, perhaps towards A.D. 1820, gave rise to the trans-Saharan contacts which enabled Warrington, British Consul at Tripoli, to secure the safe conducts for his emissaries, the explorers Barth and Clapperton, to make their visits to Sokoto.

Apart from this, the present document contains a number of points of minor interest. The emissary Mādī, a kinsman of Sultan Bello, seems not to be mentioned in the previously published sources. The sophisticated rhyming prose in which the document is largely couched illustrates the relationship between the chancery at Tripoli and those of the more celebrated courts of the Mediterranean Arab world. At the same time, despite a considerable virtuosity in the use of this epistolary medium, it will be noted that the scribe is guilty of a number of colloquialisms, and inconsequentialities in the use of stereotyped formulae, which suggest that his training was not quite equal to his pretensions. Finally, there remains the question of whether or not the document presented here is itself an original, or merely, as has been suggested above, some species of transcript. A conclusive verdict on this point will probably have to await the publication of a more extensive range of chancery documents from the Tripolitan archives, together with facsimiles with which the form of the present specimen could be compared.

CONCLUSION

The preceding selection of Arabic official documents from Northern Nigeria is offered to call attention to the range and variety of the material reported up to the present time. These documents, and notably No. IV, provide information on certain points of detail in the history of Nigeria during the nineteenth

¹ E. Rosai, 'Per la storia della penetrazione turca nell' interno della Libia', *Oriente Moderno*, ix, 1929, 154.

² *Encyc. of Islam*, s.v. Karamanli.

century. Special emphasis is here laid on the importance of distinguishing between original official documents, and transcripts more or less accurately made from these for a variety of purposes, of which considerable numbers are thought to be in circulation. Of the techniques for establishing this distinction, the most immediately rewarding is, of course, the reproduction and comparison of facsimiles, and it is hoped that as the resources of scholarship in West Africa increase, this practice may be adopted on a substantially wider scale.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 714-16

A manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 9052, f. 13r) of the history of Damascus by Ibn 'Asākir contains an account of the siege of Constantinople. The MS is not always easy to read and this piece of history is syncopated but it gives details which are not to be found elsewhere.

Translation

Laith said : ' I was one of those who went on military service in the name and on the pay roll of 'Umar b. Hubaira when Sulaimān put him in command of the war at sea. I accompanied my brother, Abū Khurāsān, in a ship and 'Umar led us till we passed the people of Egypt ; they followed us and we sailed till we reached Trābulus in Africa. We went up to the land of Rūm till we were opposite Constantinople. We cruised in the Syrian sea till we were driven into the strait of Constantinople and came out in the strait at the gate of Constantinople to pass on to Maslama and the Muslims with him. Maslama had drawn up the Muslims in a line (I had never seen a longer) with the many squadrons. Leo, the autocrat of Rūm, sat on the tower of the gate of Constantinople with its towers ; he drew up the foot soldiers in a long line between the wall and the sea opposite the Muslim line. We showed arms in a thousand ships, light ships, big ships in which were stores of Egyptian clothing, etc., and galleys with the fighting men.' Laith said : ' I never saw a day more amazing for our advance by land and sea, the display of our arms, the display by the autocrat of Rūm on the wall of Constantinople and their array of this armament. They set up mangonels and oragers. The Muslims advanced by land and sea, the Rūm showed the same (tactics) and fled disgracefully. 'Umar and some of those from the ships were afraid to advance against the harbour mouth, fearing for their lives. When the Rūm saw this, galleys and light ships came out from the harbour mouth against us and one of them went to the nearest Muslim ship, threw on it grapnels with chains and towed it with its crew into Constantinople. We lost heart. They came out against (another) ship to do the same ; so Ibn Hubaira began to lament and say, " Is there no man ? " Abū Khurāsān stood up and said, " I am a man here ; you have kept me in a ship with you as if I were useless ". Ibn Hubaira said to him, " Go where you will ; give what commands you like ". He pointed to a ship of the Persians whose energy and toughness he knew and said, " Send me and my brother in a boat and command them to obey me '. Abū Khurāsān ordered the captain of the ship to guide it to that which was carrying off the Muslims ; but the captain was afraid so Abū Khurāsān showed him his sword. He took his ship till it was alongside theirs ; Abū Khurāsān then bound them together with a chain so that neither could get loose from the

other. We fought with swords from one ship to the other and God gave us the victory; we boarded their ship, put them to the sword and reached the commander who had done what he had done. He had thrown off his helmet and fallen on his knees, a bald-headed ancient. One of our men struck him without harming him so Abū Khurāsān came forward and struck him a blow which split his head so that I saw that the blade had passed his chin, throat, and thereabouts. The rest surrendered; we led them to the Muslims near us and then went back to those who were of them (the enemy) but they retired into the harbour. Abū Khurāsān took up a strong position¹; those of us who went to Maslama and his troops were made to pass by him till all had passed (none of them were lost except the first ship) and we came to Maslama and his troops. We took them to the strait to Alabisīq at the gate of Constantinople which the sea—or, he said, the strait—surrounded except where it was joined to the continent. Maslama camped on it and our ships were moored on the shore near the soldiers. ‘Umar and others left our ships to go to Maslama and the troops whom we wished (to visit); they came to us and came into our ships.’

Text

قال الليث كنت ممن غزا على اسمه وعطائه يعنى عمر بن هبيرة اذ ولاه سليمان غازية البحر ورافقت اخي ابا خراسان في مركب فसार بنا عمر حتى مررنا باهل مصر فقتبونا ومضينا حتى اتينا اطرابلس افريقية وعلونا ارض الروم حتى اذا حاذينا بالقسطنطينية سرنا في بحر الشام حتى دفعنا الى خليج القسطنطينية فخرجنا الى الخليج على باب القسطنطينية لنجيز الى مسلمة ومن معه من المسلمين وصف مسلمة بمن معه من المسلمين صفاء لم ار قط اطول منه مع الكراديس الكثيرة وجلس ليون طاغية الروم على برج باب القسطنطينية وبروجها ويصف منهم رجالة فيما بين الحائط والبحر صفاء طويلا بجذاء صف المسلمين واطهزنا السلاح في الف مركب بين محركات وقوادس فيها الخزائن من كسوة مصر وما فيها مما اليه والمعينات فيها المقاتلة قال الليث ما رايت يوماً قط كان اعجب منه لما ظهر من عدونا في البر والبحر وما اظهرنا من السلاح وما اظهر طاغية الروم على حائط القسطنطينية وصفهم ذلك [؟ تلك] العدة ونصبوا المنجانيق والعرادات فيكرّ المسلمون في البر والبحر ويظهر الروم مثلها وفرّ بالشين فكعّ ابن هبيرة وجماعة من معه من السفن من الاقدام على باب المينا لما هابته على انفسهم فلما رأى ذلك الروم خرج اليها من باب ميناهم معينات ومحرقات

¹ ?; had acquitted himself well.

فمضى مركب منهم الى ادى من يليه من مراكز المسلمين فالتى عليه الكلاب
بالسلاسل فاجترؤ حتى ادخله باهله القسطنطينية فاسقط في ايدينا وخرجوا الى المركب
ليفعلوا ذلك فجعل ابن هيرة يتحسر ويقول الا رجل فقام اليه ابو خراسان فقال
هذا انا رجل ولكنك صيرتني في المركب معك كبعض من لا غناء عنده فقال له ابن
هيرة فقم بما ترى وعر بما تحب فاشار الى مركب من الفرس يعرفهم بالشدة والبأس
فقال ابعتني في قارب انا واخي ومرهم بطاعتى ففعل وامر ابو خراسان لنوتى المركب
ان يوجهه الى ذلك المركب الذى ذهب بالمسلمين فكع عنه النوتى فاشار اليه ابو
خراسان بالسيف فمضى به حتى الصق المركب بمركبهم ثم سار ابو خراسان حتى
اوثقهم بسلسلة له لا يفر احدهما من صاحبه قال فاجتلدنا بأسافنا فيما بين السفينتين
ورزقنا الله الظفر فدخلنا سفينتهم ووضعنا السيف فيهم فانتبهنا الى قومس السفينة
الذى فعل ما فعل وقد التى بيضته وجثا على ركبته شيخ اصلع فضربه صاحب لنا
ضربة لم تغن شيئا وتقدم اليه ابو خراسان فضربه ضربة شق منها هامته حتى نظرت
الى السيف قد اجاز الى الذقن الى الحنجرة وما يليها واستسلم من بقى منهم فقدناها الى
من يلينا من المسلمين ورجعنا الى من كان منهم فدخلوا المينا ووقف ابو خراسان
موقفا حسنا فامر به من مرّ منا الى مسلمة ومن يليه حتى مروا من آخرهم لم يصب
منهم الا ذلك المركب الاول حتى انتبهنا الى مسلمة ومن معه فاخذناهم الى الخليج الى
الابسيق ؟ الذى على باب القسطنطينية والبحر او قال الخليج محيط بها الا ما يلى
برّها فعسكر عليه مسلمة وكنا في سفننا مرسين على ساحلها مما يلى العسكر فخرج
من سفننا عمرين هيرة وغيره الى مسلمة ومن اردنا من اهل العسكر ويأتينا اهل العسكر
فيدخلون علينا في سفننا.

Notes

As the emperor is Leo this incident happened in the middle of the siege. Tabarī (II, 1306) says that 'Umar led the fleet and wintered at Constantinople but any details about him are connected with the negotiations in the heart of Anatolia. Theophanes (p. 593) also names 'Umar as commander of the fleet. Laith and his brother are not otherwise known; Laith might be one of several *rāwīs* who are mentioned and Khurāsān occurs as a man's name in Tabarī. The people of Egypt must be the Egyptian contingent to the fleet.

Professor Wittek kindly suggested Alabisīq as the interpretation of an illegible name (cf. Ibn Hawqal, 2nd ed., I, 191, and map).

MA'ĀRIJ AL-QUDS

This book was published in Cairo in 1346/1927 and the title-page stated that the great Ghazālī was the author; this is a mistake for much of the book is by Ibn Sīnā at first or second hand. Detailed proof of this statement follows.

- p. 21. Illustration of the limbless man in mid air. *Ishārāt*, 303/119.¹
- pp. 25-32 correspond to *Shifā'*, I, 348-51 with short omissions.
- p. 41. Sense of touch resembles *Shifā'*, I, 290.
- p. 51 f. The soul's powers of knowing and acting are both reason. *Shifā'*, I, 291 f., *Ishārāt*, 323/125.
- pp. 53-6. The intellect in its upward aspect can be influenced by the upper world. *Shifā'*, I, 292 f.
- p. 110. Grades of intellect. *Shifā'*, I, 293. *Najāt*, 274.
- p. 137. The active intellect is to the human as the sun is to sight. *Shifā'*, I, 356.
- p. 138. The soul has reason potentially and comes to have it in act. *Shifā'*, I, 356 (section 5).
- p. 140. Unity and multiplicity. *Shifā'*, I, 357.
- p. 158. The active intellect is named 'the giver of forms'.
- pp. 160 ff. Definition of *hads*. *Ishārāt*, 327/127.
- p. 189. In the primal being essence and existence are one.
- p. 199. The active intellect gives perfection to human intellects even in this world. *Ishārāt*, 328/128.

There are ideas which it seems impossible to ascribe to Ghazālī. Two versions of the order of creation are: intellect, soul, and matter (*hyle*); the Pen, the Tablet, and outer darkness; elsewhere it is said that the first creation was the substance of Muḥammad (p. 125). His intellect is above all human intellects and brings them out of potentiality into act (p. 163). The intellect is the origin of material forms (if this is the right rendering of *dhawāt*) but itself has none (p. 203). The Lord is the perfection of the all (p. 191). Djinn belong to the sphere of *khayāl*—the conventional translation is 'imagination'—and are between the corporeal and the spiritual (p. 160). The childishness of some pairings is unlike Ghazālī; senses/angels; imagination/Tablet; sinews/heavens; elements/souls.

A MS at Rabat (no. 952) bears the name of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and is said to be on theology; among other things it contains some account of creation, descriptions of plants, and the letter of Aristotle to Alexander. The ascription to Ghazālī is false. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 541, mentions another forgery, *manāḥij al-'ābidīn*, which was fathered on Ghazālī.

A. S. TRITTON

¹ The first figure refers to Mlle. Goichon's translation and the second to Forget's text.

'THE LANGUAGE OF THE MEDIANS'

In his article 'Caucasica' ¹ Professor H. W. Bailey drew attention to an interesting article by A. Shanidze, 'The newly-discovered alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians and its significance for science', in a sadly inaccessible periodical. ² 'The discovery of the lost alphabet was made by I. Abuladze in an Armenian manuscript of the fifteenth century containing a miscellany of alphabets, Greek, Syriac, Latin, Georgian, Coptic, Arabic, and Albanian.'

'In the same Armenian manuscript is preserved in seven different languages the Monophysite liturgical prayer "Ἄγιος ὁ θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, ὁ στυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. One version is said to be in the language of the Medians (*Marac*'). . . . The other versions, all in Armenian script, are in Greek, Syriac, Georgian, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish.'

At first glance one would expect the 'language of the Medians' to mean that of the Kurds, the only sizeable nation of the area not otherwise mentioned. And surely, in Shanidze's words, 'there is no doubt that we have before us a Kurdish text'. Shanidze has established that the MS was copied in the first half of the fifteenth century, probably between 1430 and 1446, from a presumably much older original brought to Armenia from Feodosia in the Crimea. Since the earliest Kurdish literary work extant is the *Dīwān* ³ o' *Malā' Jizrī*, who probably died c. 1480, ⁴ these few words, for what they are worth, may constitute the earliest record of Kurdish.

It may be of interest to reproduce here, for comparison, some of the other versions. They are given here in transliteration, from the excellent plates illustrating Shanidze's article. The accompanying interpretations follow those of Shanidze only in part. It will be seen that the original translations and transcriptions into Armenian letters had varying success.

Persian.

P'ak'i xuda, p'ak'i t'axa
na, p'ak'i bemark, xār
xāč' šadī bahrī ma. Rah
māt' k'en'ār ma.

**Pāk-ī xudā, pāk-ī tavānā, pāk-ī bēmag, avar xāč' šuc-ī bahr-ī mā, rahmat kun avar mā.*

Arabic.

Γεδūs allāh, γεδūs
alyadār, γεδūs mayyidūx
almōt', aladī en salāp, ra
hamna.

**Quddūs allāh, quddūs al-qādir, quddūs mā-yixdūh* [*< ya'xudūhu*]-*al-mawt, allaḏī inšalab, rhamnā.*

¹ *JRAS*, 1943, 4.

² *Izvestiya Instituta Jazyka, Istori i Material'noj Kul'tury im. akad. Merra Gruzinskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Tiflis), iv, 1938. I am most grateful to Professor Bailey for the loan of his copy.

³ Ed. Martin Hartmann, *Der kurdische Dīwān des Schēch Ahmad*, Berlin, 1904.

⁴ See Alauddin Sejjadi, *Mēzūy adabī kurdī*, Baghdad, 1952, 155-61.

Turkish.

*Arî t'anîrî, arî guç
lu, arî aşalsöz, yisa ki
xaç'a caxtênk. Rahmat
yêgîl biza.*

**Arî tayrî, arî güclü, arî aşalsöz, yisa ki xaça cıqtın, rahmât gilyıl bizâ.*

'Median'.

*Pakêž xodê, pakêž zâhm,
pakêž vemark, kôy hat'
î xaç'ê, aşkêrma. Rahmât'
ê ma.*

Professor Henning has recently¹ quoted from this text, characterizing it as 'ein nordiranischer Dialekt allerdings nicht sehr alten Gepräges'. There can be no questioning his etymology of *aşkêrma* 'for us' (< *až-kêrd-*, cf. MPers., Parth. *ač êd kird* 'for this (reason)'), a form now replaced in Northern Kurdish by *zi bô ma*, or *bônâ ma*. But the word *hat'* allows of a simpler explanation than his "'hanged'" (older *haxt*, cf. NPers. *âhixt* etc.). Comparison with the phrase from John xix, 20,

(i) *au ji . . . lə k'ō k'i Isa hat'ə xaç' k'ərən,*

(ii) *au jiē Yisus lē hat'ā xaç'k'ərən,*²

ὁ τόπος . . . ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς,

with the normal Northern Kd. periphrastic passive 'came to crucifixion', shows that we have here also the verb *hāt'in* 'to come' (< **ā-gata-*). *pākiž*, *pāqiz* 'clean, pure' and *zaxm* 'strong' are common Northern Kd. words. It seems, therefore, that the text is to be read as

**Pākiž xudê, pākiž zahm, pākiž vemark, kôy hātî xāçê 'î kir ma, rahmatê ma.*

A modern translation of 'who was crucified' might read *kô yê hātî(a) salb kirinê*, with the 'Demonstrative Izafe' *yê* serving as a relative pronoun. The *koy* of the text may well also contain a relative element *-y*, beside the subordinating particle *kô* (MPers. *kw*).

D. N. MACKENZIE

¹ *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. I: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, IV. Bd.: Iranistik, 1. Abschnitt: Linguistik*, Leiden-Cologne, 1958, 78.

² From Kurdish translations of the Gospels in Armenian script, (i) BFBS, Constantinople, 1857 ('translated by Stepan, an Armenian of Haine'), (ii) ABS, Constantinople, 1911 ('translated by Messrs. Amirkhanian, Der Ghazarian and Abalahadian').

SŌMĒŚVARA AND THE KĀḌAVA ; CIŒCILĀ : THREE CORRECTIONS

The story of the relations between the Hoysaḷa and the Cōḷa and the latter's nominal feudatories is difficult to establish on account of the fact that many pieces of evidence are undated. But there are other obstacles, two striking examples of which appeared recently when a valuable volume of the *South Indian inscriptions* series, published in India during the war, came belatedly to hand in London.¹

In *The Hoysaḷas* (Madras, O.U.P., 1957) at p. 114 there appears the following: 'It was this Kāḍava king who, commencing from a territory which had been slowly enlarged towards the south of Cidambaram by his predecessors, attempted to cross the Kāvēri and absorb the districts between the river and the coast: to this movement Sōmēśvara replied by sending his forces down the river and causing them to erect fortifications'. This statement was supported by the summary of an inscription² of the 33rd year of Perumāḷ Śrīvallabha (Pāṇḍya) at Tiruvenkāḍu, 10 miles south of the Kāvēri, which refers to disturbances of worship at that place long before when fortresses were being built on the north bank of the river by the Karnāḍigas, with whom Kōpperuñjīṅga-dēva was fighting (and who may have been stealing the temple masonry for their purposes). In the report which precedes the summaries³ we are told that it was Peruñjīṅga-dēva who erected the fortifications: one version must be wrong and in *The Hoysaḷas* that version was preferred which seemed likely to have been nearer to the original text.

At p. 120 there appears the following passage: 'In December 1236 Sōmēśvara was himself at the *koppa* of Maṅgala 'on a victorious expedition against the Kāḍava-rāya'. '*koppa* of Maṅgala' has a slightly improbable sound, though (in view of the well-known phrase *caturvēṅga-maṅgalam*) it was not impossible. It was supported by B. Lewis Rice's texts (romanized and Kannaḍa)⁴ and translation⁵ of the inscription in question: '... when the Hoysaḷa emperor Sōvi-dēvarasa, being in Maṅgalada-koppa on a victorious expedition over Kāḍava-rāya, was ruling the kingdom of the world...'. But the text read *Kāḍava-rāyaṇa mēle dig-vijayaṇa māḍisida Maṅgalada-koppadaḷu pṛthvī-rājyaṇa geyyuttam ire*, and it was too readily assumed that the causative *māḍisida* 'caused something to be effected' was a variation of *māḍida* 'effected', implying that his circular tour of conquests was not directly his own work—but

¹ *SII*, XII, *The Pallavas*. The title-page bears the date 1943 but the first copy to reach London was accessioned at the British Museum in February 1957, becoming available to readers somewhat later. It contains a full set of Kāḍava inscriptions in addition to those of the royal Pallavas, enriched with introductory notes in English and helpful appendices.

² No. 514 of 1918 (see next note).

³ *Government of Madras Home (Education) Department. Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1919*, App., p. 43, cf. p. 100, para. 27.

⁴ Romanized text: *Epigraphia Carnatica*, v, pt. 1, 333; Kannaḍa text: *ibid.*, v, pt. 2, 505.

⁵ *ibid.*, v, pt. 1, 167. The inscription's reference is *EC*, v, Ak. 123. The experienced historian K. S. Vaidyanathan accepted this text and translation without suspicion in *QJMS*, XXXVII, 1946, at p. 135.

this was doing violence to usage, since a mere active past participle was required.

Now we find that the learned author of *SII*, XII, having checked both inscriptions, declares that it was indeed the Kāḍava who raised the fortifications,¹ the Kāḍava who was already at the height of his power, obviously preventing Sōmēśvara from penetrating more than about 60 miles from Kaṇṇanūr. The incident would thus seem to belong to some years after 1229. Next, the Mysorean inscription should read *māḍi Sēndamaṅgalada-koppadalu*.² This emendation, brilliant grammatically and historically, tells us that Sōmēśvara, who had already by May 1236 defeated the Pāṇḍya, was actually in the Kāḍava's magnificent fortified capital, far north of Kaṇṇanūr, having completely crushed his opponent. The epigraphist assigns the Kāḍava's successes at Perambalūr and the fortifications on the Kāvēri to a 'come-back' after 1236³; but this is not very likely since we have evidence (*The Hoysālas*, 122) that Gaṇḍagōpāla, attempting to profit from the Kāḍava's distress, came southwards and met Hoysāla forces well to the north of Sēndamaṅgalam in 1239. Thus the battle and the building operations belong to the period immediately prior to the failure of the Pāṇḍya-Kāḍava exploit of 1235-6; and the discovery that the Hoysāla was actually encamped at the capital of the Kāḍava gives added point to his grandiose claims and ostentatious endowments in 1236-7.

This opportunity may be taken to suggest a possible correction in another part of *The Hoysālas*. Based upon probability, it is not far from certain and it is historically important. On pp. 59-60, 93, and 225 reference is made to Viṣṇuvardhana's capture of Ciñcīlu. As will be seen from the maps on pp. 5 and 57, it is markedly north and west of the bulk of that king's conquests⁴; but the discovery of a village of that name near the Krishna justified Viṣṇuvardhana's repeated claims to have reached the Heddore, i.e. the Krishna. His more modest claims at other times did not seem material. The existence of an important village named Ciñcīla (now Chinchli—in Gadag tāluka) which contains several inscriptions from A.D. 873 onwards⁵ was ignored in favour of one exactly corresponding to the village cited in the unique reference.⁶ There, in a list of names including places like Rājavūr and Madaganūr (*alias* Muduganūr) which are a little north of Ciñcīla, appear the words *Ciñcīl urvinadā Permmāna Rācavūr* . . ., which Rice paraphrased 'Chiñchilu, Permma's Rācavūr . . .'.⁷ The form *urvinadā* is difficult. The *ā* is not infrequently met in the sense 'the famous', but it is more often an emphatic, casting back an almost enquiring, somewhat boastful glow over the preceding word. Since *mā* and *dā* are not greatly dissimilar in twelfth-century Kannaḍa

¹ *Introd.*, p. xi.

² *ibid.*

³ See *inser.* no. 129 of the same volume.

⁴ It is at long. 74° 52', lat. 16° 33', while Chinchli is at long. 75° 29', lat. 15° 18'.

⁵ *SII*, XI, pt. 1, *Bombay Karnatak inscriptions*, vol. I, pt. 1, nos. 15, 24, 27, 108.

⁶ *EC*, IV, Nagamangala 70.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 130, and see his introduction, p. xx, where the information is repeated.

script, we might conjecture some damage to the stone, and read *urvinamā*, which makes splendid sense—‘and furthermore, don’t you know?’ There are difficulties about the name *Ciñcila*, to which we must return. *Ciñcila* followed by *ur-* should be pronounced *Ciñcilavur-*, and so it would appear in prose. Rice himself obviously realized that a final vowel had been dropped (for by this period words ending in consonants were regularly acquiring their euphonic *-u*, etc.) and naturally assumed that *Ciñcil* stood for *Ciñcilu*, but there are instances where a final *a* is regularly elided before vowels and in this verse *Ciñcil ur-* may well stand for *Ciñcila ur-*. If this is the case Viṣṇuvar-dhana’s conquests were virtually confined by the Malprabha river after all, and this makes a material difference to our view of the strength of local and imperial defence organization between the Malprabha and the Krishna itself.

Our reconstruction would be much happier if we knew what *Ciñcilu*, *Ciñcila*, and *Ciñcli* (Chinchli) meant. *Ciñcilu*, the name of the village we are proposing to abandon in favour of Chinchli, is plainly *Ciñcil* + *-u*: *ciñcil* is either *ciñce* ‘pond’ or ‘tamarind tree’ + *-il* ‘place’, on the model of the well-known *hittil* ‘backside’ and *hosattil* ‘threshold’ and the like, or possibly *ciñci* (*Abrus precatorius*) + *-il*. *Ciñcli*, the modern name of *Ciñcila*, seems to have developed out of the latter, and is even foreshadowed by the somewhat doubtful reading *Ciñcli[da]* (gen. case) in *SII*, XI, pt. 1, n. 24. But what does *Ciñcila* (the undoubted nom. of the well-evidenced gen. *Ciñcilada*) mean? The nounal affix *-ila* ‘he of the . . .’, or ‘he in the . . .’, is well known in cases like *gāvila* ‘villager’, *paccayila* ‘dresser’, *paḍeyila* ‘soldier’ and we can only suppose that *ciñcila* means ‘appertaining to the pond, or tamarind tree, etc.’. Somewhat less likely is the supposition that the ending *-ia* stands for *-illa* (of which it is a common variant) giving the meaning ‘which does not possess ponds, tamarind trees, etc.’. In either case we have to understand *ur* ‘village’ as the suppressed noun governed by *Ciñcila*, the meaning of which will have to be left uncertain until a specialist in Kannaḍa place-names throws more light on it.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

REVIEWS

WOLF LESLAU: *The verb in Harari (South Ethiopic)*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. XXI.) xi, 86 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. \$1.75.

Although Harari has not been entirely neglected, the most notable studies being those of Cohen and Cerulli, it has been left to Professor Leslau to provide the first really detailed and orderly statement of any part of the language.

The pattern of the morphology of the verb in Harari has much in common with that of the other Ethiopian Semitic languages. For the reviewer, one of the most characteristic features of these languages is the four term system of front, back, open, and central qualities, which characterizes the vowels, the consonants, or both. This is particularly striking in Harari, where both the trilateral and the biliteral verbs fall wholly into the pattern as exemplified by (types B, D, C, and A respectively) *šēdāqa, bōrāda, māgāda, sabāra* and *mēča, qōča, fāča, bāka*.

There are three points of criticism of the presentation of the material. First, little has been gained by employing a transcription that, in the treatment of the vowels alone, is more narrow than a phonemic one, especially since its application fails to be rigorous. Inconsistency in the use of *a* and *ā* is admitted; if they are not phonemically distinct, and, further, cannot be differentiated phonetically at all times, there is little justification for the use of two symbols. Secondly, something might have been said about differences which, though stated in the morphology, are phonologically determined. An example, one may judge, from the evidence supplied and from comparison with the other languages, is the difference between the vowels of *yičāmqi* (§ 11) and *yahāmqi* (§ 41). The qualities of these vowels are almost certainly statable in terms of the absence and presence of a laryngeal consonant. Thirdly, though the analysis is almost entirely descriptive, there is, inconsistently, occasional recourse to comparative criteria. For example, there is no justification, descriptively, for classifying *mōta* (§ 46) and *lēta* (§ 47) apart from *qōča* and *mēča* (§ 44) respectively because it is known or suspected that the latter two are historically derived from verbs with *y* as the final radical. Moreover, the argument from comparative evidence is greatly weakened by the author's recognition that conclusive etymological criteria are frequently lacking (§ 47).

The list of Professor Leslau's publications on the Ethiopian languages is already formidable. But an addition of this nature to it is extremely welcome.

F. R. PALMER

HEINZ KRONASSER: *Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*. (Sprachwissenschaftliche Studienbücher.) 292 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, [1956]. DM. 27.

Professor Kronasser, whose reputation as a general linguist was established by his *Handbuch der Semasiologie* (Heidelberg, 1952), has now given us the second comprehensive comparative grammar of Hittite.¹ Of previous studies, only E. H. Sturtevant's *Comparative grammar of the Hittite language*² merits this description, though Holger Pedersen discussed the greater part of Hitt. phonology and morphology in his 'Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen',³ and Ferdinand Sommer contributed valuable observations and suggestions in his *Hebräer und Hethitisch*.⁴ Kronasser, who belongs to the German school of linguistics, in general carefully follows the opinions of his predecessors. He has organized his book on the model of the well-known Heidelberg series; to the reviewer, a scheme based on Brugmann's *Grundriss* seems a little old-fashioned.⁵ His second general criticism is that it is not clear for what class of readers the grammar is primarily intended. The general survey of the whole IE family on pp. 12 ff. suggests that it was written less for specialists than for younger students, but it is hardly satisfactory as an introduction to Anatolian studies for those with no previous knowledge of Hittite. The reader is not told that the problem of the relation between

¹ Among his other work on the 'Anatolian' languages, note 'Zum Wort- und Namenschatz des Bildhethitischen', *MNHMHZ XAPIN*, 1956, 200-10.

² 1st ed. 1933; 2nd ed., vol. I, with E. A. Hahn, 1951.

³ *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, xxv, 2, 1938.

⁴ Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1947.

⁵ cf. p. 70 where Brugmann's formula is introduced without reference to Benveniste's valuable suggestion, *BSL*, xxxviii, 1937, 139 ff., that **p* being restricted to the immediate vicinity of a velar cannot be approved as an IE phoneme; in such cases Benveniste assumes IE **k*', etc.

Hittite, and the other Anatolian¹ languages, and those generally regarded as IE, is controversial; nor is he warned of our uncertainty about the nature of the phonemes of Hittite, and the history of many of its morphemes, the notes on pp. 236-56 being inadequate. The author's departures from accepted practice in syllabic transcription (use of *s* for *š*; *h* for *ḫ*; representation of sumerograms and akkado-grams with German words), are likely to cause confusion; and he has not made clear whether his 'broad' transcription is to be considered phonetic or phonematic (cf. p. 59 f.).² An exhaustive list of abbreviations would have been helpful to non-specialists.

On the key problem of the nature of the relationship between the Anatolian languages and those recognized as IE before the rediscovery of Hittite, Kronasser, essentially, follows Pedersen in rejecting Sturtevant's 'Indo-Hittite hypothesis' and regarding the Anatolian languages as 'normal' archaic IE languages, parallel to the other accepted groups.³ Nevertheless, in discussion of Lycian *χ* and its possible relation to Hitt. *ḫ* (p. 93), we find: 'Das sind z.T. deutliche Entsprechungen zum Kh., die im Lyk. ererbt sind, aber nicht aus indo-hethitischer oder protidg. Zeit, sondern aus einer viel späteren Epoche'. Is the grammar a text-book or a work of research?

The grammar is divided into the traditional chapters, on phonology and morphology, and an appendix, listing words in Luwian, Hieroglyphic Hitt., Lycian, Palaic, and Lydian, offers the first survey of the IE parts of the Anatolian vocabulary.

Detailed comments must be restricted here to points which seem of special importance. For reasons of method, the reviewer must reject equation of *ḫ* in some Hitt. words with IE **ḫ*, **g* or **gh*,⁴ which Kronasser seems inclined

¹ i.e. the languages of ancient Anatolia which certainly or probably have IE characteristics and special similarity to Hittite.

² Note his use of *ts*, introduced by Sturtevant as a 'suggested phonetic interpretation', instead of *z*, which is to be preferred, since the sequence *-t-s-* appears e.g. in *na-at-ša-an* (xxx, 15, obv. 8); in Hittite, probably, *z* was a single phoneme, *ts* a sequence of phonemes.

³ See now A. Kammenhuber, *Corolla Linguistica. Festschr. F. Sommer* (ed. H. Krahe), 99, with references; and my review, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xv, 1958, 153. For my early criticism of Sturtevant's position, see J. Holt, *Hittitische og deres sprog* (Studier for Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning, Nr. 163), København, 1933, 48 ff.

⁴ Advanced by Pedersen, 'Hittitisch', 176 ff., and adopted by E. Hendriksen, 'Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung des Heth. für die Laryngalthorie', *Egl. Danske Vid. Selsk. Hist.-fil. Medd.*, xxviii, 2, 1941, 26.

to accept (p. 84) in the case of *ḫannaš*: **ghn-*, etc. (though he does not mention it in discussing the velars, p. 84). In §§ 84-6 we are informed that the IE labiovelars have three correspondences in Hittite, *ku*, *w*, and *k*: *kuenzi/kunanzi* = **g^her-* 'to kill'; *wemiyazi* 'to find' = **g^wem-* 'to come'; *kisłari* 'be quenched', cf. Gk. *κασσρος*.¹ Kronasser denies that Hittite has reflexes of IE 'laryngeals' (de Saussure's coefficients sonantiques), §§ 101-9, holding that *ḫ* in Hittite and other Anatolian languages was not inherited, but developed after their separation from other IE groups, either as a 'Hiatus-tilger' (in spite of Hitt. *paun* 'I went', *ḫeus* 'rain', *paḫhur* 'fir', *meḫur* 'time'), or through the influence of Hattic or Hurrian. His large collection of parallels from an astonishing variety of languages is not convincing. For example, he finds support in the orthography of French *huil*, *huile*, *huître*, of Latin origin but ignores the fact that in the medieval period from which it is inherited *hui-* was used to differentiate /*yi*/ from /*vi*/.² While the reviewer agrees that Sturtevant and others have used the 'laryngeal theory' most hazardously in comparative studies, he finds the axiomatic basis of Kronasser's approach unclear (cf. 'jedenfalls ist es unzulässig den Wahrheitsgehalt einer Hypothese nach den Vortellen zu bemessen, den sie mit sich bringt' (p. 78). The whole question must be reconsidered after more thorough investigation of the Anatolian evidence.³ Kronasser seems too inclined to look for 'analogical' explanation for problems of Hitt. morphology (cf. pp. 108 ff., 168 ff.). The reviewer prefers, with Pedersen,⁴ to assume for Hittite (and for Luwian) general simplification of the IE nominal declensions, resulting in a single paradigm; and redistribution of all verbal stems, regardless of their final phonemes, into two conjugations, in *-m-* and *-hi*. The demonstrative pronoun *u-š* probably contains the root *u-*, cf. Skr. *u-ta* (*u-t*—*utá* 'at one side—at the other' (cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*, II, 2, 731)). Just as in Sanskrit, the Hitt. *mi-*

¹ The transcription used here is that normal among hittitologists.

² See K. Nyrop, *Gramm. historique de la langue française*, I, 4th ed., Copenhagen, 1935, §§ 478 ff.; M. K. Pope, *From Latin to modern French*, Manchester, 1934, § 730. I am indebted to my colleague Professor Per Nyrog for additional information. On other points see Laroche, *BSL*, L. 1:57, 28 f.

³ See most recently A. Martinet, 'Les "laryngeaux" i.-e.', and J. Kurylowicz, 'Le hittite', in *Proc. VIII Int. Congr. of Linguists*, Oslo Univ. Press, 1956; already in *Preliminary reports*.

⁴ 'Hittitisch', 19 f.; cf. Holt, *Hitt. og deres sprog*, 32.

conjugation has taken over the original athematic verbs in *-m-* as well as the thematic verbs in *-ō-*, because denominative verbs, e.g. *zahhiya-* 'to fight', etc., belong here. The endings of the 2 Plur. *-leni*, *-len* do not go back to IE **-le* but to **-the*; otherwise the Hitt. forms would have been **-zeni*, **-zen* (cf. Kronasser, p. 170). To derive the Luw. and H.-Hitt. participles in *-m-* from the type of Gk. *φερόμενος* involves a superfluous complication (*-mn-* > *-m-*); a suffix **-mo-* exists already in IE (Brugmann, *Grundr.*, II, 1, 225 ff.). On the other hand, Hittite has the sequence *-mn-* (*lamnaš* (gen.) 'time').

The reviewer recognizes the amount of energy that the author has given to his work; he has read a good deal of Hittite and much about Hittite, and he knows his Brugmann almost by heart. Nevertheless, he seems to have decided complicated problems a little too swiftly. His book has probably been written too soon, considering the fluid state of Anatolian studies at present.¹ We are waiting for a comprehensive Hittite dictionary, and in Hieroglyphic Hittite as well as in Luwian, Lycian, and also Hurrian, important research work is still in progress.

JENS HOLT

S. H. HOOKE (ed.): *Myth, ritual, and kingship: essays on the theory and practice of kingship in the ancient Near East and in Israel*. xi, 308 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 35s.

We may upon the whole welcome this new version of the *Myth and ritual* of 1933 which, whatever the worth of its original ideas or the merits of its earlier contributors, has given birth to a subsequent literature and made its way into various fields of discussion. As a 'second edition' the present book has, with the more usual features of increase in scope (reflected partly in the title) and size (by one-third), the decided novelty of being written by entirely different authors, except for the editor himself. Thus it embodies not only the effects of 25 years' discussion, but the impact both of the original book and of its criticism upon other minds, if not another generation, for which it is still too early.

This collection of papers being concerned, like its predecessor, with ideas, it will best

stand examination upon that level, without regarding the variety of remarks, suggestions, approvals, and disagreements, which any attentive reader will amass in the course of his perusal, from pages written by the most eminent authorities, including two well-known foreign scholars. For making such an estimate the introductory chapter by the editor is of great assistance, for he not only makes clear the origin, the nature, and course of the 'myth and ritual' hypothesis, but defines also what it was not, exonerates it from some later exaggerations, has some effective answers to leading critics (especially to generalizations about 'the religion of Israel'), and ends by reaffirming his belief in 'the main outlines of the position laid down in *Myth and Ritual*'. Yet the trend of the subsequent authors may fairly be called sceptical, and at the end of the book is Professor Brandon's attack (for such it is, despite the last saving page) upon this position, effective upon the whole, even if misconceived in some particulars, such as in supposing the postulated 'culture-pattern' to be diffused mainly from Egypt, and in admitting a discussion (pp. 280 ff.) of rather dubious relevance. In between these are the separate studies of kingship and the 'pattern' in the principal ancient civilizations, among which chapters on the Hittites and on the Ugaritians are welcome newcomers. These partly redress the balance between Israel and the outer world, which inclined so heavily to the first in 1933. Yet the preponderance still remains here, in the three chapters by scholars whose work lies mainly in the Old Testament. The proportion, however, is not unfair, for the main interest of this debate centres in fact upon Israel. If it be admitted that such a 'culture-pattern' existed overtly in the surrounding world (and this has, of course, first to be established) can traces of it still be discerned in the literature of Israel, unobliterated by all the efforts of monotheistic Yahwism?

Of this proposition, it may perhaps be thought that the essays upon the surrounding religions, more factual, because having much more evidence, do little to evince the influence or even the existence of any 'pattern'. That is still best exemplified in the New Year festival at Babylon (without which, it may be suspected, such a concept would never have arisen), for this has the unique advantage of a ritual at least partly known, and even partly furnished with an ancient explanation, and a myth—the Creation Epic—not merely extant but fitted into a definite place of the ritual. It is the lack of all evidence except the (fragmentary) myths themselves which makes the tracing of a 'pattern' so hazardous even in other nations, but especially in Israel. This

¹ e.g. Laroche, *BSL*, LII, 1957, 29 f., on Hitt. *ḫar(k)-*, shows that it has also the meaning 'hold out, present', which is much nearer to Gk. *ἀπέχω* than to Lat. *arceo*, and, thus, this semantic study has weakened an accepted etymology.

Kronasser declares in his *Vorwort* that he plans a handbook of Hitt. word-formation and a Hitt. etymological dictionary.

want of context is rightly emphasized by Professor R. De Langhe (pp. 139 ff.), and goes far beyond the Ras Shamra literature. There is almost everywhere a total absence of information about the purposes and occasions for which religious and epical compositions were recited. Nowhere is this more true, with the one exception of the Creation Epic, than in Babylonia itself, where this literature, as we have it in considerable bulk, is almost invariably the product of school exercises rather than the contents of temple libraries. Much more, obviously, does this disadvantage weigh upon study of the Old Testament for the purpose of seeking a 'pattern', which by definition would belong essentially to the cults of the heathen. All writers in this book, as elsewhere, admit that the Hebrew scriptures, as we possess them, are only a surviving part of the national literature, that they have been selected, even written, with but one end in view, and anxiously purged of all heathen taints which tender consciences might detect. Modern scholars are therefore detectives seeking to reconstruct a possible situation from obscure traces which may have escaped a careful process of destroying all apparent clues. The Psalms bear a great part of the discussion in these pages, but here the writers are under the same disadvantage of not knowing how and when, if at all, the Psalms were used in the temple-worship or on other specific occasions; everything has to be argued back from internal evidence, often tenuous and susceptible of different interpretations.

As to kingship, the fresh element in the title if not in the subject, its character among the nations, and its particular significance in the ancient Near East, discussion has been endless in recent years, and simultaneously with the appearance of this book is announced another large collection of papers, read at the VIIIth International Congress of the History of Religions, which promises to cast the net still wider, to the Far East, to the North, to the classical period, and to the Middle Ages. The mind sinks under the weight of this evidence, all of which is concerned entirely with the religious motives, functions, and significance of the royal institution, and it is perhaps bracing to remember that at the same moment, in Russia, long books and articles are being written upon such themes as 'the birth, development, and decay of the slave-holding societies of the ancient Orient', or 'rise of the despotic state in ancient Mesopotamia'; all from the 'Marxist standpoint', which takes an earnest view of society, politics, and economics, but probably no view at all of myth and ritual, unless it might be as pernicious accretions. σοφόν τοι χρῆμα ἄνθρωπος ex-

claimed Praxinoa to her gossip—she was looking at a work of embroidery.

C. J. GADD

FARID JABRE: *La notion de la ma'rifa chez Ghazali*. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tom. VIII.) 207 pp. [Beyrouth]: Éditions Les Lettres Orientales, 1958.

Dr. Jabre, who has for some years been occupied with the study of al-Ghazālī and has written another book: *La notion de certitude selon Ghazali* (which he tells us is in the press), seeks, in the present work, to show that the Sufi theologian does not allow a direct experience of God and is therefore not to be regarded as a mystic 'in the technical sense of the term'; hence, further, that the previous studies of al-Ghazālī—by Obermann, McDonald, Palacios, Wensinck, and Smith—have been wrong in varying degrees through not appreciating or not fully appreciating the indirect quality of al-Ghazālī's knowledge of God and have been unable to determine precisely the terms of his doctrine. Besides expounding his thesis in the book (divided into an introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion), Dr. Jabre has also appended to it selected textual passages from al-Ghazālī's works to enable the student to check the author's exposition.

Dr. Jabre tells us that the *ma'rifa* of al-Ghazālī 'has no direct relation at all with mysticism' (p. 18, l. 27), that it can be called 'mystical knowledge only in so far as such a knowledge may be regarded as ordinary knowledge (a phrase repeated a number of times throughout the book, without any attempt to say what it means) denoting a purely sentimental affectivity' (p. 20, l. 12), and again: 'Be that as it may (i.e. whether al-Ghazālī's analogy of mystic experience with visual experience is to be seriously taken or not) one may affirm without fear of contradiction that in al-Ghazālī's *ma'rifa* the knowledge, properly speaking (i.e. discounting the affective element), is, if not conceptual, certainly mediated and indirect (for) it does not take in (*atteint*) the object in itself' (p. 82, l. 1).

On what grounds does Dr. Jabre insist that al-Ghazālī's view of the *ma'rifa* is not that of direct experience but is indirect and even conceptual? We get a hint in the last paragraph of his introduction where he talks of an experience of God in terms of 'sharing in the Divine'. This becomes clear in the last part of Section I and in Sections II and III of the third chapter. After quoting al-Ghazālī to the effect that the human spirit is like a

mirror which in itself has no forms and whose only form is to receive forms (an Aristotelian way of talking about the nature of the intellect in Book III of his *De anima*, elaborated further by later Greek thought and adopted and interpreted by Ibn Sīnā in his mystical-philosophical doctrine) and which, therefore, admits of the direct presence of the Divine, Dr. Jabre wishes to dismiss the whole theory because al-Ghazālī rejects the doctrines of incarnation and union. 'Now,' says Dr. Jabre, 'Ghazālī explicitly mentions three aspects or modes of this kind of knowledge (viz. incarnation, union and connexion). . . . But if Ghazālī speaks of these phenomena it is only in order to reject these and to take a categorical exception to them' (p. 86, ll. 11-19). It must be pointed out that al-Ghazālī does not mention these as modes of the mystic experience or as aspects of this kind of knowledge. He simply regards them (see the Arabic text in Jabre, p. 172, l. 5; p. 184, l. 19) as misinterpretations of the experience: 'From this fact (i.e. from the presence of the form in the mirror or the presence of the Divine to the human spirit) have grown the (wrong) images of those who have claimed incarnation or union.'

Al-Ghazālī patently affirms the fact of mystic experience as something direct not only in the passages included by Dr. Jabre but in other numerous passages and this is his answer not only to the 'blind followers' but also to the dialectic theologians and to the philosophers. But, as is well known, he disallows a total or 'real' knowledge of God and is therefore in a definite sense an agnostic. He therefore disallows a simple identity of the human ego with the Divine in the mystic experience and regards the identity-doctrine to be an interpretation of the experience, and a wrong one, to which he opposes his own interpretation in terms of the mirror and its forms—an interpretation which seeks to do justice both to the facts of the mystical experience and to the transcendent God of the Qur'ān. Surely, in many traditions there have been mystics who have taken this line? In the Christian tradition itself, there are the Spanish mystics who have refused to accept the identity-doctrine. But Dr. Jabre, who seems to be unaware of the complexity of the mystic traditions (he shows little knowledge of the pre-Ghazālī orthodox Sufi tradition of Islam itself, and his knowledge of Ghazālī himself would have been more illuminating if he had taken account of the philosophical-mystical tradition, especially Ibn Sīnā—e.g. al-Ghazālī's argument to refute the subject-object identity, given on p. 72, is taken almost verbally from Ibn Sīnā) has decided that the only criterion of a mystical experience is the identity-doctrine and has confused al-Ghazālī's

interpretation of the experience with a denial of that experience itself.

Indeed, if Dr. Jabre had merely decided to call 'mystical' only that doctrine which accepts the man-God identity in the direct experience, the matter would have been quite simple. But this has led him to misrepresent al-Ghazālī's doctrine by bifurcating arbitrarily the *ma'rifa* into a purely subjective element—he ceaselessly calls it 'purely psychological'—and an objective element which he declares to be 'ordinary knowledge', and the brunt of his whole argument is that the former is artificially attached to the latter. See e.g. pp. 18, l. 12-19, l. 17, especially the following: 'all these (subjective) phenomena from a simple concentration of thought to the almost total loss of self-consciousness which Ghazālī calls *fana*', all these (subjective) phenomena are, therefore, conducted and directed in the light of an objective content imposed as an experimental scheme'. The 'objective content' here means the Sunni creed. If al-Ghazālī, whose whole life is an illustration of not accepting anything to start with unless one finds something acceptable, believed in this artificial relationship between belief (which is nothing at all but a make-belief) and its content in the mystic life, why should he not leave others to choose as their objective content whatever pleases them? Whoever reads, among others, texts Nos. 5 and 7 given by Dr. Jabre himself, will take exception to his interpretation. This misinterpretation has, to my mind, fundamentally vitiated Dr. Jabre's attempt at a restatement of al-Ghazālī's position on mystical doctrine.

The appendices containing selected Arabic passages from al-Ghazālī are useful and illuminate different aspects of the question. The author says that these have been taken 'without any scientific pretensions'. Seeing, however, that the amount of Arabic is not very large, he should have taken the trouble of editing them. (The author does not seem to know—p. 72, l. 18—that Arabs do not give examples of 'Umar but of 'Amr) I have found the following mistakes in the first two passages:

p. 153, l. 11: I think *تخاطب* should be *يتخاطب*.

p. 153, l. 21: *يَعْلَمُ* has been repeated.

p. 154, l. 15: *الواجب* should be *الواجب*.

p. 154, l. 17: *توافقه* *ای تلائم* should be *یوافقه* *ای یلائم*.

p. 154, l. 19: *حقه* should be *حقه*.

p. 156, l. 7: *غير* should be *عين*.

p. 156, l. 26 : علي should be على.

p. 157, ll. 15-16 : يوافقته and يخالفه must, I think, be transposed.

p. 158, l. 6 : a verb like يقرر is missing before في حقه.

F. RAHMÂN

JOHN WALKER : *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umayyad coins. [A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum, Vol. II.]* civ, 329 pp., 31 plates. London : British Museum, 1956. £5 10s.

With this splendid volume, Dr. Walker rounds off the account of the coinage of the Umayyad caliphs which he began with his work on the Arab-Sassanian series, published during the last war. As those who have the privilege of sitting at Dr. Walker's feet in the Coin and Medal Room of the British Museum would expect, this volume is fully up to the high standard set by its predecessor. The broad grasp of the historical, economic, and religious background, the detailed description of individual coins, the clear plates and comprehensive indices all measure up to the most exacting criteria of numismatic scholarship.

The author plunges us at the outset into the cataclysmic events of the first half of the seventh century. The Persians had sacked the Holy City of Jerusalem, only to be sent reeling by the hammer blows of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who invaded their north-western marches in great strength. The internecine combats of those two great empires of Byzantium and Iran, both already sapped by corruption, luxury, and schismatic strife, were doubly fatal in view of the emergence of a virile third force in the Near East—a nation inspired by a new, militant faith which tolerated no doubt nor argument, but drove its adepts on to conquer or to die.

Towards the latter part of the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610-41) the whole political structure in the Near East collapsed before the onslaught of the warlike Bedouin hordes from Arabia. Only three years after the death of the Founder of Islam, Damascus, the great Syrian emporium, was captured in 635 (14); while Jerusalem capitulated in the following year. Then one after the other, in rapid succession, the wealthy commercial centres of the country—Antioch, Aleppo, Emesa, and others—likewise fell a prey to the Arab invaders.

Suddenly possessed of a rich cultural inheritance almost completely alien to their desert background, the conquerors wisely adopted in large measure the administrative machinery and financial systems of their new subjects. Just as in the case of the Sassanian Empire in the East the Arabs took over the type of coinage current in that region, so in the conquered Byzantine territory they copied the coin-types circulating in that area, with certain modifications and a few innovations of their own.

This makeshift, transitional phase in Arab fiscal and numismatic history lasted somewhat over half a century, until the great reform of c. A.H. 77/696-7 A.D. It is represented for our purposes by three groups of hybrid coin types, which came into being when patterns with Greek, Latin, and Pahlavi legends were taken over and adapted by the Arabs, often with the addition of Arabic inscriptions as well.

To begin with the Byzantine (Greek) category, we have first a set of imitations of the bronze *folles* of Justin II and Sophia (A.D. 565-78). These were minted at Scythopolis (Baisân), then an important centre near the River Jordan on the northern border of Samaria. The Muslim affiliations of these pieces are established by the presence on at least one specimen of the Arabic name of the town, in addition to its Greek designation. We pass then to a group of imitations of coins of Heraclius and his immediate successors. The first of these, struck in Damascus, and showing the emperor enthroned, has no exact prototype and may perhaps prove that 'after all, the moneyers employed by the Arabs were in inventive mood'. Much more common, however, is another and similar type, showing the emperor standing, and emanating from mints in Baalbek, Damascus, Emesa, and Tiberias. Later on, imitations of other Heraclius coins, portraying the emperor in company with one or more of his sons, were struck in places in the same region of the new Arab dominions. The design depicting Heraclius together with Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas also gave rise to an extremely rare gold dinar, in which the Greek reverse legend is replaced by the Muslim pious formula. From Tartūs and Emesa stem imitations of a bronze coin showing the imperial bust, common to both Heraclius and his grandson, Constant II.

A step forward towards an independent iconography is the Umayyad Caliph type which began to issue from a number of centres from about A.D. 670 onwards. The caliph is bearded, and dressed in a long robe with the typical Bedouin shaykh's head-dress (*kāfiya*), the folds of which fall across his shoulders. 'Gone are all the emblems of Imperial splendour—the

cross, the crown, the orb, the cruciform sceptre; the warrior prince from the desert has, in truth, usurped the place of the Christian Lord of Byzantium.' We also have to take note of an exceedingly rare type showing twin standing figures, and struck at Baisān in the name of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (A.D. 685-705); the two known specimens are in the Amman Museum. The Byzantine (Greek) group closes with a number of obscure and rubbed specimens which may, for the most part, be deemed products of early Arab minting activities, though it is hard to make much sense out of them.

The coins of the Byzantine (Latin) category are less abundant than the Arab-Byzantine (Greek) ones, and were likewise struck in gold and copper only. In style, fabric, and weight they maintain the standard scale of coinage current in the western part of the Byzantine empire, as used prior to the Muslim invasion of North Africa. Both gold and copper coins are of small module and dumpy fabric. Some of them bear the name 'Mūsā F(ilius) Nusīr', i.e. Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, after the celebrated Arab governor of North Africa and later of Spain. Others bear the name of a certain al-Nu'mān, whose identity has not been determined. To these, Dr. Walker adds a small group of rare copper pieces struck in Tangier, showing on the obverse a barbarous copy of an imperial bust, but having on the reverse a mint formula in Arabic; three specimens of these are in the Paris collection, and one in Copenhagen. There are also some portraitless coins struck in North Africa and in Spain with Latin (or Latin and Arabic) legends, and carefully dated by the year of the indiction (after the Byzantine manner), or of the hijra, or even both. This series stretches from the year 85/704 to 99/717.

The few rare specimens classed as Arab-Byzantine (Pehlevi) exhibit a peculiar hybrid character. They have obverses and sometimes reverses too of Arab-Byzantine style, but combined with Pehlevi and/or Kufic legends. Most of them are from the Susa mint, and were actually unearthed in that place. Specimens are in the Tehran Museum and the Paris Cabinet des Médailles, but none so far in the British Museum. These individualistic pieces with their mysterious legends merit the closest study and attention.

During the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, the consolidation of Arab political and economic hegemony over large areas of the Near East and North Africa led naturally to the introduction of an original, independent style of coinage. It seems that an immediate cause of this was the Muslim dislike of some new *solidi* of Justinian II, showing the emperor holding a cross, and having the effigy of Christ

on the reverse. These *solidi* from Byzantium had till then constituted the regular currency of Egypt. By way of retaliation, the caliph gave orders for the issue of a distinctive coinage with legends of impeccable Muslim orthodoxy. It is interesting to note, however, that the central inscription on the reverse is different in the West from what it is in the East, another instance of the independent attitude of the governors in North Africa and Spain. In the East we have 'Allah is One, Allah is the Eternal, He begets not, neither is He begotten' (i.e., most of Qur'ān, αχπ, 1-3), obviously a counterblast directed against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; in the West, on the other hand, we have 'In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate' (the opening words of each *sūra* of the Qur'ān except the ninth).

The gold dinars of the post-reform coinage begin in A.H. 77, the silver dirhams in A.H. 79. Their design reflects the puritanical attitude adopted by Muslim theologians towards pictures and images, especially of human beings, the idea being that such fabrications were presumptuous infringements of God's sole power of creation. However, 'Abd al-Malik's new dirhams resembled in fabric and general layout the Arab-Sassanian dirhams which preceded them: the stylized fire-altar and two attendants are replaced by symmetrical lines of Kufic lettering. The elimination of pictures led engravers to concentrate on inscribing very precise information in the way of place-names, dates, governors' names, and later on, those of reigning caliphs. These are of great value to historical science, though there is reason to suspect that at some periods all minting was concentrated at Wāsit and Damascus: by a sort of political fraud, the names of other towns in the caliph's dominions were inscribed centrally on coins intended for consignment to and issue at the places in question.¹

The general history of this variegated coinage down to the fall of the Umayyads in 132/750, and the many problems connected with it, are set out by Dr. Walker in his usual thorough and penetrating manner. He has gone to great pains in collecting literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence from a wide variety of sources. Lists of mints and dates and common inscriptions, and a palaeographic table of the Kufic script used on the coins, are helpful to the scholar. The Trustees of the British Museum have been most far-sighted in authorizing the inclusion of many specimens not in the British national collection. This is

¹ See Ulla S. Linder Welin, 'Wāsit, the mint-town', in *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, iv, 1955-6, 145.

invaluable for comparative purposes and, however Dr. Walker may disclaim any such pretension, imparts to the volume many of the qualities of a corpus. The plates and letterpress are of the highest technical standard.

D. M. LANG

UGO BIANCHI: *Zamān i Ōhrmazd: lo zoroastrismo nelle sue origini e nella sua essenza*. (Storia e Scienza delle Religioni.) 263 pp. Torino, Roma, etc.: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1958. L. 800.

This book is a critique of the more important works on Zoroastrianism that have appeared in the last 30 years or so. It is eminently balanced and sane and the author is always careful to define the terms he uses. What is essential in Mazdeanism Sgr. Bianchi considers to be 'the idea of Ahura Mazdā as creator and the idea of a world whose existence and prosperity are threatened by death-dealing beings external to itself' (p. 95), and the conception of the good as life, prosperity, and order. This is undoubtedly true. The author then argues against the over-fine distinctions that Benveniste draws between the religion described by Herodotus, that of the Achaemenid inscriptions, and the Gāthās, and shows that a common view of life informs all three. His challenge of the usefulness of the concept 'Hochgott' without qualification is welcome.

Sgr. Bianchi presents himself as the unflinching opponent of all 'apriorism', but, on reading his book, one cannot help feeling that he himself has a strong bias in favour of interpreting all the religious phenomena that appear in a Zoroastrian context in terms of 'Mazdeanism' as defined by himself. Thus it is the purest 'apriorism' to dismiss the literal interpretation of the myth of the primordial twins in *Yasna* 30.3 as 'absolutely absurd'. No doubt from the point of view of the later Avesta and the Pahlavi books this would be so, but so would the idea that Ahura Mazdā creates light and darkness, which actually appears in *Yasna* 44.5. The fact is that Zoroaster leaves the question of the origin of evil open, and it was perfectly legitimate for later theologians to interpret *Yasna* 30.3 as meaning that Ahura Mazdā is the father of the Evil Spirit as he is the father of the Bounteous Spirit (*Yasna* 47.2-3) whose twin the Evil Spirit is. This would, in fact, appear to be the origin of the Zurvanite 'myth of the twins', since once Ahura Mazdā had been identified with the Bounteous Spirit, the theologians would quite naturally be led to speculate on the origin of the twins. It would seem that

both Zurvanism and the heresy which ascribes the origin of evil to an evil thought of God are directly traceable to the ambiguity of the Gāthās on this subject.

Sgr. Bianchi is quite right to describe Infinite Time as the 'ambiente' of Ohrmazd in *Bundahishn* ch. i, but he seems rather to evade the issues raised by *Mēnōk ī xrat*, viii, and simply ignores the rôle of Zurvān in the first chapter of Zātspram. His denial of Zurvanite tendencies to Zātspram on the grounds that he attributes to Ahriman the belief 'in one principle, that the increaser and destroyer are the same is surely either naïve or 'aprioristic', for Sgr. Bianchi himself is at great pains to point out that Zurvān, even when he appears as the origin of the two spirits, is not the creator, let alone increaser or destroyer. Moreover, if Zātspram is not speaking against the background of a Zurvanite myth, how is the decisive and unheralded intervention of Zurvān to be explained?

The present reviewer was not hitherto aware that he had 'presupposed the existence of complete religious systems already constituted' as he is accused of doing on p. 165. He had thought that it was precisely 'tendencies' that he had been tracing, not 'religious systems'. Similarly it is surely a misrepresentation to say that he attributes 'absolute power' over the earth to Ahriman in Eznik's myth (p. 185), for he had attributed no more power to him than has Satan as 'Prince of this World'.

Another weakness of this book is that it tends to dismiss on insufficient grounds evidence that is disastrous to the author's own apriorism. Damascus is explained away as being Neo-Platonic (p. 113) and Hippolytus as being Pythagorean (pp. 171-2) despite the striking parallels from the Pahlavi books cited in this reviewer's *Zurvān*, whereas the elaborate catechism reproduced by Firdausi, which again shows striking parallels to the Pahlavi literature, is simply dismissed. Sgr. Bianchi would thus appear to suffer from the defect he sees in Benveniste's work: he is far too chary of putting two and two together. In the present state of Zoroastrian studies, however, this is a *felix culpa*, and the present reviewer at least is grateful for his always intelligent criticism.

Again, Sgr. Bianchi perhaps shows an excess of caution in his deep distrust of Manichaean material as throwing possible light on what is dark in Zurvanism. This is particularly true in his treatment of the demon Āz as he or she appears in Zātspram; for the Āz of Zātspram has an importance it has nowhere else in the Zoroastrian texts, and the leading rôle of the same demon in the Manichaean mythology must surely be

given due weight in the assessment of a text which, on Sgr. Bianchi's own admission, shows disquieting peculiarities.

Concerned as he is to uphold the transcendence of Ohrmazd, the author attacks certain pantheistic views on his person which have recently been advanced. In his interpretation of the Pahlavi *Rivāyat* on the cosmic implement (which is, of course, *not* Ohrmazd but his weapon) he could have found ample evidence in support of his views in this reviewer's *Zurwān* (texts Z i, § 26 and particularly Z 10). Moreover, he weakens his own case by adopting Hartman's (and Christensen's) translation of *Dāstān i dēnik* 63 which is almost certainly wrong. The awful 'body of a priest', now perpetuated yet again by Sgr. Bianchi, is in fact the present reviewer's old friend the 'Endless Form' (*asrōk karp*, see *Zurwān*, pp. 127-33), the weapon of Ohrmazd. What the *Dāstān* actually says is: 'Ohrmazd, the universal lord, fashioned forth an endless form (or headless form) from the Endless Light whose creation (*dām* not *šm/nām*) was Ohrmazd's and whose light was that of fire'. It is a pity that the author did not exercise his acute intelligence on this intriguing problem—the nature of the 'endless form' which is Ohrmazd's weapon and its relationship to the similar weapon presented to Ahriman by Zurwān which 'hath the very substance of Az'. Here, if anywhere, we appear to have a re-writing of a Zurvanite myth which the author is so very loath to admit (p. 163).

These criticisms, however, should not blind us to the very real value of Sgr. Bianchi's book. Iranists, the flights of whose fancies are liable to carry them far beyond the texts they study, should be grateful to Sgr. Bianchi for some salutary wing-clipping.

R. C. ZAEHNER

PETER KAWERAU: *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*. (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 31.) xi, 772 pp., 17 plates, 5 maps [in end-pocket]. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 48.

Dr. Kawerau is already known for his studies on the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches, as well as for short papers on the guiding spirit behind the American missionary movement. This latest ambitious work, a *Habilitationsschrift* presented at the University of Münster, surveys in detail the origins and early history of the American Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions and the missionary branch of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and describes their work among the ancient Christian communities of the Near East up to the year 1850.

The distinctive brand of Puritan Christianity exported to the New World along with the Pilgrim Fathers was capable of generating unlimited evangelistic fervour. However, so long as America remained under British rule, the scope for missions to foreign parts was limited. Around 1750, the revivalist Jonathan Edwards consoled himself when turned out of his parish for excessive rigorism by trying to convert those Red Indians whom his countrymen had not marked down for extermination. It was not until after the War of Independence that foreign missionary activity on any scale became possible, following the foundation of Andover Theological Seminary in 1808 and that of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. This movement had a primarily Calvinist colouring, being dominated by the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Dutch Reformed.

From the start, the American Board set itself far-reaching tasks in the Near Eastern Mission field. The Jews, God's chosen race, were to be brought back into the true fold. The followers of Muhammad, the false prophet, were to be confounded. The Scarlet Woman of Rome, whose outposts had existed for so long in that part of the world, was to be put to shame. Ancient Christian communities such as the Nestorians, the Jacobites, the Maronites, the Armenians, and others were to be sought out in their retreats and purged of ignorance and superstition. Hand in hand with this evangelistic zeal went a desire to spread the glories of the American way of life among the benighted orientals. As the author puts it, 'True biblical religion and American civilization were fundamentally identical: they were two aspects of the same thing, and their Creator was God. Propagation of the Bible therefore entailed simultaneously the spreading of American institutions and manners, the basic element in which was liberty . . . If one took proper cognizance of the superior qualities of America, one must come to the conclusion that the United States was the tool created by God in order to bring His aims to fruition'. Here Dr. Kawerau aptly quotes a recent American historian, who writes, 'The vision of the world saved by democracy was the secular version of the Protestant millennial hope . . . The New Jerusalem was impossible without American democracy . . . The mission of American democracy to save the world from the oppression of autocrats was a secular version of the

destiny of Christianity to save the world from the governance of Satan'.

Little short of astounding is the wealth of original documentation which Dr. Kawerau has unearthed in America and elsewhere concerning the pioneer labours and peregrinations of those valiant spreaders of the Gospel message. Step by step he takes us through the history of the Palestine mission, from 1819; the oriental printing presses in Malta (1820 to 1833) and later in Smyrna and Urmia; the journey of Smith and Dwight to Georgia, Armenia, and Persia in 1830-1; and the foundation of the Urmia mission in 1835. Particularly stirring is the account of the adventurous journeys of Asahel Grant among the mountain Nestorians dwelling between Mosul and Lake Van, whom he took for the Lost Tribes of Israel, and the building of the mission house at Ashita. The terrible massacre suffered by the mountain Christians in 1843 at the hands of Turkish troops and Kurdish tribesmen, followed soon after by the untimely death of Grant himself, brought to an end the whole valiant enterprise.

The missionary activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church at this period and in this field were concentrated in the quarrelsome person of Horatio Southgate, who undertook a journey to Persia in 1836, and was later for a few years American Bishop in Constantinople. Unfortunately, most of Southgate's energies were wasted in feuds with his American Non-conformist rivals who, so he alleged, did not scruple to masquerade as bishops of the Anglican Church in order to win the confidence of the local Armenians and their church hierarchy. Lack of financial support from home led in 1850 to Southgate's resignation and the summary end of the American diocese of Constantinople.

Dr. Kawerau devotes a section to the reactions provoked in the various local Near Eastern communities by the preachings and tracts of these envoys from the New World. That sometimes these reactions were hostile is hardly surprising when one considers the uncompromising attitude adopted by the Americans towards 'idolatry', Papistry, and various manifestations which shocked them in the ritual and beliefs of their eastern brethren. However, our author pays tribute to the role of the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, in securing for the converts, as for Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire generally, an enlarged measure of tolerance on the part of the Muslim authorities.

Dr. Kawerau's book will long remain the standard monograph on this field and period of missionary activity. It is furnished with portraits of leading missionaries and other

worthies of the time; a number of appendices, including a comprehensive list of Syriac books printed by the American press in Urmia; an alphabetical list of Protestant missionaries in the Near East between 1800 and 1850; a bibliography of over 700 items, with the press-marks of libraries where they may be consulted; an index; and five maps of parts of the Near East visited and settled in by American missionaries during the period under review. The reader lays down the volume with an enhanced feeling of respect for those dauntless, God-fearing men and women, who sacrificed their health, their careers, often their lives, to lay the foundation stones of that impressive chain of colleges, schools, and hospitals which to-day bear witness throughout the Near and Middle East to the pious, disinterested generosity of the American nation.

D. M. LANG

KITA TSCHENKÉLI: *Einführung in die georgische Sprache*. 2 vols.: [i], lxxv, 623 pp. + errata sheet; x, 614 pp. + errata sheet. Zürich: Amirani Verlag, 1958. Sw. fr. 70.45.

For all its expressive beauties and its importance as a literary medium, Georgian has been treated by scholars primarily as a 'philologist's language'. The difficulties with which it bristles encourage a purely theoretical, analytical approach, while the obscurity of its origins and affinities has given rise to sundry crackpot theories and jeopardized several scholarly reputations. Anyone wishing to learn the language for himself has had to rely hitherto on Adolf Durr's little guide, over 50 years old and bristling with misprints despite its sensible layout and handy format; on the Abbé Brière's massive systematization of Marr's Paris lectures on the older language, which, in spite of the obstructive meddling of Marr himself and the calumnies of his fanatical disciples, has solid merits; on Professor Vogt's brilliantly written grammatical outline; and on Rudeenko's competent work written in Russian. Within Georgia itself, magnificent work has been done in the last 40 years by Shanidze and his disciples, who have revolutionized our conception of the structure and the history of the Georgian language, though their researches remain inaccessible to those unable to read Georgian for themselves.

There is plenty of scope for a book which will initiate the student and the intelligent Western layman into modern Georgian and enable him to read at least simple texts by himself, a book which will serve also as a manual for regular instruction in the language. This gap

Dr. Tschenkéli sets out to fill in the two handsome volumes under review. The author comes from a Georgian family distinguished in public life and was long resident in Germany, so that the instinctive knowledge of a native speaker is happily wedded to familiarity with the European approach to study of languages, and awareness of what the foreigner finds difficult.

The first volume consists of the 'Theoretischer Teil', containing a conscientious and full description of Georgian morphology (syntax does not occupy the author quite so much), with many excellent examples, clearly laid out and reliable on all points. The description of aspects and what Dr. Tschenkéli calls 'neutral verbs' impresses one as good. On the theoretical side, the writer leans heavily on Vogt and Shanidze—a fact which he could have made clearer than he does. The main criticism one might make is that native exuberance and long residence in a Teutonic environment have encouraged the author to be verbose: an intelligent research worker on whom the reviewer tried out this book found it 'somewhat wordy', a senior colleague, 'extremely long-winded'. This is partly due to endless repetition of paradigms where a few schematic tables would have sufficed. Much of the jeremiad in the introduction—the woes of Georgia, the indifference and ignorance of the Western public, the author's personal tribulations since the last war—could profitably have been out down, saving the reader irritation and expense.

The second volume, or 'Praktischer Teil', contains close on 400 pages of exercises, the layout of which is adapted to fit the theoretical grammar in the first volume. The chrestomathy at the end gives over 200 pages of texts, graded in difficulty, and provided with translations and copious notes and vocabularies. The material is culled from a representative range of sources, including popular fables and moral tales; there is an extract from the national epic, together with excerpts from a heroic ballad about Georgia's medieval history; there are lyrics by the best poets, as well as an interesting piece of memoir literature. We note throughout Dr. Tschenkéli's anxiety to observe the best norms of the modern Georgian idiom, and to cleanse it from corruptions and vulgarisms; thus he sets his face against the common substitution of *-at* for *-ad* as the termination of the adverbial case of nouns and adjectives. He is consistently correct without being pedantic. If only these two volumes had been slimmer and cheaper, they would have been assured of a wide circulation; as it is, they should find a place on the shelves of every serious linguist.

D. M. LANG

V. MINORSKY: *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th centuries*. vii, 187, 32, [i] pp., 2 plates. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., [1958]. 63s.

At an age when most scholars would be content to recline in an armchair and receive the homage of grateful colleagues and disciples, Professor Minorsky continues indefatigably with his project of publishing and elucidating the Islamic sources for the history of medieval Caucasia. In America, such a plan would occupy a whole team of research students; in the Soviet Union the resource of some government-sponsored oriental institute. In this country, the undertaking is left to a single octogenarian scholar of immense learning, patience, and analytical talent, working without any professional secretarial aid, and dependent for means of publication on such subsidies as can be made available from outside sources (including the School of Oriental and African Studies) from time to time.

Like Professor Minorsky's earlier *Studies in Caucasian history* (Cambridge, 1953), the volume under review is based largely on the record of the ancient *Ta'rikh Bāb al-abwāb*, composed in the fourth/eleventh century. This work is lost in its original form, but was fortunately incorporated in the historical compilation of the Ottoman writer Ahmad ibn-Lutfullāh, known as Munejjim-bashī ('Chief Astronomer'), who died in A.D. 1702. From this source, Professor Minorsky now edits and translates the chapters on Sharvān and al-Bāb (Darband), which he has reconstituted from two excellent manuscripts of the original Arabic version, one of them copied only two years after Munejjim-bashī's death, and said to be a copy of the author's own draft. The major part of the volume is made up of the text, translation, and commentary, to which are added five annexes containing other original materials, and a set of indices efficiently prepared by Mrs. T. A. Minorsky.

It would be hard to exaggerate the historical and ethnological interest of this part of Caucasia, and its strategic importance to the ancient and medieval world. From prehistoric times, the coastal strip along the shore of the Caspian past Darband was the pathway of migrations of peoples passing between the steppes of the Eurasian plain and the uplands of Iran and Armenia, which in their turn gave access to Assyria and Babylonia. Symbolic of the importance of this spot to the Ancients is the legend that Alexander the Great himself supervised the construction of the great walls that crossed the coastal plain by Darband, in order to keep out the horrid swarms of Gog

and Magog. Substantial traces of such walls still exist, and the evidence of archaeology shows that these remains date from the time of Khusrāu Anūshīrvān (A.D. 521-78). In early Islamic times, Darband marked one of the northern extremities of the Caliph's domains; it was the main outpost against the Khazars of the Volga, who overran this area from time to time. It was also a centre from which the influence of Islam could be extended among the proud and turbulent mountaineers of adjoining Daghestan.

The nearby realm of Sharvān corresponded roughly to the present-day Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. It was once the abode of the moon-worshipping Albanians of the Caucasus, whose domains were invaded by Pompey. After coming under the sway of Sasanian Iran, the Albanians were converted to Christianity under the auspices of the Armenian Gregorian Church. They had a language described as 'guttural, rude, barbaric', and a vanished alphabet, some specimens of which have only quite recently been recovered. The original Albanians, overrun and subjugated by the Seljuk Turks, now survive only in a few dwindling communities.

Albania (known later as Arrān) surrendered to the Arabs in the caliphate of 'Othmān, around A.D. 650, but the presence of the Arab amirs did not mean the end of the feudal rights of the local princes. By the end of the tenth century, the grip of the Arabs had weakened, and the country was dominated by a group of local Muslim dynasties, the Yazīdids of Sharvān, the Kurdish Shaddādids of Arrān in Ganja, the Hāshimids of Darband, and the Daylamite Musāfirids of Azerbaijan to the south. The mutual relations of these rulers, their dealings with the Caliphate, and their contacts with neighbours such as the Armenians and Georgians, the Lāzgi of Daghestan, the Khazars, the marauding Vikings from Kiev Russia, and later, the Seljuk Turkish invaders, form the main theme of our chronicle.

Professor Minorsky is not content merely to edit and translate this often confusing medley of names, dates, and places. He has added to the text a detailed commentary, followed by general remarks on geographical and ethnological data contained therein, and on the administrative, social, and military organization of the area during the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era. In addition to Sharvān and al-Bāb proper, there are short notes on the Georgians, on Tābarsarān, on the mountaineer race of Khaydāq (Qaytāq), the mysterious principality of Karākh, the Sarfr, ancestors of the important Avar people of Daghestan, and on other little-known groupings. The section on the farther neighbours includes mention of the Khazars: it is

interesting to note that in A.D. 1064, after the fall of their kingdom, 300 households of the remnants of the Khazars arrived in the Eastern Caucasus and settled in the town of Qahtān. A paragraph on the Alans, ancestors of the present-day Ossetes, is followed by a substantial section on the Fūs or early Russians, with their Viking overlords, whose raids alarmed the merchants and peasants of Transcaucasia just as they did the citizens of Byzantium, not to speak of the impact of their Scandinavian cousins on Anglo-Saxon England. Professor Minorsky's views on the role of the Varangian element in ancient Russia are refreshingly sensible after the chauvinistic declamations of some writers. The Rūs, he says, were *originally* Scandinavian (Swedish) adventurers, brothers of those Northmen who in Western Europe founded numerous kingdoms.

'At first, a distinct military caste living on plunder as well as from trade, these Scandinavians superimposed themselves on the Slavonic and Finnish tribes but were gradually absorbed by the races over which they dominated. This happened to the Normans in French Normandy, as it happened in Kiev where the son of Igor (Scandinavian *Ingar*) and Olga (Scandinavian *Helga*) bore the Slav name Svyatoslav (d. in 972). Groups of Scandinavian adventurers still arrived from the North but the Scandinavian element alone would have proved insufficient for the vast expansionist tendencies of the Kiev state. At the time of Svyatoslav's campaigns on the Volga and in the Balkans his administration and army must have incorporated the basic Slav elements of the Kiev state. If among the princes Scandinavian names still persisted, concurrently with Slav names, this slavistic tendency was no guarantee of the purity of blood even within the ruling caste.'

The annexes of Professor Minorsky's book contain materials bringing the history of Sharvān and al-Bāb in outline up to later medieval times; also a new translation of Mas'ūdi on the Caucasus, Ibn-Rusta on Daghestan, and Ibn al-Azraq's account of a visit to Darband in 549/1154. Reading these, one is struck by the extent to which ancient religious rites, arts and crafts, and popular customs and beliefs have remained virtually unchanged in the Caucasus over the last thousand years. In Mas'ūdi's time, as now, the people of Kubachi, called 'makers of coats of mail', made finely wrought armour, stirrups, bridles, and delicately chased weapons. Already the Circassians enjoyed the reputation for beauty which they retain to this day:

'Among the nations already mentioned

in these parts there is no nation of purer complexion, of fairer colouring, of more handsome men and more beautiful women, more stately, with narrower waists, with shapelier buttocks, more elegant and (in general) comelier than this nation. Their women are distinguished by the sweetness of their intercourse and they dress themselves in white, in *rūmī* brocades, scarlet cloth and various brocades shot with gold.'

One could go on quoting indefinitely from this fascinating volume. It is all pure meat to scholars in this field, whom once more Professor Minorsky has placed greatly in his debt.

D. M. LANG

GEORGE VERNADSKY: *The origins of Russia*. xi, 354 pp., 2 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. 35s.

Professor Vernadsky is regarded by some as an authority on the ancient history of Russia. The reader therefore opens this latest book of his with high hopes, especially since the author concerns himself with the relations of the Russian and other Slavonic peoples with those of the Caucasus and the Eurasian plain.

Any such hopes are doomed to swift disappointment. As one scans the pages of this volume, it becomes clear that Professor Vernadsky has adopted the worst features of the ethno-etymological techniques practised for a time by the lamented N. Y. Marr. To judge by the acknowledgments with which this book abounds, the author has been aided and abetted by all the eccentrics who have amused themselves of late by speculating on the pre-history of Caucasus and Central Asia, and by a number of reputable scholars who should have known better.

It is hard to find words to describe the egregious blunders, the preposterous asseverations which affront the eye on almost every page. All the hoary old pseudo-derivations, based on accidental resemblances of tribal, out, or place-names occurring in different periods and widely separated parts of the world, are trotted out as proof of alleged far-flung wanderings of peoples in ancient times. The fact that there is a river Don in Yorkshire and another in France (what about Scotland?), and that the Alan/Osete word for water is *don*, is cited among the arguments for assuming an ancient Alano-Caucasian penetration of the British Isles. Alleged parallels between the folk-music and art of Yugoslavia and Indonnesia are explained as common emanations from an 'Alanic-Tokharian sphere' stretching through the whole of Eurasia and Siberia. The Urartian royal name Rusa features among the far-fetched Russo-Urartian parallels

suggested to the author by Mr. N. A. Rast, while our old friends the Roxolani masquerade unashamed as 'Radiant Alans' or 'Rus/Alans' to suit the whim of the moment.

On the basis of a couple of patently wrong derivations (one of them a misguided attempt to derive the name of Tiflis or T'bilisi, capital of Georgia, from the Slavonic Teplloe, a town in Czechoslovakia), we are invited on p. 7 to envisage a squad of Slavs moving purposefully around 800 B.C. from the North Caucasian plains through the mountain pass of Darial, pausing in Mingrelia near the Black Sea to build a castle which they dubbed 'Gordī', after Slavonic *grad*, and then moving on to erect another settlement, which they called Gordion, in Phrygia. 'The argument may seem hypothetical', says Professor Vernadsky modestly; ludicrous would not be too strong an epithet. Well may the author express a fear (p. 49) that his arguments 'may still seem too technical for those readers who are not sufficiently interested in the deeper background of Russian history'! The author presumes too much on his readers' ignorance; some of them at least are past the stage of swallowing such extravaganzas.

Out of the ocean of error and confusion with which this volume is filled, we have scooped only a few drops by way of sample. Since all the individuals and many of the tribes and nations dealt with have been extinct for about a thousand years, no statement made about them, however absurd, can harm them now. The sophisticated reader may even derive pleasure from some of the more fanciful pieces of lore crammed pell-mell into these pages, for the author has cast his net wide. But the prospective purchaser should not be led into mistaking this farrago of nonsense for a genuine contribution to learning. Or is this nothing but a veteran scholar's practical joke on a large scale?

D. M. LANG

H. W. BAILEY (ed.): *Indo-Scythian studies, being Khotanese texts, Vol. III*. viii, 140 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. 42s.

This volume, the fourth major collection of Khotanese texts published by H. W. Bailey,¹ 'completes the publication of the Paris texts of the Pelliot collection' (p. v) and, in a sense, terminates the toilsome process of editorial labour undertaken by him some 25 years ago. Of the remaining documents it is said that 'it is hoped to publish these later' (p. v). These

¹ *Khotanese texts*, I, Cambridge, 1945 (KT, I); *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London, 1951 (KBT); *Indo-Scythian studies, being Khotanese texts, II*, Cambridge, 1954 (KT, II).

pieces together with 'a further volume containing a study, transliteration, translation and commentary of the Hedin texts' (p. vi) will make all of the known Khotanese text materials available. What remains to be done is tersely summed up as follows: 'Translation and Commentary are still needed, and a Lexicon is a requisite' (p. v).

To the readers of this journal it is hardly necessary to emphasize either the eminence of the editor in this field or the importance of the Khotanese materials. The results of Professor Bailey's work both as an editor and as an interpreter showing the significance of the Khotanese documents for Iranian and Vedic studies¹ are too well-known to require an even partial account.

The 75 texts (most of which are published for the first time) contained in this volume are of diverse nature and their length varies from less than a dozen to several hundred lines.

Buddhist literature, in prose and verse, is represented by fragments or summaries of such texts as *Avlokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* (no. 1); *Vajracchedikā* (no. 6), first published by Sten Konow in *Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, ed. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, 1 (Oxford, 1916), 214-88; *Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra* (no. 20, lines 17-21, and no. 22); a dialogue between Āryaśālokiteśvara and Śārpūtra *hajvatiēviḥ pārāme vi* 'on (the subject of) *prajñāpāramitā*' (no. 46); a *sūtra* text (no. 47) which runs parallel to no. 21, lines 33 ff., and no. 25, lines 25 ff., and no. 27, both in *KBT*, 91-3, 100-4; *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* (no. 53; Ernst Leumann, *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch* [Leipzig, 1920], 104-10, had previously published three other folios of the same text); and others.

Other categories include medical texts (nos. 5, 31, 34), official documents, fragments of letters, love poems (nos. 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, and 35 contain parallel passages of what seems to be one and the same poem), lyric verse (nos. 32, 41, 43), the *Rāma* story (nos. 26-28; previously published, translated and annotated by Professor Bailey, *BSOAS*, x, 2, 1940, 365-76; x, 3, 1941, 559-98), and several bilingual texts (nos. 40, 70 Chinese-Khotanese; no. 33 Turkish-Khotanese [Bailey, *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 290-88]; no. 52 Sanskrit-Khotanese [Bailey, *BSOS*, ix, 3, 1938, 521-43]).

The problems raised by these and other Khotanese texts are, of course, numerous and manifold. They range from the initial stage of matters of orthography and transliteration to the final utilization of the ready data they

contain for linguistic, historical and other purposes.

The very common diacritical mark, which consists of the lower half of a small circle under an akṣara and indicates in Later Khotanese for instance (1) voiced *ṣ* (written *ṣ*) and *ṣ* (written *ṣ*), and (2) the omission of certain phonemes such as *ṣ* (< 3) (*pyṣ* < *paṣi-gauṣa* 'you should hear') or (*ḡyṣa* < older *baḡyṣa* 'Buddha', *kamṣṇa* < older *kamalṣṇa* 'on the head') is rendered as in *KT*, i by a subscript curve, a practice preferable to the formerly used raised comma used in *KT*, i and *KBT*. What has been termed 'unetymological' (*KT*, i, ix), unhistorical (see this volume, vi), or 'überflüssiger' *amuvira* (Ernst Leumann, *Das nordarische (sckis-ze) Lehrschrift des Buddhismus*, [1933-6], xii), has been transliterated by a subscript hook. The decision whether to write *am* or *ṣ* (*um* or *ṣ*, etc.) rests 'on a theory of interpretation' (*KBT*, ix). Given the lack of any but general specifications of this theory¹ and in the absence of facsimiles the consistent use of the subscript hook is a necessary diplomatic accessory.

Now that the main bulk of Khotanese materials is available the study of grammar, lexicography, and text interpretation can be pushed further after Leumann's, Konow's, and Bailey's own pioneer work. At the moment for practical purposes lexicography comes, perhaps, first on the priority list. It will remain Professor Bailey's permanent contribution to Iranian studies to have paved the way for such an undertaking.

M. J. DRESDEN

PUNYAVIJAYAJI (ed.): *Angavijjā* (science of divination through physical signs & symbols). (Prakrit Text Society Series, No. 1.) [iv], viii, 94, 372 pp., front., 4 plates. Banaras: Prakrit Text Society, 1957. (Distributed by Motilal Banarasidass, Banaras. Rs. 21.)

The Prakrit Text Society has made a happy choice in entrusting this publication, the first of an ambitious series in which it is planned to include all the Śvetāmbara canonical works and their Prakrit commentaries as well as other classical Prakrit literature, to the care of Muni Punyavijayaji to whose profound scholarship we are indebted for many editions of Jaina works.

In his preface the editor describes the seven manuscripts he used in establishing the text, gives a brief note on the language (which deserves study), notes the importance of the

¹ See for instance his articles 'Veda and Avesta', *University of Ceylon Review*, xv, 1957, 23-35, and 'The new Iranian materials from Turkestan', *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 39, 1958, 119-36.

¹ See for instance M. Leumann, *Oriens*, x, 1957, 330.

Angavijā for cultural history, and expresses his opinion that in the absence of a commentary or until other treatises on *Angasāstra* have been revealed and studied, no attempt at translation should be made.

Naturally a work of this kind, partly in prose, partly in verse, and consisting largely of long series of enumerations presents peculiar difficulties of interpretation; but everything possible has been done in this edition to make generally accessible the material it contains. As in other publications by the same editor the appendices offer a rich store of information. In the first he gives the text of a Sanskrit work on *Angasāstra* (with commentary) which he has discovered; unfortunately this fragment amounts only to 43 verses and the beginning and end are missing. The second appendix contains an index of the words of linguistic or cultural significance occurring in the *Angavijā*, the Sanskrit explanation being given wherever possible; whilst in the third are collected all the Prakrit verbal forms. The fourth lists the *angas* mentioned in the ninth *adhyāya*, in the first place alphabetically and, then again, distributed into categories. The fifth—and perhaps the most important—groups under headings such as articles of food, clothing, ornaments, etc., the terms of cultural interest found in the work, the page references being noted.

An introduction in English by Dr. Moti Chandra fails to reach the high standard set by Muni Punyavijaya. In fact it does little more than reassemble, in rather haphazard fashion, the material given by the editor in his appendices, with the interpolation of some rather hazardous speculations. As a specimen of them one might quote the passage on p. 42:

'In the above list the names of certain foreign goddesses are of great interest. *Apālā* may be identified with the Greek goddess Pallas Athene. *Anāditā* is the Avestic goddess Anahita whose cult was later mixed with the cult of Nana or Nanaia. *Airāpi* may be the Roman goddess Irene. *Timissakesī* may be the nymph Themis from whom her son Evander learned his letters, *Tidhāpi* cannot be identified, *Sālmāliṇī* may be identified with the moon goddess Selene. From what source this titbit of information in *Angavijā* came is not known, but it must be fairly early when the Greek influence was not completely lost from North-Western India and Mathura.'

One would have thought that Dr. Moti Chandra had exhausted possible flights of fancy. Yet the Hindi *bhūmika* (apparently a paraphrase of the English introduction done by another hand) offers a further choice of wild guesswork. Here for comparison is the parallel passage (p. 61) put into English:

'*Apālā* is known to be the Greek Pallas.

Athene and *Anāditā* the Iranian Anahita. *Sālmāliṇī* can possibly be identified with the Greek moon goddess Selene. The significance of *Tidhāpi* or *Tidhiṇī* is not clear. It may be the Indian form of the Roman goddess Diana. The name *Airāpi* also occurs on pages 205 and 223. Its identification is not certain. But in the list of ancient goddesses the name Aphrodite is very close to it. If *Airāpi* is to be read as *Airādi* this identification may be correct. The reading *Rambha* is *Missakesī* would seem to have been changed because the name *Misakesī* occurred earlier. In a manuscript available to Moti Chandra the reading *Rabbha* *Timissakesī* was found. Here *Timissakesī* would seem to be the Greek goddess Artemis whilst *Rabbha* may perhaps be identified with Ishtar, a very familiar figure in the ancient world and also called Rayi and Riya.'

The introductory material is completed by an interesting and valuable note on numerology from the pen of Dr. Agrawala.

R. WILLIAMS

SHANTARAM BHALCHANDRA DEO: *History of Jaina monachism from inscriptions and literature*. (Deccan College Dissertation Series, 17.) [ii], xv, 655 pp. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1956. Rs. 20.

One must begin by saying that this book is not in effect a history of Jaina monasticism; it would, however, be unfair to criticize it because it fails fully to live up to its title. If we regard it rather as a collection of material to serve in compiling such a history no praise is too high for the industry with which Dr. Deo has searched the scriptures and assembled the data. He has rightly concentrated on the *Śvetāmbara* canon though it might be noted that there is much evidence to be obtained from the voluminous later (particularly *Digambara*) writings on *yati-dharma*. And he has done an especial service in combating the old-fashioned view that Jainism had remained static over the centuries.

The work is divided into six parts. The first gives an introductory survey of Indian monasticism in general and contains nothing strikingly new. The second, 'the historical background to Jaina monachism', is really a summary of the traditions and of references to Jaina monks in inscriptions. Part III which in bulk amounts to about two-thirds of the book is a detailed and conscientious analysis of the texts, particularly the canonical texts, a special chapter being devoted to the order of nuns. It is here that the high standard of accuracy makes Dr. Deo's work particularly

valuable: he is at the same time fully aware of the unsatisfactory textual state of the Jaina *āgamas* and of the frequent uncertainties of interpretation. Part iv, 'Jaina monachism from epigraphs', again offers valuable material of a rather different kind: it is in effect an alphabetical list of *pacchas* mentioned in inscriptions. Parts v and vi give only brief and rather inadequate conclusions; but the appendices include a summary of faults committed by monks grouped under categories of punishments. The glossary of Sanskrit and Prakrit terms is useful but the general index is far from complete.

A few minor comments are perhaps worth making. The translation of technical terms is not always happy, and sometimes Prakrit and Sanskrit forms are used side by side: for example on p. 200 in an enumeration of the five kinds of knowledge we find *manahparyāya* following *ahināna*. Similarly on p. 17 the canonical writings are listed under their Prakrit titles and on p. 30 in the Sanskritized forms. It would have been better to standardize one form throughout.

The choice of European authors quoted is at times rather surprising. Thus Havelock Ellis is dragged in by the skin of the teeth on p. 493. Mrs. Stevenson whose *Heart of Jainism*, written from a Christian missionary standpoint, has enjoyed a totally undeserved reputation in India is more than once cited, in particular on p. 440 for an unsubstantiated opinion on iconoclasm. It is at least consoling that Dr. Deo has not ignored Schubring, but for the passages taken from *Die Lehre der Jainas* he has not been too well served by his translator: n. 37 on p. 221 is hardly an accurate rendering of the original.

As an aside it might be pointed out that the name Yaśodeva Digambarārka occurring in an inscription mentioned on p. 107 need not necessarily refer to a Jain. Digambara was quite a common epithet of Śiva.

R. WILLIAMS

EDWARD CONZE: *Buddhist meditation*. (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 13.) 183 pp. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956. 12s. 6d.

This book is admittedly written for the intelligent reader rather than for the expert. However, it is a moot point to decide where exactly 'intelligence' stops and 'expertness' begins or to what extent they are co-extensive. Expertness on the part of the author is the hallmark of any adequate 'popular' book on a 'non-popular' subject. To understand 'intelligently' the author's exposition, a certain measure of 'expertness' is therefore required on the part of the reader. In any case,

a good 'popular' book must equip the reader with the requisite means to gain expert knowledge. An adequate, up-to-date, selected bibliography is a first requirement. This means that even the method of simplification can be applied only up to a point, especially with regard to the use of the technical terminology which gives shape to a particular science. Buddhist meditation, in the triad *śīla, samādhi, prajñā*, stands literally and figuratively in the centre of the Buddhist doctrine. A great part of the enormously differentiated complex of ethical, psychological, and metaphysical concepts used in the *Hinayāna Abhidharma* as well as in the *Mahāyāna Prajñāpāramitā* literature can be directly or indirectly traced to these three. These many concepts are expressed by an exact Sanskrit and Pali terminology which, in many instances, can be rendered into European languages only by approximation. Moreover, there is by no means uniformity of expression on the part of the different translators. To avoid confusion, it is therefore necessary to add between brackets, or to mention in footnotes, the most important Sanskrit or Pali terms, and to list them in an index. On these two counts, terminology and bibliography, Dr. Conze's book is deficient. There is, indeed, a 'Glossary of technical terms'. However, anyone who reads in this glossary the definition: 'Stream-winner: The lowest kind of saint, who has just made contact with the Unconditioned', or the definition: 'A dharma, or a "dharmaic constituent of the universe" is a thing as it appears when viewed by wisdom', may wonder what it is all about.

In spite of these and other deficiencies, the book has no doubt certain merits. It is lucidly written and provides the reader with useful basic information. In the introduction the author describes the meaning and purpose of Buddhist meditation, its range and principal divisions, the literary sources, its connexion with modern psychotherapy, etc. (pp. 11-41). These topics are a guide to the second part (pp. 45-173) which consists of selections mainly taken from the Pali scriptures (*Visuddhimagga*, etc.) arranged under the heads: 'Devotional exercises', 'Mindfulness', 'Trance', and 'Widen'.

D. FRIEDMAN

DAMODAR DHARMANAND KOSAMBI: *An introduction to the study of Indian history*. lix, 534 pp., including 64 photos., map [on end-papers]. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1956. Rs. 18 As. 12.

This book was published three years ago and has already received the attention of a

number of reviewers: among these two have written at considerable length and with considerable detail.¹ Professor Kosambi does not claim to have written a history of India, but rather a modern approach to the study of Indian history, introducing new methods and standpoints. These arise from two main causes: first his acceptance of dialectical materialism, and second his own peculiar intellectual equipment. For Professor Kosambi casts down the barriers of specialization which to-day so often confine the scholar's mind, and disports himself in many different fields. Nor is the written word his only source: he draws much from his personal observations, whether it be of the tribal groups who still live 'beyond my house on the boundary of Poona city' (p. 25), or of the Buddhist caves along the routes from Bombay to Poona (p. 247). For his purpose the Belsare family of potter craftsmen are no less valuable than more orthodox sources of historical information.

Certainly the new history of India which he envisages, the history of the successive developments of her means and relations of production, is a marked departure from all previous versions, from James Mill's *History* down to the *History and culture of the Indian people*. It is not only the accepted political history which must give way but also much of what has been generally regarded as India's peculiar glory, her particular contribution, the history of her richly varied metaphysical and religious speculations. To the Westerner who is not already an Indologist and who is baffled by a proliferation of strange polysyllabic names and seemingly sterile subtleties of reasoning (sterile if only because their connexions with his own main streams of knowledge are so tenuous), this new approach may not be as distressing as it is likely to prove for those who have been brought up in the established way. Indeed, it may even recommend itself on these grounds, for, while it is possible to fill a shelf with the copious modern exegesis of, for example, the *Bhagavadgita*, there has been a notable absence of books which attempted to interpret India's past upon objective lines and to account for the phenomenon of her civilization and her place in world history. For the Indologist it may serve as a cathartic for some outworn stereotypes, or at least provoke him to consider problems in a new light.

The book opens with a short and regrettably incomplete discussion of scope and methods (chapter 1). There follows a brief chapter on

the prehistoric archaeology and the possibility of interpreting it in terms of modern tribal societies. This technique is one which properly used can give useful results, but it must be recalled that it is essentially an interpretative technique which must follow the collection and description of archaeological data. Professor Kosambi does not elaborate the stages which precede the Late Stone Age, and his treatment appears to us to gloss over both their complexity and their potential interest. Chapter 3 deals with the Indus cities. The antecedents of this civilization are not discussed, but the consideration of its economic basis, particularly flood irrigation and agriculture, is of great interest, and may, it is hoped, inspire archaeologists to research in these fields. Chapter 4 deals with the early Aryans and their appearance in India. Once again in the absence of constructive archaeological evidence this passage must remain highly speculative. Even so the evidence is sometimes forced to a limit, as when the presence of representations of *bos indicus* on Syro-Hittite seals of c. 1000 B.C. (not A.D. as printed on p. 83) is used to postulate a recoil of Aryans from India to that area. Far earlier representations of the *bos indicus* in the Middle East suggest that it was by no means unknown there. On the other hand the old 'two wave' theory fits recent archaeological evidence better than Professor Kosambi suggests. Chapter 5 opens with a bitter attack upon recent anthropometric work in India. Many of the charges are well justified but Professor Kosambi scarcely makes it clear whether he would dispense with anthropometry as a technique or pleads for its more intelligent use. The chapter deals with the eastwards advance of the Aryans and leads up to the rise of Magadha. The two following chapters are perhaps the most satisfactory in the book. They illustrate the break-up of the earlier tribal units and the emergence of a new type of state. Once this has come into being it has a rapid evolution and the seeds of its decline are present almost from the first. The use of the *Arthashastra* as a source book appears absolutely convincing, while the advocacy of Professor Kosambi's analysis of the punch-marked coins is most persuasive. Chapter 8 covers the centuries following the break-up of the Mauryan empire, and particularly stresses the trading activities of the Sātavāhanas. It appears to us that insufficient attention is paid to the undoubtedly important external stimulus of the Roman trade. The final chapters deal with Indian feudalism, first 'from above' and later 'from below', and carry the reader up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It is to be hoped that this important and provoking work, which contains so many

¹ D. H. H. Ingalls, *JAOS*, LXXVII, 3, 1957, 220-7, and A. L. Basham, *JESHO*, I, 3, 1958, 333-47; also A. K. Warder's short review, *JRAS*, 1958, 94-5.

new and controversial ideas, and which, however much it may be objected to, is bound to stimulate fresh thinking, may be re-written, enlarged, and more fully documented. There are many places where the need for more extensive treatment and further deliberation can be felt. This reviewer has been somewhat perplexed by Professor Kosambi's ingenuity in extracting totems from most unlikely circumstances and feels that recent research has done nothing to bolster the earlier expectations of exclusively matriarchal periods. He has also been worried by the new importance of the Brahmin's role, which Professor Kosambi stresses more than once. He cannot see the story of Baka Dālbhya (p. 126) as showing 'how brahmins could penetrate non-Aryan tribes, take over new cults, and so ultimately help food-gatherers turn into food-producers'. Nor can he altogether accept the very interesting suggestion that the manipulation of the almanac gave brahminism a peculiar function in the early means of production (pp. 235-7). Finally there are some places which require major correction, notably the repetition of the old hoax which accompanied Speke's discovery of the Nile headwaters (p. 230), a hoax which is fully discussed by Professor Ingalls in the review quoted.

F. B. ALLCHIN

A. K. NARAIN: *The Indo-Greeks*. xvi, 204 pp., 6 plates, 3 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. 42s.

For nearly 20 years Sir William Tarn's monumental study of the *Greeks in Bactria and India* has occupied a unique position in its field. Now Dr. Narain of Banaras Hindu University has undertaken a systematic review of the history, particularly Tarn's version of it, and has given us much to consider. His viewpoint, as an Indian scholar, has not unnaturally a new orientation and stands in marked contrast to that staunch Hellenism which has been noted in Tarn's work. For Tarn the history of the Indo-Greeks was 'an essential part of Hellenistic history': for Dr. Narain it is 'a part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic states; they came, they saw, but India conquered'.

Several reviewers have already considered the numismatic and historical aspects of the book in some detail¹ and I do not propose to dwell on them at length. When all is said and done this chapter of history remains, as perforce it must until archaeology can provide a more solid foundation, a very slender thread. To breathe life into the story calls for more

than a skeletal chronology of royal names; it calls for a rediscovery of broader, human, factors. It seems to us that geography provides an essential key to many of these factors, and it is to be regretted that this aspect of Dr. Narain's work has not been given greater attention. Perhaps it is that the political historian, the student of past politics, too often neglects the geography and can play chess with place-names and peoples, ignoring their geographical and human significances. Thus Dr. Narain can think of the Ghazni area as northern Arachosia, an extension which is neither justified by texts nor supported by modern geography. These ancient regional names must have had precise connotations linked, no doubt, not to lines marked upon maps but to cities, centres of population, clusters of villages and the agricultural lands they worked. These such names may have remained fixed for millennia. This is strikingly suggested by the close coincidence of the names of the Achaemenid satrapies given by Herodotus and those recorded in the Achaemenid inscriptions. *Sogdiana*, for example, signified the valley of the Zarafshan river, from Bukhara to Mugh via Samarkand and Panjikent, as the Arab geographers well knew. Again, *Margiana* must be conceived in terms of the cities and settlements of the delta of the Murghab river and the Merv oasis. Tarn's 'greater Margiana' is hard to comprehend. Likewise, cities must ultimately be identified with ancient settlements. For Dr. Narain Nysa remains almost mythical, although to Masson and the Soviet archaeologists who have during the past 20 years excavated the city and discovered many Parthian remains, including numerous *ostraka*, it must have every aspect of reality. Centres of population are not, generally, hard to associate with names, although the mystery surrounding such sites as Sagala remains. This case, however, rather indicates the absence of purposeful field research than defeat, for in the light of modern knowledge a determined search for Menander's capital would almost certainly yield results. Once such centres have been discovered and named again, it is not an impossible task to determine the various routes which link them. However, consideration must be given to the nature of the terrain. Even too Dr. Narain is sometimes incorrect, as when he proposes to take the Northern Silk Road from the Upper Il to Kashgar, via the Terek pass. Such a route is most improbable since the pass lies north-west of Irkesh-tam and, according to Stein, is still much frequented in travelling thence to Ferghana. For the route postulated there are several alternative passes lying well to the east and no more difficult to cross. Indeed, on Map III the Terek is located some 150 miles

¹ Particularly G. K. Jenkins in *Num. Chron.*, xvii, 1957, 268-9, and A. H. Dani in *JAS(Pak)*, II, 1957, 197-200.

north-east of its actual situation to remove the improbability of the statement. The exact signification of terms for mountain ranges is less easy to discover. This being so, Paropanisadae had perhaps a general meaning akin to the modern Hindu-kush, but it can surely have never possessed the extremely localized meaning of the Kabul valley which it is here given (p. 28). Certainly Strabo's reference (vii.50) seems to support a wider usage. In view of its loose meaning it is also doubtful whether the modern historian should repeatedly use the term in the language of military conquest. Finally, travellers' terms may be both vague and misleading, and it is surely more than the texts can offer to expect a single precise signification for the vague Chi-pin.

We have criticized this aspect of *The Indo-Greeks* because this is obviously an important book, providing as it does a critical commentary upon Tarn. The book's merits remain and its author is to be congratulated upon its production.

F. R. ALLCHIN

GIUSEPPE TUCCI: *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*. (Serie Orientale Roma, x. Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture, 1.) viii, 153 pp., 28 plates. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956.

Professor Tucci's book consists of two distinct parts: the first gives a brief account ('notes of travel') of his journeys through districts of western Nepal, mainly the upper Kālī Gandakī valley and the upper Bherī; the second is a most important historical discussion, based on certain inscriptions, of a Himalayan dynasty with the royal name of Malla, which held sway over both western Nepal and the neighbouring districts of western Tibet from the end of the twelfth century to the second half of the fourteenth. The first part itself comprises two journeys, made in 1952 and 1954. A fuller and more personal description of the 1952 journey was published by Professor Tucci in 1953 under the title of *Tra giungle e pagode*. The 1954 journey, however, has not yet been described in any detail, and this is a pity, because these areas are so little known, that almost any observations of a scholarly traveller are of the greatest interest. In the present brief account Professor Tucci has also included several useful excerpts from local biographies (*rnam-thar*). I venture to disagree only over his identification of certain Tibetan place-names with the names which appear on the Survey of India maps of Nepal.

dGe-dKar does not correspond with Tegar (p. 14, fn.), but is in fact the monastery still known as 'Ge-kar' or 'Lo Ge-kar', which stands just above Māhārāng and to the south-west of Mustang. It is a very fine monastery indeed, but is not shown on the SI maps. *Phye-legs* cannot be Ghiling, for which the correct Tibetan spelling is *dGe-glin*. Misleading as the Survey of India names usually are in these Tibetan (*bhotia*) areas, they are never quite so utterly confounding as this. Tahe-roq (p. 13) is Chhairogāon just below Marpha on the left bank of the Kālī Gandakī, where there is still an important monastery. I shall myself be publishing a list, as complete as possible, of amended place-names for the Tibetan areas covered by my own journey of 1956. Professor Tucci refers to the prevalence of *bon-po* communities in Charka, Tarap, and Pale (pp. 25-33). The centre of this particular form of Tibetan religion is actually the monastery of *bsam-glin* near Phijorgāon very much further north.

The second part of Professor Tucci's book is certainly of the greatest value. Wherever he travels, he is sure to find something of special importance, in this case two inscriptions at Dullu (approximately half-way between Jumla and the Indian frontier), which were set up in the reign of a king Prthvimalla in the mid-fourteenth century. One of them lists two royal genealogies, those of Gu-ge up to the time of its fusion with Pu-hraṇs and those of Semjā, the capital of this Himalayan Malla dynasty, which had control also of Pu-hraṇs. This capital Professor Tucci identifies convincingly with the present-day village of Sijā a few miles north-west of Jumla. He is also able to identify the Indian-type names of the Gu-ge kings, as they appear on the Dullu inscription, with the Tibetan forms of the same names as they are known from the Tibetan chronicles. He has made some interesting deductions concerning the relationship of Buddhism and Hinduism in this newly discovered kingdom. We are at least sure that Buddhism (of Indian inspiration) still existed in what is now western Nepal as late as the fourteenth century. The land of Zhang-zhung, its location and alternative names are discussed; in this Professor Tucci resumes consideration of a problem, which he began long ago in *Indo-Tibetica*, II. I would only question whether written documents in the language of Zhang-zhung have in fact been found in Central Asia (p. 107). This was just an idea of F. W. Thomas, which to my knowledge has not yet been substantiated. He gave no valid reason for naming as Zhang-zhung the fragments of some early Tibetan dialect, which he edited in *JRAS*, 1933, 405-10. He has also named Zhang-zhung yet another MS

(Stein MS fragment no. 43) of the India Office Library.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

LUCIANO PETECH: *Medieval history of Nepal (c. 750-1480)*. (Serie Orientale Roma, x. Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture, 3.) xi, 238 pp., table. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 5000.

Professor Petech has achieved his main purpose in writing this book, namely to place on a more secure footing the chronological and political framework of Nepalese medieval history. His chief sources of information have been the colophons of about 230 manuscripts, a few inscriptions, and two ancient genealogies (*vamsāvali*). One of these was already known of from Cecil Bendall's 'History of Nepal and the surrounding kingdoms', *JASB*, LXXII, 1903, 1-32, reprinted as an historical introduction to Hara Prasād Śāstri's *Catalogue of . . . MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*. The second one, or rather a fragment of it, was found by Professor Petech himself in the private library of Field-Marshal Kaisher-Shamsher in Kathmandu. The colophons with their precise dates and unambiguous references to the ruling king or kings have enabled him to control and interpret the traditional accounts of the genealogies, so that now, except for one or two doubtful periods, the lines of the royal dynasties from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries are tolerably clear. It is a painstaking and masterly piece of scholarship. The classic work on Nepal is still that of Sylvain Lévi (Paris, 1905, 3 volumes), of which vol. II consists of a history. Professor Petech's work now serves as an essential guide-line, along which Lévi's more voluminous account with its rather bewildering digressions can more easily be controlled. For example Professor Petech's account of Nānyadeva's invasion is limited to the known facts; also it was sufficient to dismiss with a few words the false genealogies invented by later chroniclers on behalf of Jayasthitimalla (pp. 51-3). One may compare Lévi's account (*Le Népal*, II, 198-205, and 220-2).

Of special interest is Professor Petech's recognition (p. 102) of the Khasiya king Jayatāri, who invaded Nepal in 1288 and 1290, with the Jitārimalla of the Dullu inscription discovered by Professor Tuoci (see above, p. 377). Another important event is the cataclysmic invasion of the Valley by Muslims in 1346-7, to which two inscriptions bear witness (pp. 118-19). Professor Petech also explains satisfactorily the curious mistake made by Chinese missions to Nepal in 1387-8

and 1391 of assuming that Madana-Rāma, the younger of two brother-ministers in Pātan, was the king of Nepal (p. 204).

I draw attention to a few small points, which seem to me rather misleading. The inscription quoted by Professor Petech on p. 88 (no. 16) is not on a statue of Dipaukara nor on the eastern Aśoka *caitya* of Pātan. He has mistaken this particular *caitya*, which stands just north of the Guṭta-bāhā, with the real eastern Aśoka *caitya*, which stands outside Pātan to the left of the Lubhu road. The inscription is actually cut into the base of the little inset Akṣobhya image on the eastern side of the Guṭta-bāhā *caitya*. The reference to a copper-plate inscription in the Wu-wa Bahi (p. 135) is hardly sufficient. This is in fact the Woku-bāhā-bāhi, viz. the subsidiary court of the Woku-bāhā (*Rudravarna-mahāvihāra*). These smaller *vikāras* are already difficult enough to locate, and in referring to them we should perhaps give both the local Newāri as well as the Sanskrit name. Of the Ibāhā-bāhi (p. 168) I am still uncertain. Also there is no god Rañ (?) (p. 118). *Caityas* like images are known generally as *dyo* 'god' by Newars, and the particular *caitya*, on which Professor Petech's quoted inscription is set, is still named nowadays Čilamdyo. The earlier form of this name appears in line 11 of the inscription. The evidence he gives for locating Kailāsakūta 'in the district of Pātan' (p. 200) is far from compelling. The hill-top above Paśupati, which is even now known as Kailāsa, is still the most likely place. Much of chapter v is really superfluous and altogether a different standard of scholarship from the rest of this excellent book.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

HANS H. FRANKEL (comp.): *Catalogue of translations from the Chinese dynastic histories for the period 220-960*. (East Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California. Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, Supplement No. 1.) [iii], 295 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. \$4.50. (English agents: Cambridge University Press. 34s.)

This book sets out to list translations into English, French, and German of extracts from the 16 'dynastic histories' extending from the *San kuo chih* to the *Hsin yü tai shih*. The arrangement of the catalogue follows the chapters of the original works, which are quoted by references to the *po-na-pén* edition; it is thus possible to ascertain very quickly whether a translation of a particular passage in these

historical features in the catalogue; translations of passages which are less than 25 characters long are not included in the entries, which number over 2,000. Indexes of the translators, and of proper names and subjects, follow the main catalogue. Material is included which was contributed by Mrs. Davidson, who was working under the auspices of the Committee on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, and by Professor Helmut Wilhelm of the University of Washington.

The value of this book depends on its accuracy and its degree of completeness, and it is therefore regrettable that there is no clear indication of the extent of the material worked through by the compilers. There is no means of checking whether a potential source of translation has been considered systematically, and no date is provided, other than that of publication, to indicate when the work was completed; the first and last numbers of the periodical publications consulted are not specified.

It is stated in the introduction that an endeavour has been made 'to include translations made from texts other than the Histories which duplicate passages in them'. However, translations made from compilations such as the *Tzu chih t'ung chien* or *T'ung chien kang mu* are not necessarily included, and there is no reference in the index of translators to de Mailla, one of the pioneers of this type of work, whose *Histoire générale de la Chine* of 1777 (based on the *T'ung chien kang mu*) has been quoted by historians from the time of Gibbon to that of Cordier. The choice of material rightly includes literary pieces incorporated into the *chéng shih* such as Han Yu's essay on the bone of the Buddha, for which there are no less than 13 entries; it is one of these which constitutes the only extract listed from Wiegner's *Textes historiques*. Solomon's translation of the *Shun-tsung shih-lu* is rightly included, although this text is strictly not a member of the *chéng shih* class.

The reason why the period 220-980 was chosen for treatment in this way is not stated, and the value of the book as a tool for research workers, or for recommendation to students at an earlier stage, would have been greatly enhanced had entries been included for translations made from the *Shih chi*, *Ch'ien Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*. It is observed in the introduction that 'the accounts of foreign countries have received more attention from translators than other sections of the Histories' and it is not surprising that a high proportion of the entries in the catalogue are concerned less with aspects of the history of China as such, than with aspects of Chinese culture and China's relations with her neighbours. It is no fault

of the compiler that the catalogue, which is designed as a specialists' research tool but will also, it is hoped, be consulted by historians from other fields, may leave the latter with a false impression of the contents of the 'dynastic histories'. Had the three earlier histories been treated in the catalogue, such an impression would have been rectified to some extent, as there would have been brought to attention the massive works from the pens of Chavannes and Dubs, which constitute some of the longest consecutive passages from the 'dynastic histories' to have found their way into the English or French readers' library.

MICHAEL LOEWE

BURTON WATSON: *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, grand historian of China*. xi, 276 pp. New York: Columbia University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 40s.

This study of the man who may fairly be called the founder of the great tradition of Chinese historiography, is offered to a wider audience than the average specialized sinological work. It introduces to the American and English reading public the writer of the *Shih chi* or 'Records of the historian', a book that next to the Classics themselves has been one of the most influential prose writings in China for the past two millennia. As Dr. Watson rightly says, the existence of Chavannes' partial translation into French, which was a landmark in the history of Western sinology when it was published in the years 1895-1905, does not in any way preclude a further study in English now.

Dr. Watson begins with an impressionistic account of Chinese history up to the time of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, in order to place him in his proper background. He then translates the autobiographical chapter of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's history, complementing it with Pan Ku's additions in the *Han shu*. In further chapters he discusses the beginnings of Chinese historiography, the form of the *Shih chi*, which started the pattern for the long line of Chinese standard dynastic histories, and the thought and style of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. He has spent a long time in Kyoto, and leans heavily on the results of recent Japanese scholarship (his references to Chinese and Western scholarship are less extensive). This is all to the good and provides him with a firm basis. He presents a sympathetic and readable account of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and has much that is of interest to say about the development of Chinese historiography. Yet there are some aspects of the work that are not entirely satisfying.

Dr. Watson states in his introduction that he has 'deliberately chosen to ignore certain

aspects of the historiography of the *Shih chi*, such as the complex and difficult question of the sources upon which Ssu-ma Ch'ien based his work', excusing himself with becoming modesty for what 'may constitute a serious defect' on the grounds of limitations of knowledge and ability of which he is conscious. After such a disclaimer it is difficult to criticize him in these respects, yet one cannot help feeling that he has set his sights too low. If he had tried to come to grips with more of the philological problems which his subject presents it would not merely have improved his work in these technical aspects but would have brought many of his discursive judgments into much sharper focus. His account of China up to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's day is a clear, easily intelligible presentation for the non-specialist, but it is certainly oversimplified and too often the cracks are papered over with generalizations that need to be subjected to much closer testing on the sources. This is also true of his other chapters.

Dr. Watson includes a considerable amount of translation. Besides Ssu-ma Ch'ien's biography he includes as an appendix selected passages from the body of the *Shih chi* which illustrate Ssu-ma Ch'ien's ideas about history. He has endeavoured to put his translation into English rather than a barbarous, square-bracket jargon and in general it reads easily and well. Unfortunately the standard of accuracy is not as high as one could wish. It is rather surprising that, although he uses the excellent Japanese edition of the *Shih chi* by Takikawa, he does not appear to have consulted the Japanese translations of the *Shih chi* of which there are several. If he had done so he could certainly have saved himself from many errors. To give only a few examples at random:

p. 184. 'Scholars frequently speak of the Five Emperors of antiquity.' The text reads 學者多稱五帝尙矣 and means 'Scholars have long since frequently spoken of the Five Emperors'. The Japanese translation in the *Shiki kokujikai* has 'Gakusha ōku Gotei o tonauru koto hisashiki izen yori seri'.

In the next sentence 難言之 means 'hesitated to speak of them' ('kore o yū koto o habakareri'); not as Dr. Watson has it, 'find it difficult to accept them'.

p. 188. 'King Wu, had taken up the *tablets of rule* [my italics] from his father.' 木主 in this passage means of course 'wooden ancestral tablet' and the translation means 'King Wu was carrying in his chariot (載) the ancestral tablet of his father King Wen'. (The Japanese translation 'Seihaku no *mokuzō* o kuruma no ue ni noseete' is here not exact because the tablets were not 'images'.)

p. 189. 'He ate without regret the poorest food.' The text reads 糟糠不厭 'He could not even manage to satisfy his hunger with husks and chaff'. The Japanese reads 'Kasu ya nuka sura no jūbun hara ni mitasu koto atawazu'.

In other cases where the translation is not actually wrong insufficient attention has been paid to the effect of the English words chosen. For example, on p. 179 Dr. Watson gives a somewhat confused account of one of Yang Hsiung's comments on Ssu-ma Ch'ien. The passage reads 多愛不忍, 子長也. 仲尼多愛, 愛義也. 子長多愛, 愛奇也. and I translate, 'Great love that could not bear, that was Tzu-ch'ang (Ssu-ma Ch'ien). Chung-ni (Confucius) had great love, it was love of righteousness. Tzu-ch'ang had great love, it was love of what was extraordinary'. The commentators explain that, in contrast to Confucius who both praised the good and reproved the bad, Ssu-ma Ch'ien only praised good points and ignored bad. He could not bear to omit even stories which were unworthy to be handed down as models to later ages. Dr. Watson refers to the passage thus: 'Yang Hsiung remarks . . . "Tzu-ch'ang [Ch'ien] had great love; it was a love for the strange". "Great love that could not endure, that was Tzu-ch'ang"'. He omits the middle sentence of the passage and reverses the order of the other two. This unnecessarily obscures the purport of the whole passage. Moreover, by translating *jen* by 'endure' rather than 'bear' he invites the unwary reader to suppose that it means 'last'. This misleading effect is rendered more likely by Dr. Watson's next sentence, 'One theory is that it means that Ch'ien's many tales and stories were "not worthy" of being handed down as models'. The commentator he refers to does not, however, mean that Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work as a whole is unworthy to be handed down but rather, as I have indicated above, that Ssu-ma Ch'ien's history was faulty as compared to that of Confucius because he could not bear to leave out stories that were unworthy to be recorded. There is no real conflict between the commentators. In his further discussion Dr. Watson comes to approximately the right conclusion about the intention of Yang Hsiung's criticism but in the process he gives himself unnecessary trouble.

Dr. Watson's interpretation of the expressions *k'ung-yen* and *k'ung-wen* (literally: 'empty words', 'empty writing') must, I think, be taken up, as he lays some stress on it and it is contrary to accepted views. The key passage is a saying attributed to Confucius by Ssu-ma Ch'ien and, in different words, by

Tung Chung-shu, which purports to express the motive behind Confucius' editing of the 'Spring and autumn annals'. In Ssu-ma Ch'ien's version it reads: 我欲載之空言,不如見之於行事之深切著明也 which is translated by Nivison as 'I had thought of setting forth my ideas in abstract sayings but have decided that it would be more cogent and explicit to manifest them through actual events'. It could perhaps be rendered more literally, 'If I had wished to set them (my ideas) forth in abstract sayings, it would not have been as good as the cogency and explicitness of manifesting them through actual events'. Tung Chung-shu's version is 以爲見之空言不如行事博深切明 'I considered that to manifest them in abstract words would not be as good as the breadth, depth, incisiveness, and clarity of actual events'. Dr. Watson wishes to translate the first passage as, 'If I wish to set forth my theoretical judgments, nothing is as good as illustrating them through the depth and clarity of past affairs', and the second as, 'I believe that in illustrating theoretical judgments nothing is as good as the depth and clarity of past affairs'. Apart from the fact that I do not think this is grammatically possible (不如 is not the same as 莫如; Dr. Watson ignores the 之 after 載 in the first passage and 見 in the second) it is not necessary to make this interpretation, as Dr. Watson believes, in order to understand Ssu-ma Ch'ien's other uses of *k'ung-yen* and *k'ung-wen*.

It is true that in another passage Ssu-ma Ch'ien puts into Hu Sui's mouth the statement, 'In the time of Confucius there was no enlightened ruler at the top and [worthy men] beneath could not obtain employment. Therefore he wrote the "Spring and autumn annals", handing down "empty words" to give judgments on conduct and propriety (li and i) and to be a model for some future king', referring to the 'Annals' themselves as *k'ung-wen*. But the 'Spring and autumn annals' could be looked at from two points of view. Compared to an abstract discourse, they could be said to have 'the cogency and explicitness of actual events'; compared to the actual government of a sage on the throne, they were 'mere words'. I see no difficulty in supposing that Ssu-ma Ch'ien refers now to one and now to the other aspect. The other passages that Dr. Watson quotes can all be interpreted satisfactorily in some such way by taking *k'ung-yen* to mean 'mere words'.

My remarks on Dr. Watson's book no doubt seem rather critical. I should like to make it clear that there are many things that I greatly

appreciate in it. He has a real enthusiasm and love for Ssu-ma Ch'ien and will undoubtedly convey this to many Western readers who had never heard of one of China's greatest historians. We shall look forward to the further volume of selected translations from the *Shih chi* which he promises.

R. G. PULLEYBLANK

LIU MAU-TSAI: *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-kü)*. (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 10.) 2 vols.: [viii], 484 pp.; [v], 485-831 pp., map, table. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 60.

Whereas turcologists and students of Central Asia, as well as sinologists, have been well served by Chavannes' monumental *Documents sur les Tou-kieu (Turcs) Occidentaux*, first published in St. Petersburg in 1903, with a supplement in *T'oung Pao*, v, 1904, nothing similar has been available for the Eastern Turks, who were much more important, at least as far as the Chinese were concerned. Scholars who could not make use of the original texts have had to rely on works such as the Russian translations of Bichurin (1851), and Stanislas Julien, 'Documents historiques sur les Tou-kieou', *Journal Asiatique*, 1864, which, however valuable in their time, are unsatisfactory by the standards of to-day. We must therefore be very grateful to Dr. Liu for providing us with versions of the principal texts concerning the Eastern Turks from the relevant standard histories, including not only the various 'T'u-chüeh lieh-chuan' but also excerpts gathered from the basic annals and biographies, and in addition some material from outside the histories. Even for those who read Chinese it will be very valuable to have this material all gathered together. The translation is accurate and reliable, it is annotated, and a full index is provided following the excellent example set by Chavannes.

This being said, it must be admitted that, useful as the work is certain to be, it has some disappointing features. It would be unreasonable to complain that not all the available Chinese material on the Eastern Turks is included. Dr. Liu, who has evidently worked with restricted library facilities in post-war Göttingen, promises to fill in one of the most important gaps by publishing, as Chavannes did, an additional work containing the relevant passages from the *T's'e-fu yüan-kuei*, a book not previously available to him. Yet even making allowances for the difficulties of obtaining books, it is surprising to find the author translating a memorial by Ch'en Tzu-ang

from the 'Pien-i tien' of the *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, especially in view of his strictures on Julien for using this late encyclopedia as a source. Dr. Liu refers to Ch'en Tzu-ang's collected works under the title *Ch'en shih-i chi* which they bear in the *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu tsung-mu*, but seems not to be aware that they are available under the title *Ch'en Po-yü wen-chi* in the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, to which he appears to have access since he cites other books from it.

His dependence on the *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng* no doubt explains the fact that only this memorial is included, although, in spite of its title, it is mainly concerned not with the T'u-chueh proper but with the Nine Surnames or Toquzoghuz. (See Iwasa Seiichirō, 'Tokketsu no fukkō ni suite', *Iwasa Seiichirō ikō* (1936), esp. p. 125—this article is referred to by Dr. Liu on p. 597 but without the title of the book of which it forms part and it is not included in his bibliography; see also E. G. Pulleyblank, 'Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz problem', *Ural-Altäische Jahrbucher*, xxviii, 1956, 37.) Ch'en Tzu-ang's works contain a number of other pieces relating to Turkish affairs which Dr. Liu ignores since they do not happen to be included in the *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*.

His dependence on the Ch'ing encyclopedia is revealed in other ways as well, for the two passages from the *Ta T'ang ch'uang-yeh ch'i-chi-chu* which he translates are precisely those in the encyclopedia and other references to the Turks in this work are ignored. In his general account of the relations between China and the Turks Dr. Liu more than once gives the 'Pien-i tien' as his ultimate authority for a statement.

It is to be hoped that eventually Dr. Liu or someone else will proceed further with gathering together material from the literary works of T'ang writers, as found in separate collections or in anthologies such as the *Wen-yuan ying-hua* or in the *Ch'uan T'ang wen*. It might not be necessary to translate it all—in many cases a careful resumé would be sufficient, or perhaps even more useful—but there is a great deal that can be added in detail to our knowledge of the Turks and their relations with the Chinese from such sources.

It is also to be regretted that Dr. Liu has not used more criticism in handling his basic texts. He claims to have compared the chapters in the dynastic histories with the *T'ung-tien* but he does not in fact note the by no means insignificant differences between the texts of the *T'ung-tien* and the *Chiu T'ang shu*. On one such case see E. G. Pulleyblank, *T'oung Pao*, xli, 1952, 347 ff. In this instance a further parallel exists in the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, and the biography of Li Ta-hang

in the *Chiu T'ang shu* (not included among the biographies from which excerpts have been made by Dr. Liu) should also be consulted. Since Chinese historical works are made up by patching together previously existing written sources, such textual comparisons can be very important for revealing the nature of this underlying material.

Another important omission is the information in the geographical chapters of the T'ang histories about the prefectures set up to govern the T'u-chueh. Chavannes included the corresponding material on the Western Turks.

Unlike Chavannes Dr. Liu makes little attempt to deal with the problem of foreign names and other words. He repeats some old-established identifications but does not try to be either critical or complete in this regard. This is perhaps justifiable for one who does not know Turkish but one wonders whether it would not have been possible for him to seek the help of an expert. At the very least, it would have been useful to include Karlgren's reconstructed Ancient readings for characters appearing in such words. As it is, it will be very tedious for non-sinologists to establish the probable pronunciations of such characters, especially since characters are sometimes given in the index but sometimes only in the notes. Dr. Liu has not always fully utilized the latest work in the field. Thus he mentions Boodberg's criticism of Hirth's old identifications of Tolos with T'ieh-lo and (Syr-)Tardush with Hsueh-yen-t'ia but he ignores Boodberg's very convincing suggestion, already anticipated by Thomsen, that Tar-luś and Tolos were not tribal names but organizational names for western and eastern divisions of a Turkish state. (See P. A. Boodberg, 'Three notes on the T'u-chueh Turks', *Semitic and oriental studies presented to William Popper*, Berkeley, 1951—Dr. Liu quotes this article only from a review in *OLZ*, xlix, 9/10, 1954: could he not have found some means to consult the article itself? See also E. G. Pulleyblank, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbucher*, xxviii, 1956, 35-6.) This interpretation throws much light on the confused picture one gets from Chinese sources of the internal structure of the nomad empires and hence is not merely a matter of philological detail.

Although Dr. Liu explicitly disclaims the title of historian, he includes a section of 80 pages entitled 'T'u-kue und China' in which he deals with the diplomatic, military, economic, and cultural relations between China and the Turks. He has compiled and conveniently tabulated information about embassies in both directions and about raids by the Turks on the Chinese frontier. The other information he has assembled under these various headings is very useful. One

especially appreciates his illustration of what might be called *turcomanie* among Chinese literati by two poems of Po Chu-i, who erected a yurt in his courtyard and enjoyed spending winter evenings in its warmth. When it comes to drawing conclusions, however, Dr. Liu's lack of historical perspective is certainly a hindrance, for he presents on the whole a static picture. Though there were no doubt constant features, the relations between the Chinese and the Turks developed and changed greatly in the 200 years between the first rise of the T'u-chueh and their disappearance as a major political entity. Chinese policy on the Turkish question also changed with circumstances and was, for example, very different in the sixth century when North China was weak and divided, in early T'ang when Li Shih-mun had established his world empire and aspired to be accepted as Heavenly Kaghan over the nomads as well as Son of Heaven over the Chinese, and again later in the first half of the eighth century when China was again strong and expansive but more exclusively Chinese in outlook.

Dr. Liu's account of the development of the Chinese frontier defence system is inaccurate, for the system of permanent frontier military commands ('ständige Militärbezirke') did not originate at the beginning of the dynasty but only grew up gradually in the latter half of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth. There was no new system introduced suddenly in 742. The major change came with the abandonment of conscription for a fixed period as a means of recruiting frontier armies and the acceptance of the principle of having permanent professional soldiers instead—but this had already been instituted by Li Lin-fu in 737.

On p. 643 Dr. Liu rightly corrects a bad lapse in translation committed by me in *T'oung Pao*, xii, 323. Perhaps I may be permitted to point out, however, that I had already corrected this mistake in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbucher*, xxviii, 1956, 36. I shall not deal here with other points of detail such as the interpretation of *isa-hu* 'mixed barbarians' (p. 519) (the issue is much more complicated than Dr. Liu suggests, or than I previously thought).

In conclusion it should be said once more that Dr. Liu's work represents a very great labour and puts us all much in his debt. I only feel that it is a pity that such a major enterprise which is not likely to be soon repeated, should fall short of what it might have been in the ways I have indicated.

E. G. PULLREYBLANK

ERWIN VON ZACH (tr.): *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsüan. Edited by Ilse Martin Fang.* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, xviii.) 2 vols.: xxxvi, 605 pp.; [iv], 607-1114 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £5.)

These two large volumes are to be welcomed as an act of piety towards von Zach, who was one of the best sinologues of his time. They are the third instalment of a series devoted to the republication of his translations from Chinese into German. These translations were meant 'for the student' (see Professor Hightower in his introduction to the first volume of the series). Regarded in this light they have several disadvantages:

(1) He took no steps to establish a sound text. A glance at the 125 passages (drawn from about 40 pieces out of the 485 which the *Wen hsüan* includes) discussed by Wang Nien-sun at the end of his *Tu shu tsu chih* will convince anyone that the *Wen hsüan* is a very corrupt text, which can often only be reconstituted by comparing not only different editions of the *Wen hsüan* itself, but also other books (such as dynastic histories, encyclopedias, collected works of individual authors and so on) where pieces included in the *Wen hsüan* are either quoted or given in full.¹ As the result of not working from a sound text, von Zach (like the T'ang commentators) constantly tries to make sense, by hook or crook, of passages which in fact are meaningless as they stand. Indeed, so indifferent is he to questions of text that when professedly translating from the *Wen hsüan* he includes translations that he had previously made (e.g. in the case of T'ao Ch'ien) from a text other than that of the *Wen hsüan* and by no means identical in its readings.

(2) He paraphrases (without giving a literal translation) where a literal translation would be intelligible: e.g. p. 453, l. 22, 宛轡憩通衢, translated 'gegen meinen Willen wurde ich ein Nichtstuer auf der grossen Strasse (d.h. in der Beamptenlaufbahn)'. All the original says is: 'I turned my reins and halted in the great highway', which of course means that after wandering about as a free man he at length settled down in the high road of officialdom.

(3) He omits important words when he does

¹ Anyone translating the *Wen hsüan* to-day would of course also have to take into account the Tun-huang MSS and the early MSS preserved in Japan. These enable one to correct hundreds of passages.

not understand them: e.g. p. 299, l. 3, where he omits 薄, evidently not realizing that it is simply another way of writing 泊 'to moor'.

(4) Failure to use properly the one commentary (that of Li Shan) that he had at his disposal: e.g. p. 298, last couplet but one, 和樂隆所缺, 'Die harmonische Freude der Gäste überstrahlt alle Mangel [früherer Festen]'. Here a passage from a lost preface to the *Shih ching* (Mao 161) is quoted by Li Shan, and makes clear that the sense is: 'He [the ruler] to our peaceful pleasures has restored (literally 'raised up') what was lacking'.

(5) Von Zach, who evidently had no knowledge of Chinese music, unfortunately selected for translation a number of pieces that teem with musical technicalities. He either leaves them untranslated or merely transliterates them: e.g. p. 253, 'Nachdem die Laute gestimmt ist, wird ernste (orthodoxe) Musik auf ihr gespielt'. This runs in the original: 乃其初調, 則角羽俱起, 宮徵相證, 參發竝趣, 上下累應. 足甚踴躍磊落.... This is translated by van Gulik: 'When the Lute is tuned to the basic accord, the third and fifth strings are in harmony, the first and fourth strings control each other. Then all the seven strings resound in harmony; high and low are in perfect concord. Staccato and legato...'. Van Gulik's version, whether it is completely right in every detail or not, is at least an attempt to translate the passage. The same cannot be said of von Zach's erroneous summary in 11 words of a Chinese text containing 25 characters.

I think I have said enough to show that the usual description of von Zach as a 'meticulous' translator needs some qualification.

ARTHUR WALEY

CORNELIUS OSGOOD: *Blue-and-white Chinese porcelain: a study of form*. xvii, 167 pp., 64 plates. New York: The Ronald Press Co., [1956]. \$15.

Mr. Osgood is an American anthropologist who has both studied and taught in the field of Far Eastern cultures: nevertheless, this work is something of a departure for him. As he explains in the preface, his reasons for venturing on the serious study of Chinese ceramics were very largely personal: a keen admiration for the wares themselves, and a thirst for first-hand knowledge that others could not provide. His line of approach is an uncommonly independent one, as may be

judged from this excerpt from his introduction: 'For one who has approached the study of ceramics from the wider field of general culture', he writes, 'white porcelain painted in blue beneath the glaze offers conclusive evidence of being the most important ware ever produced.... Therefore there is reason to believe that in research on ceramics it may be wise to concentrate first on blue-and-white porcelain; and that particularly for a consideration of the problems of form, there can be no better section of the field in which to begin'. At the same time he feels the need for a much greater systematization of the subject from this point of view than it has yet received. Form, he points out, has been described as the most important of all criteria for distinguishing the age of Chinese ceramics; but the human memory is all too fallible an instrument to deal with it. Some 'objective means' of classification ought to be found, and 'empirical methods' applied to the problem. Among other things therefore, this highly ambitious work is an attempt at constructing a typological series of forms which may be used as a yardstick for identification and study in the future.

To begin with Mr. Osgood selected as a working corpus 887 specimens from which the shapes were extracted in the form of outline drawings traced from photographs. After outlining his methods of work and the scope of the study, which involves such considerations as the occurrence of marks and varieties of material, decorative techniques and motives of design, he proceeds to his survey of the wares from a number of points of view, recording the results by means of charts, tables, and line drawing: as well as various other statistical devices. The core of his research, however, is presented in the second half of the book, where 22 basic form classes are distinguished and catalogued with notes on the salient characteristics of each and on their more familiar variants, which are once again illustrated by superimposed line-drawings.

All this amounts to a labour so formidable that one cannot comment adversely on its value without some regret; however, it must at once be said that Mr. Osgood's methods of work are open to very severe criticism. It will be obvious that any statistical study of this kind ought to be based on a thoroughly representative cross-section of the known material—hardly less, perhaps, than the contents of the more important museum collections in both Europe and the U.S.A. Such statements as that 'approximately 22 per cent of the porcelains studied bear reign marks' or that 'there are only about two-thirds as many blue-and-white porcelains portraying women as there are showing men'

¹ Hsi K'ang and his poetical essay on the lute, 1941, p. 57.

cannot be of much significance when based on study of a mere 887 specimens, bearing in mind that blue-and-white constitutes a sizeable proportion of all Chinese porcelain production since the fourteenth century. This was a period of sophisticated taste during which markets were served not only in China, but throughout the civilized world. Naturally enough therefore not a few forms can be seen to have escaped Mr. Osgood's wide-meshed net. But his principles of selection are open to much graver charges than this; and on reading that his corpus is based on 'photographs of all Chinese blue-and-white porcelains appearing in works in European languages which have groups of ten or more such pictures published for the first time', that these are no more than 32 in number and that '30 per cent are available in the photographs of four publications', the reviewer can only describe himself as dumbfounded.

Handicapped by such limitations, it is inevitable that the bulk of Mr. Osgood's statistical data should be wholly worthless and without significance. At the same time, his text is marred by errors of identification and confusions so frequent that there can be little point in attempting to enumerate them here. Anyone wishing to trace the specific objects on which the study is based will be sadly disappointed, for there is no means of cross-reference whatever. The book is provided with a lengthy bibliography in which a number of the entries hardly seem to relate to blue-and-white, and a series of plates representing specimens which, as far as one can make out, are largely distinct from those on which the study is based. In short it is inadequate for its purpose in both conception and execution, and one wonders how it ever came to be published.

JOHN AYERS

C. J. DUNN and S. YANADA: *Teach yourself Japanese*. (The Teach Yourself Books.) vii, 310 pp., table. London: English Universities Press, Ltd., 1958. 10s. 6d.

The medium of this course is romanization, since only the spoken Japanese language is taught. Unfortunately the Hepburn romanization, almost standard among English speakers and in dictionaries and reference works, is discarded in favour of *kunreisiki*. It is also perhaps a pity that the 'accent' marks (e.g. *kawá*) added in some primers are not introduced, as they would assist the beginner working by himself.

The student who masters this course will

know a lot of Japanese. In just over 300 pages is condensed an ambitious and generally well-organized scheme which should take the beginner further than would any other one-volume course available. If this book is used as the textbook of a class undergoing a regular teaching programme, it should be found highly satisfactory, for the vocabulary is well chosen, the examples are sensible, and the 50 pages of specimen conversations (with translation) are excellent.

Only if the title is understood literally can serious objections be raised. A beginner working on his own (even with the aid of the ten Linguaphone records based on this book) will find the rate of progress extremely rapid, and most of the comments below are made from such a beginner's viewpoint.

The course has 30 lessons. Self-taught beginners may find the length and complexity of many lessons, especially some of the first ones, oppressive and discouraging. Thus Lesson 7 contains the verbal adjective, the attributive clause, the use of *koto* and the idiom *koto ga dekiru*, a plateful likely to give mental indigestion to even the most talented and persistent student. A rearrangement into 60 or even 100 shorter lessons, with much fuller explanations, would have produced more tolerable working units. Inside each lesson, paragraph headings and paragraph numbers or the addition of spaces between unrelated paragraphs would have made the lesson's layout more easily comprehensible. A needless handicap is the use of hitherto unknown vocabulary in the examples, which would have been more effective if composed entirely of vocabulary already mastered.

Sometimes complicated constructions are introduced rather prematurely: *ikanakereba ikemasen* (p. 99) would have been better left to p. 163, and *koto ga dekiru* (p. 29) to p. 59.

There is a tendency to proliferate alternative grammatical terminology. To take *aru* and *arimasu* respectively as instances, the former is sometimes called 'the dictionary form', sometimes the 'plain form', and the latter sometimes the '-MASU form', sometimes the 'polite form'. Similarly 'the -U form', 'the present tense', and 'the neutral form' are three different names for one and the same thing. Terms such as '-MASU form' should surely be avoided if they might puzzle a student, as they might when *akas desu* is called a '-MASU form' (p. 28) or when *dekakemasen* is called a '-U form' (p. 116). A real danger of confusion arises between this '-U form' and the absolutely different term the '-U verb' used to designate the *yodan* conjugation.

On occasion the English phrasing of the comments is laconic or obscure. Students

may, for example, not understand the implication of 'the use of *tame ni*, which occurs in constructions like that with *tumori desu* in Lesson 5' (p. 88), and they may fail to realize on p. 66 that the example *sinrigaku no hon o kaikan desu* illustrates not the sentence which it follows, but the one before that.

A student in an organized class may be left to make deductions from brief explanations or examples, because he can be given guidance afterwards if his deductions have failed. But in a self-taught course full explanations are necessary in advance, and their absence can cause great frustration. The following are some of the places where fuller comment would have been desirable (though doubtless the authors were working within some size-limit for the book). The particle *wa* is often found in sentences in this book after what is, in strict analysis, an object, before a brief reference to this usage is found on p. 149. The important use of *ga* as the subject particle of an attributive clause, with *wa* as the subject particle of the main clause of the same sentence is not mentioned, though it may be seen in Exercise 71. The almost as common employment of *no* to mark the subject of an attributive clause is entirely omitted. The particle *to* means 'with' in examples on pp. 112, 139, 151, etc., and 'as' on p. 95, but these meanings are not stated in the lessons or vocabularies. The explanation of *de* (p. 21) as expressing 'action in a place' is insufficient, for *de* will also occur with many verbs expressing inaction. On p. 110 *ato ni* and *ato de* appear in separate sentences without a statement about the difference between them, and on p. 119 the distinction in usage between the positive *sitte iru* and negative *arimasen* is not commented upon. The particle *ne(nee)* is given on pp. 100-1 in the text and vocabulary without explanation. Sometimes a literal version of an idiom (such as the attributive verb with *tumori desu*, p. 20) would have assisted the learner to use it correctly. On p. 112 the phrase *-suo desu* is described as added to the 'stem' of a verb or adjective, although the word 'stem' has not previously been employed. Perhaps the most serious omission is the absence of a list indicating which verbs ending in *-eru* and *-iru* are '-U verbs' and which are '-RU verbs' (see p. 19).

Conversely, there are some occasions where the treatment seems needlessly full. The numeral system, which in most courses is quite briefly explained, occupies eight pages of tables in Appendix II and in consequence appears somewhat frightening, although the tables are in fact helpful. Such forms as *dareka*, *dokoka* are twice dealt with, on p. 44 and again on pp. 143-4.

There is only one passage in the grammatical explanations which may be of doubtful validity. This is the instance (pp. 69, 84-5) that *ga* and *kara* will follow the polite form of the verb inside a sentence ending with a polite form, even though it is admitted that all other similar words such as *no de*, *tame*, etc., will follow the plain form within such a sentence. The custom of different speakers varies, and it is unsafe to lay down such a firm rule for *ga* and *kara*.

A few misprints occur, of which the worst is 'left' in rendering *ひだり* (p. 139): several will be found in Appendix I.

The various criticisms mentioned above, however, detract only slightly from the solid worth of this book. The grading of the vocabulary, the correlation of the exercises with the lessons, and the preparation of the conversation pieces have been carried out with skill and care by the two authors, who have clearly drawn on extensive practical teaching experience.

E. B. ORADEL

JOSEF FRANZ SCHÜTTE, S.J.: *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*. 1. Bd.: *Von der Ernennung zum Visitor bis zum ersten Abschied von Japan (1573-1582)*. II. Teil: *Die Lösung (1580-1582)*. xxvi, 591 pp., front., 17 plates. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958. L. 7500.

The first volume of this work, covering the years 1573-80, was published at Rome in 1951, by the same publisher in a very similar format (lvi, 474 pp., front., 13 plates), and these two bulky and well documented volumes form merely the first part of what is already a monumental work. Nor do they stand alone. Valignano's role as the reorganizer of the Jesuits' Japan Mission was of such importance that it entitles him to rank with the founder, St. Francis Xavier, and it figures prominently in a number of other recently published works. Fr. Schütte himself has given us a preview of Valignano's estimate of the Japanese character and of how far the missionaries should endeavour to accommodate themselves to the Japanese way of life, in *Il Cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone*. *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e cerimonias de Jappão* di Alexandro Valignano S.J. *Importante documento circa i melodi di adattamento nella Mission giapponese del secolo XVI* (Roma, 1946). He has also given us a critical text of the closely related 'Tratado em que se contem muito suainta e abreviadamente algumas contradicoes e diferencas de costumes entre a gente de Europa e esta provincia de Japão' by

Fr. Luis Frois, S.J., under the title of *Kultur-gegensätze Europa-Japan, 1585* (Tōkyō, 1955). Parallel with the publication of Fr. Schütte's books, José Luis Alvarez Taladriz is undertaking for the Monumenta Nipponica Monographs series of Sophia University, Tōkyō, the publication of Valignano's 'Sumario de las cosas de Japon' (1583), and 'Adiciones del Sumario de Japon' (1592). The *Sumario* has already appeared in a very richly annotated edition of over 550 pages (Tōkyō, 1954), and the companion volume of the *Adiciones* is in the press, if it has not already appeared by the time this review is printed.

Here, then, is not merely God's plenty, but a certain amount of overlapping and confusion—or so it would seem from the mixture of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and German texts which are involved. To some extent this is unavoidable, as Valignano was a prolific writer in the first three languages; but whereas Fr. Schütte has naturally selected German (and in one case Italian) for his editorial work, Señor Alvarez Taladriz has, equally naturally, selected Spanish. This is however, rather a drawback from the reader's point of view, as he has to be something of a polyglot to get the full benefit of the feast of learning before him—and a feast it certainly is. Both the editors know Japan at first hand; but Señor Alvarez Taladriz is a resident of long standing, and his command of the Japanese language and source material is obviously far greater. On the other hand, Fr. Schütte has had unrestricted access to the rich Jesuit archives at Rome, and he has certainly made the most of this wonderful opportunity. Oddly enough, although Señor Alvarez Taladriz writes as a convinced Roman Catholic, and his book is published by the Jesuit University at Tōkyō, queries concerning the material which he referred to the Jesuit archives at Rome were not always answered in an adequate manner (cf. p. 69, n. (3), of his edition of the *Sumario*). This is not the first time that the authorities concerned have adopted a mixture of childishness and churlishness when dealing with perfectly legitimate and relevant queries. The sooner they drop it, the better for the otherwise excellent scholarly reputation of the Society of Jesus.

That staunch agnostic, James Murdoch, in his massive and still useful 3-volume *History of Japan*, observed how lucky it was that there were exceptionally intelligent Jesuit observers, such as Fr. Luis Frois, present in Japan during that crucial period of her history from the rise of Oda Nobunaga to the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Murdoch reached this conclusion, somewhat reluctantly one fancies, from perusing only the published works of the missionaries; and his conviction would have

been greatly strengthened by reading the material now rendered accessible in the works reviewed here. No student of feudal Japan can afford to neglect these accounts of the country and the people given by missionaries like Frois and Rodrigues (Tçuzzu), who had lived through the vicissitudes of the *sengoku-jidai* and the unification of the land by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Murdoch and others had perforce to rely on the printed missionary letters, which, apart from being severely and sometimes unintelligently edited and bowdlerized at Rome, were primarily written for the edification of the faithful, and are consequently too cloying and unctuous for the average modern reader. Here, however, we have the missionaries saying exactly what they thought and how they felt, both about each other and about the Japanese. The tone of their comments in these hitherto unpublished records is often startlingly different from that of the printed *Cartas de Japão*, where their sharply differing viewpoints have been smoothed out into a colourless unanimity.

This difference comes out most strongly in their respective attitudes to the problem of the formation of a native clergy. When Valignano arrived in Japan in 1579, he found that the Portuguese Superior of the mission, Francisco Cabral, an ex-soldier of the true *conquistador* breed, had a very low opinion of the Japanese national character, and argued that Japanese converts should never be considered the equals of European missionaries. Cabral had lived in Japan for many years, but he did not speak the language well, and he did not think it advisable that Japanese neophytes should be encouraged to have more than a smattering of Latin or of Portuguese. On the other hand, Valignano found another missionary of long experience, the Italian Organtino Gneccchi-Soldi, who spoke fluent Japanese, had the highest opinion of the national character, and thought that they could safely assimilate all the Western learning which the missionaries might choose to give them. The matter was thoroughly debated at a very interesting missionary conference at Usuki in Bungo (October 1580), at which Valignano, after hearing the arguments of both sides, came out strongly in favour of the formation of a native clergy. He deplored the mutual distrust and dislike between European missionaries and their Japanese catechists which had been fostered by Cabral's outlook; and he enjoined a radical change of policy which he summarized in the following four points (p. 492).

(1) That Europeans and Japanese must be treated on an equal footing. (2) That they must both be ruled by kindness. (3) That the Europeans must learn and adhere to Japanese manners and customs whenever these were not

repugnant to Christian belief. (4) That the Europeans must firmly exclude from their minds and conversation all derogatory and unfavourable ideas they might have of the Japanese. They must realize that, on the contrary, if the Japanese were well treated and properly educated, they would end by being fully as good as any European.

To what extent this policy and his plans for the establishment of local Seminaries and Colleges were carried out, and how far Valignano later modified his views, will be apparent from successive volumes of Fr. Schütte's work, and is indicated in many of the annotations in Alvarez's edition of the *Sumario*. The problem was not solved in a day, but doubtless Valignano was right in the main, although Cabral's defence of his own policy (pp. 461-76) is both an able and (in parts) a moving one. Many other interesting matters are dealt with in Fr. Schütte's book, but I have space to mention only two: the details about the Jesuits' share in the Macao-Nagasaki silk trade (pp. 426-8, 455-60), and the cession of Nagasaki and Mogi by Omura Sumitada to the Jesuits in 1578. Fr. Schütte publishes some interesting new documents (pp. 477-8, 503-4) on this point, but there is a conflict of contemporary evidence as to whether this unprecedented cession of Japanese soil was first mooted by the Jesuits (as Padre Lucena wrote), or was spontaneously suggested by Omura (as Valignano maintained).

In conclusion, it need hardly be added that the annotation and indexing are of the highest standard. Sino-Japanese characters are given for all Japanese names, and there is an appendix of unpublished letters and documents.

C. R. BOXER

CHARLES DAVID SHELDON: *The rise of the merchant class in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868: an introductory survey*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, v.) xi, 206 pp. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, [1958]. \$5.

Dr. Sheldon's book falls into two main sections, the first of which might be described as a study of the rise of the merchant class in seventeenth century Japan, the second as a study of the results of this development. The first section, comprising four chapters, begins by analysing those conditions in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century which led to an increase in domestic commerce and hence stimulated the growth of the merchant class.

It goes on to illustrate the social and political position of the merchants, emphasizing their subordination to feudal authority, and then describes the growth of the monopolist trade associations by which they sought to achieve a measure of security in this situation. Finally—and this is one of the best chapters—there is an account of their methods of capital accumulation and the uses to which capital was put in usury and finance. The second section opens with a chapter on the Genroku period (1688-1703), used largely as a peg on which to hang a description of the new cultural developments associated with merchant life in the cities. Then there is a fairly long chapter on the so-called 'deadlock' between feudal and commercial interests arising from 'the separation between political and economic power', which gave rise to the attempts at reform by the Shōgun Yoshimune, Matsudaira Sadanobu, and Mizuno Tadakuni. This is followed by a survey of contemporary economic thought, chiefly in the context of this same problem. Finally there is an account of the rise of new provincial merchants who, by the nineteenth century, were often successful in their efforts to challenge the monopolies of the older trade associations of Edo and Osaka.

The book is based largely on the writings of modern Japanese economic historians, especially those whose outlook is regarded in Japan as being sound rather than provocative. Controversy is carefully avoided. This is admirable in a work designed to be 'an introductory survey', and there is no doubt that it will be an extremely useful volume to have on the shelf. On the other hand, the author is sometimes tempted into using generalizations which seem to require explanation (usually given in the sources from which they are taken) or even justification. For example, is it legitimate to talk of economic 'power' as being divorced from political power when the merchants so obviously accepted a subordinate position and were unable to prevent the feudal class from exploiting its political privileges—however inefficiently—for economic ends? Similarly, in the light of recent Japanese research, there are important questions to be answered concerning the provincial merchants. No very clear distinction is made between the privileged merchants of the castle-towns, outside the main cities like Edo and Osaka, and those who supposedly challenged the whole concept of monopoly and privilege. Nevertheless, Dr. Sheldon has provided a framework within which special studies of these and similar topics can be placed and has thereby rendered a valuable service.

W. G. BRASLEY

IRENE B. TAEUBER: *The population of Japan*. xx, 461 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £6.)

Without a doubt this latest contribution by Dr. Taeuber on the demographic analysis of Japan is a monument of scholarship which towers above all the similar works previously published in English and which is likely to remain for a long time as a point of departure for all students of the subject. I must say that a sense of professional curiosity as mature and sustained as hers has not touched the field before, even among Japanese scholars who have no language barriers. The nub of that curiosity is stated succinctly by Dr. Notestein in his foreword to the book as follows: 'Virtually all of our generalizations about population and social-economic change during the transition from an agrarian to an urban-industrial society have been drawn from Western experience. Because Japan has reached an advanced state of industrial development without a colonial interlude, it affords an excellent opportunity to test the extension of these generalizations to an Oriental context'. The crucial time-period for such a test applied to Japan would be the span of 40 years from 1873 to 1913 during which time the population increased from 35.2 million to 52.0 million as against the preceding stability of 150 years or more. Unfortunately, however, demographic data susceptible of close analysis become available in Japan only after the First World War. Thus a proper balance of ingenuity and caution is needed in drawing inferences for the early period of industrialization. Here Dr. Taeuber is more cautious than ingenious. She could probably have done more with the statistics of 'gainfully occupied' by industries, which go back, with a fair degree of accuracy, as early as 1873, in her attempt to establish a demographic transition in Japan correlated with industrialization.

Once we come to the period after 1920, Dr. Taeuber's analytical instruments are employed with full force and have given us a piece of research which is most impressive. On one point, however, I am left feeling somewhat uneasy. That is the device of using 'prefectures by industry type' in deriving all sorts of inferences relating the demographic structure to social-economic factors, as for example the inference that 'the fundamental transition in the demographic structure of the labor force involved the movement from agriculture, not the movement to the city' (p. 96). One can classify prefectures by industry type only as of a certain date. Here is 1930, and her

criterion for classification is 'the proportion of the gainfully occupied population in agriculture'. Those prefectures with less than 40 per cent in agriculture are called 'industrial', with 40 to 60 per cent 'intermediate', and with more than 60 per cent 'agricultural'. The stability assumed in this classification, aside from the somewhat arbitrary demarcation lines, conflicts with the very logic of dynamics of transition. The prefectures which were the seat of early industrialization, like Fukushima, are in her 'agricultural' category. Also, if one takes five major typically modern industries (such as steel, ship-building, electric machinery, basic chemicals, synthetic textiles) and analyses two-thirds of employed workers in them from the biggest plant downwards, I suspect that the majority of them now reside in those prefectures which are classified by Dr. Taeuber as either 'intermediate' or 'agricultural'. The fact that she is able to obtain many positive correlations on the basis of her classification is not a sufficient proof that the classification is adequate. It is quite possible that so far as the relevance to attitudes on the age of marriage and the number of children is concerned, status (as to whether one is a salaried employee or an individual proprietor) is a much more important criterion for differentiation than the type of industry; and Dr. Taeuber's results obtained on the basis of differentiation by industry might be simply a reflection of the fact that agriculture is an industry where individual proprietorship is dominant. In any case, the term 'industrialization' needs to be defined with a greater degree of operational precision than she has done.

In discussing 'Problems, projections, and policies', Dr. Taeuber correctly points out the importance of the problem of employment opportunities in the future, and gives in her final chapter the numerical order of magnitude of the problem. In this connexion I should like to have seen her discuss in much greater detail, in earlier chapters, the changing pattern of labour participation rates by sex and age-groups. A study of such changes in Japan itself juxtaposed to experiences of Western countries would be quite useful in assessing quantitatively the possible imbalance of supply and demand in the labour force. Further, tangentially connected with this problem is that of the quality of population in so far as it is formally measurable by the years of schooling. Dr. Taeuber does discuss this problem here and there, but never in a systematic fashion. That she did not apply her usual thoroughness to this problem is evident from a somewhat twisted interpretation of the statistics on education on p. 66. She probably was not aware that, in pre-war Japan, the formal

compulsory schooling was for six years and those who chose not to go to middle schools (five years) had the option of receiving two more years of education free. The 'substantial retardation' (p. 66, n.) she speaks of is an error of judgment.

In view of the encyclopaedic coverage which Dr. Taeuber has accomplished, and this in a most scholarly fashion, I may be permitted to raise one final point, i.e. the demographic analysis of the casualties of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. She maintains that deaths there 'were selective of individuals rather than family groups' (p. 360). I wished that she gave some statistical evidence to support her assertion. From the knowledge I have of the casualties of those two cities I find it hard to agree with her.

SHIGETO TSURU

G. WILLIAM SKINNER: *Chinese society in Thailand: an analytical history*. xix, 459 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 52s.

G. WILLIAM SKINNER: *Leadership and power in the Chinese community of Thailand*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, III.) xix, 363 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for the Association for Asian Studies, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 52s.)

Now that a powerful China is adding her influence in South East Asian affairs to that of Japan and the Western nations it is obvious that the overseas Chinese occupy a position of increasing importance politically. Dr. Skinner complains that historians have given scanty attention to the role played by the Chinese community in Thailand. To some extent this is true and it is not in the least surprising since most historical accounts have been mainly concerned with Thailand's international relations rather than with the domestic scene, and have reflected the interests current during the period in which they were written—the era of Western dominance. But in the field of sociological studies the Chinese in Thailand have not been neglected and the way has been pioneered by, among others, Landon and Purcell. The importance of Dr. Skinner's work in this field lies in the application of the rigorous methodological techniques of modern sociology to a mass of carefully compiled material, much of it first-hand. It is likely, too, that sociologists will regard him as having made a contribution to the methodology of their subject.

The results of the analysis have given rise to a wide variety of conclusions. Some of these findings confirm already accepted views, some are new and highly important, as, for instance: 'political conservatism is in no way associated with greater wealth'. There are other conclusions which do not seem to be greatly significant and some which are of an astounding banality; thus, we learn that Chinese leaders whose mother tongue is Teochiu are more likely to speak Cantonese well if they have been educated in Canton or Hong Kong, and that many of the better speakers of English were educated in the West or in South East Asian countries where English is taught as the first foreign language. However, it cannot be complained that any conclusion immediately ascertainable from the facts has been omitted.

Dr. Skinner points out that a purely synchronic study cannot give a well-rounded picture of any sociological phenomena, and both works under review have a diachronic and a synchronic aspect. Since the former is most marked in the first study and the latter aspect in the second, the two appropriately complement one another.

In the first chapter of *Chinese society in Thailand* the author brings the story as far as the mid-nineteenth century in an admirably accurate analysis of known facts, which serves to correct some widespread misapprehensions. He continues with a highly detailed statement on migration from China which is used to make clear the bases of the groupings of immigrant Chinese in Thailand. The account of the expansion of Chinese settlement north and north-east of Bangkok and the gulf coasts, deriving from study in the field, is a definite contribution to the history of the overseas Chinese.

Before discussing Chinese social structure at the present day the author presents a full examination of demographic trends from the seventeenth century onwards. Perhaps the general conclusions have not been much in doubt, but it is of great value to have a well-authenticated statement detailed both as regards geographical and speech-group distribution. There are still no adequate statistics as to the total number of ethnic Chinese in the country so that Dr. Skinner's carefully worked estimate of 2,315,000 (1955) is of special importance.

The diachronic framework of *Chinese society in Thailand* is highly suitable for the exposition of the themes that what is important for an understanding of recent Thai history is not simply the existence of overseas Chinese so much as the changing position of that element in the whole society. The evolution of the overseas Chinese society in Thailand can be

linked with Thai political change. How far did changes in the position of the Chinese positively affect Thai policies or was each change merely a reaction to a new set of local circumstances? This study makes it clear that the factor of Chinese interests affected Thai policy at every stage. During the first half of the nineteenth century conservative Chinese commercial opinion checked the trend towards the free trade that would have suited European interests. This brake on Western trade had moreover existed from as early as the seventeenth century. When the inevitable change came with the Bowring treaty the Chinese in fact adjusted very rapidly and it was precisely the continuing expansion of Chinese economic control between 1855 and 1910 that led emergent Thai nationalism towards anti-sinitic policies.

The surge of immigration in the 1920's, the development of Chinese nationalism, and the extent to which the Chinese began to constitute a state within a state led to the stricter measures adopted by the post-revolutionary military régimes.

Immediately after the Second World War Thai control was not strong and the disastrous effect of Chinese machinations in the rice market was one of the reasons why the Thai Government of 1947 fell so easily to another military régime, under Field-Marshal Pibul Songgram, which was capable of enforcing stricter control. Though in a sense the Chinese, as an alien minority community, are bound to acquiesce in policy changes imposed by the governing Thai, their economic strength over a long period has been such that not only can they adjust quickly but also their own attitudes and actions create in part the very changes themselves.

The emphasis throughout is on the economic aspect and Dr. Skinner's later study on leadership and power fully investigates the structure of the Chinese commercial world in Bangkok. Not only are the results of the analysis fully stated but also the methods employed in gathering and organizing data are given in considerable detail. The analysis of the meaning and function of leadership is extremely thorough. The value and influence of leaders in the eyes of 'judges' selected from the community and the relationship between authority and political alignment are examined. A chapter is devoted to a fascinating picture of the structure of power in the business field. The diachronic aspect is not neglected; a study of stability and change among the leaders in the years 1952-5 is given. The effect of this examination is to show that there exists 'a power structure as monolithic as that found elsewhere for communities led by formally and hierarchically structured govern-

ments' (p. 284, *Leadership and power*). Such evidence is in itself a justification of Thai watchfulness.

Though the author would justly resent any imputation of a lack of detachment in his careful examination of the nature of Chinese society in Bangkok, he would perhaps not claim to have been quite impartial in his attitude to the two communities—the Chinese and the Thai. There is an underlying admiration of the single-minded capacity of the overseas Chinese to make money and a lack of sympathy for the Thai determination to obtain a share of the profits garnered on Thai soil. The abuses which grow out of the Thai system of control are emphasized without any accompanying justification of the obvious need for governmental restrictions on unfettered Chinese business activity. The controls are, not unnaturally, imposed in traditionally Eastern ways—privileges have to be paid for. The reader is left with the impression that Dr. Skinner is unfavourably disposed to the long-standing policy of economic Thaiification [author's term], though perhaps this is not intended.

The author seems to favour the preservation of a strong Chinese quality in the overseas community. Too much Thainess [author's term] is despised. He seems to regard the leading Chinese business-men, almost all of whom have close commercial contacts with the Thai, as traitors to the cause of their fellow-countrymen. 'The great bulk of Chinese merchants, unable to secure individual business protection from the Thai élite, have been let down by the mass entry of their leaders into Sino-Thai business endeavours. . . . No wealthy Chinese business-man leader will ever court martyrdom in behalf of the community's cause' (p. 246, *Leadership and power*). To speak of martyrdom in the Bangkok context and of failure in 'fighting the real battle as defined by the 100 per cent Chinese in the community' is almost to suggest that a struggle between Chinese and Thai would be justified. We do not in fact learn how the 100 per cent Chinese define this real battle. If it is for self-regarding commercial freedom it is obvious that to-day this could only be accorded willingly to any group of aliens on terms acceptable to the Thai. If some form of direct political influence or control is meant then no independent national government would passively abdicate its responsibilities in favour of foreigners.

However, Dr. Skinner's own analysis does not support his suggestion that there is a deep division of interests within the Chinese community. It does not seem that it really exists at all. In the final chapter of *Leadership and power* he shows in detail the existence and

growth of a strong correlation between the leaders' prestige rating in their own community and the index of relations with the Thai élite. 'The Chinese community . . . relegates half of the leaders with no such relations [with the Thai élite] to the lowest prestige class' (p. 315).

The tendency to view Chinese attitudes in a more favourable light than those of the Thai leads to harsh criticism of the beginnings of anti-sinicism under King Vajiravudh. It is true that his unfavourable view of Thai nationalist attitudes at this period is tempered by the charge that they were learnt from the British, but of course there are quite adequate local reasons why anti-Chinese feeling should have grown during this reign. Chinese nationalism was beginning to become a unifying force among overseas communities and immigration figures were rising to such an extent that during the lifetime of King Vajiravudh the *China-born* Chinese population in Thailand rose from about 180,000 to a total approaching 600,000. King Chulalongkorn's liberal policy of treating the Chinese not as foreigners but as one of the component parts of the kingdom was being abused by the Chinese themselves. There is certainly evidence that Thai opinion at this time was coming to believe that the Chinese element was disloyal, opportunistic, devoid of civic virtues, expecting the privileges but refusing the obligations of citizenship and entirely mercenary, and, indeed, that this view was shared by some British observers. These attitudes were in fact based on the well-founded suspicion that Chinese influence in the state was becoming dangerously powerful but Dr. Skinner emphasizes the aspect of racial prejudice. One might just as well try to assert that the growing undercurrent of opposition to prominent alien groups other than the Chinese in Thailand to-day is based primarily on anti-foreign prejudice. It is not. Historically the Thai have always shown themselves a most hospitable people to foreigners who keep their place. They have, too, shown a remarkably quick perception of the dangers of alien interference particularly in the political sphere.

Nevertheless historical evidence makes it abundantly clear that harsh measures of control against the Chinese and other foreigners have been prosecuted only rarely. The overseas Chinese have for long played an important part in the economic sphere and Thai policy springs from a realistic appreciation of this fact. Each group in the whole society makes use of and, indeed, needs the other. The Chinese, experienced in business, provide an economic base for the power of the Thai leaders and in this way obtain political and commercial protection and, in practice, con-

siderable freedom of economic activity. The close links maintained between the Chinese leaders and the Thai governing group at the present time are the equivalent in modern terms of the procedure whereby the royal government obtained its revenue from the letting of monopolies and from tax-farming. During the monarchy the Chinese leaders were drawn by ennoblement into Thai society and their rewards are no less great to-day. To over-emphasize the 'protection' element in this relationship is to misjudge the soundness of the foundations of Thai policy. Overall, Thai policies have tended to encourage assimilation and have of course been designed to prevent the formation by the overseas Chinese of a state within a state. Dr. Skinner's last word is: 'If present trends are continued, these leaders [those most assimilated to the Thai, who, on the author's showing, are highest in prestige] and their families will eventually be entirely lost to Chinese society in Thailand. Following the example of their leaders and weakened by their defection, the entire Chinese community will inevitably move more rapidly toward complete assimilation to Thai society'. The choice of words suggests, oddly enough, a note of regret. But it is no matter for regret if the overseas Chinese are led to play a really integrated part in the future of Thailand, changing with it and changing it too to some extent, surely, one would think, in the direction of stability and prosperity.

At this point it should be said that Dr. Skinner's inquiry reveals a correlation between the holding of views favourable to the People's Republic and wealth, between wealth and those Chinese leaders well-assimilated to Thai society and culture, and between such leaders and the degree of intimacy of contact with the Thai governing group. The long-term political problems posed by the existence of such a situation are obvious and they must be faced without passion or prejudice.

R. H. S. SIMMONDS

A. B. GRISWOLD: *Dated Buddha images of northern Siam*. (Artibus Asiae. Supplementum, xvi.) 99 pp., front., 56 plates, map [on front end-paper]. Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1957. Sw. fr. 36.

Mr. Griswold, who entered the field of South East Asian art and archaeology after the war, has done much to increase our knowledge of the cultural history of Thailand. His present volume is an example of a type of work all too uncommon in the region, the corpus. Without more of these the study of South East Asia is bound to lag behind that of other regions and it is greatly to Mr. Griswold's

credit that he has recognized the importance of such work when so many professional workers have failed to do so. (A notable exception was the late Pierre Dupont to whose memory the present volume is dedicated.) After much searching, with the help of many friends, Mr. Griswold has succeeded in finding about 100 dated Buddha images, almost all of them from the north of Thailand and none earlier than the fifteenth century A.D. These he has studied against a background of cultural history and with special reference to the history of the kingdom of Lān-nā. He has shown how the so-called Early Chieng-sen type, which he has called the Lion type, of Buddha image is related to a Pāla-Sena original which ceased to be produced in India some 250 years before its reappearance in Thailand and has demonstrated the origins of the Late Chieng-sen type (his Lān-nā 'mixed' type) in a convincing manner. He has also shown how authenticity in the case of an image is a case of the transference of *nāma-rūpa* and not the survival of a genuine original. Further, and here we echo the commendation of Professor Coedès' preface, he has related the objects of his study to the activities of human beings, patrons, artists, and workmen, and has not been content, as is so often the case in art history, to confine himself to the detailed study of the fall of a scarf or the treatment of an ear lobe.

Mr. Griswold's corpus of dated images covers a period of 430 years. As he rightly observes: 'some of them are masterpieces; some have a less ambitious elegance; some are mediocre; some are sheer monstrosities'. And it is one of his merits to have stressed that these fluctuations in quality are related much more to the financial resources of the patron than to any temporal curve from the hesitancy of tentative beginnings through the excellence of confidence to a stereotyped decline. In other words, despite the apparent stultifying effects of a more or less rigid iconography and the reputed conservatism of Buddhist art, the donor who could afford the best artists got the best images. At least once, in the case of King Tiloka (A.D. 1441-87), an individual established a new school of artists and inspired them to the creation of a vital and flourishing type of sculpture in which foreign elements were skilfully adapted to Thai sculptural traditions. (Once this process of assimilation was complete—and it was not always successful, as witness their attempts to work from a Lopburi model (Pl. XV) or their general failure to use the Sukhotai walking Buddha as a starting point—the production of stock images led to the more dead techniques of the copyist as opposed to those of the creative artist. But as he points out, stylistic analysis on

these grounds does not necessarily give relative dating, because a tertiary copy may have been made earlier than a late primary creation.) And it is to King Tiloka that Mr. Griswold attributes the use of a Pāla-Sena style which lies at the back of the early Chieng-sen or Lion style. This is a major revolution in the dating of Thai art, because it has been widely held that images of this type must be pre-Sukhotai because of the date of their source (e.g. R. Le May, *Buddhist art in Siam*, ch. viii). When he began to collect material for his corpus, Mr. Griswold found, to his own surprise, I believe, that dated examples of this type of image ranged from A.D. 1470 to 1565. Further study of the whole range of such images showed no clear case for arguing that the undated examples were significantly different from those with dates, and it was clearly unlikely therefore that there was a difference of 250 years in their date of manufacture. Mr. Griswold, basing himself upon the *Chronicle of the Seven Spire Monastery* and an unpublished MS in the Buddhist Institute, Chieng-mai, has shown that the type of image in question was introduced into northern Thailand, almost certainly directly from Bodhgaya, in the reign of King Tiloka and under his inspiration. The case is a good one, and it is presented in a manner which makes it seem the most likely explanation of the data at present available. Any new discoveries will have to be tested against the corpus which has at last been made available as a result of Mr. Griswold's endeavours.

Naturally, this new chronology has not been without its critics. In their book, *Thai monumental bronzes* (Bangkok, 1957), M. C. Chan and K. Yimsiri treat it with noticeable disdain. It is not the reviewer's intention to participate in this dispute, but its very existence draws attention to another aspect of Mr. Griswold's researches. By his endeavours, and by his publications, he has encouraged and stimulated the study of these problems by the Thai themselves, and his book would be important for this alone. But as will be clear it is a significant work in its own right. Points are open to question. Mr. Griswold's acceptance of the trance routine as a normal practice by the artist who was engaged upon the making of a Buddha image seems unlikely. (On the other hand, his discussion of what constitutes a copy is most valuable and stimulating.) His discussion of the Buddha *paré* (p. 40) and its significance for Lān-nā might well be enlarged. But these are minor points. A case has been well stated, and, as might be expected from *Artibus Asiae*, admirably illustrated; the inset side views of images are particularly valuable. We await with considerable interest his forthcoming

work on Pagan, where also chronological problems exist which are not unrelated to those in Thailand.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

H. R. VAN HEEREN: *The Stone Age of Indonesia.—The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel XXI, XXII.) vii, 141 pp., 47 plates; [vii], 108 pp., 34 + 25 plates. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957, 1958. Guilders 15 each.

Mijnheer van Heekeren, whose own contributions to the knowledge of Indonesian prehistory, first as a private individual, then as Praehistoricus of the Dinas Purbakala, Jakarta, and more lately at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, have been considerable, has now placed us further in his debt. In the two volumes under discussion he has set out to present the material relating to the whole of the field of Indonesian prehistory from the beginning of the Pleistocene to the end of the Bronze-Iron phase, in so far as prehistory may be said to have an end in an area which includes tribes living in neolithic conditions at the present day. The first volume is concerned with the cultural phases characterized by the use of stone tools and the author presents his material in the conventional sequence: palaeolithic, mesolithic, neolithic, preceding this with a useful discussion of the Canozoic and the Lower Pleistocene, and concluding with an 'attempted chronology of the Stone Age of Indonesia'; the latter is presented in tabular form, without any textual support, the arguments upon which it is based being in the main body of the book. (He wisely, if disappointingly, avoids the problem of an absolute chronology.) The arrangement here is by period and type of culture. In the second volume, he has adopted an arrangement by type of find/culture on a gazetteer basis which makes the volume more convenient to use as a work of reference, especially in the absence of an index. (The presence of abundant cross-heads in the first volume does something to mitigate this inconvenience for the reader who is familiar with the subject and the material.) By his industry and knowledge, Mijnheer van Heekeren has presented the first complete conspectus of Indonesian prehistory since Rumphius in 1705 recorded the presence of neoliths, which he believed to be thunderbolts, a thoroughly Indonesian point of view. Not the least of his achievements is to have resurrected from the notebooks of van Stein-Callenfels some account

of a number of the sites which that stupendous man excavated but omitted to publish.

The importance of Indonesia to the prehistorian and to the palaeontologist is hard to overemphasize. Little may have originated there, but almost every aspect of the prehistoric development of India and of China reached the archipelago at some point by land-bridge or by sea, and much travelled through it to reach the islands of the Pacific or the lands of Australasia, sometimes modified, sometimes in its original form. Thus the sites which the Dutch and their foreign colleagues have explored—and the extent of the work can be judged from Mijnheer van Heekeren's excellent bibliographies—are important not only for the light they throw upon the history of human activity in Indonesia, but also for their contribution to the understanding of the chronology and interrelation of the cultures of mainland Asia, and their spread into the regions to the east and south. By his enormous work of compilation, and the reduction of a mass of published material to manageable form, the author has provided a valuable source book for the essential task of relating the cultures of Indonesia to the wider history of man's development in Eurasia.

Mijnheer van Heekeren's approach to this larger problem is essentially cautious. He is rightly suspicious of some of the claims made for key sites. He doubts the Sidorodjo bone point as a product of *Homo soloensis*, and comments on the Guha Lawa, Sampung, excavations of van Stein-Callenfels, that he finds the stratigraphy unconvincing, an opinion which the reviewer, after a visit to the site with the author, in 1952, fully shares. He is suspicious of Professor Heine-Geldern's suggestions that the Quadrangular Axe culture is connected with the movement of Austronesians or Malayo-Polynesians into the archipelago, holding it 'rather speculative to identify culture waves or migrations with the spread of a language' (p. 131, *Stone Age*). In a work of this nature, whose primary purpose is to present facts, this approach is justified, not least because, in view of the position of Indonesia as at once a relict area and a kind of Australo-Asian cultural Clapham Junction, the position is much more complex than Professor Heine-Geldern has been inclined to admit. It is to be hoped, however, that Mijnheer van Heekeren will now undertake the difficult task of an analysis and synthesis of the material which he has brought together and will attempt a statement on more speculative lines. It is difficult to believe that any worker in this field has a better knowledge of the material or a greater firsthand experience of the sites in this enormous geographical area and his recollections in the tranquillity

of Leiden should provide us with a most important study of a key area in the history of mankind.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

BENJAMIN E. THOMAS: *Trade routes of Algeria and the Sahara*. (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 8, No. 3.) vi, 165-285 pp., plate. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. \$2.50.

The theme of this study in economic geography is a good deal narrower than the title alone might suggest. It is in fact a very thorough and detailed history of communications in French Algeria and the Sahara, from the first military trail linking Bone with Constantine in the 1830s to the post-war airways network focused upon Algiers, now the second busiest airport in the French Union.

The French depended, in their military and economic penetration of Algeria, upon wheeled vehicles and made roads. They had to create their own lines of communication since indigenous means of transportation has been by pack-animals requiring only trails or bridle-paths. It is interesting to see how closely in many places the road system of the French engineers, imposed by military necessity and the rugged terrain, corresponds with that laid down in antiquity by their Roman predecessors. The pattern consisted essentially of a single east-west route, called into existence mostly for strategic and political reasons, linking a series of north-south routes which run from such ports as Oran, Algiers, and Philippeville to their respective hinterlands and which were the country's real commercial arteries. Railway building began seriously in the sixties and the existing network was more or less complete by 1900. It tended to duplicate and supersede existing waggon roads rather than to open new country. Uncontrolled development by six different companies, each favouring different gauges and types of rolling-stock, presented problems of co-ordination which were only slowly overcome as the railway system was gradually consolidated under remote and fitful direction from Paris. Funds have never been available for extensive rationalization and improvement and since the thirties, the railways, completely nationalized only in 1939, have had to be protected by legislation against direct competition from motor transport. Dr. Thomas discusses in detail the stresses imposed upon the communications system by the military operations of the second world war. The shortage of coal had always been a problem to the railways, and since the war there has been an

extensive development of diesel-electric traction on main lines and of autotrain cars of the 'Micheline' type for light passenger traffic.

The second half of the book is devoted to an account of the trade routes of the Sahara. The French conquest led to a diversion of these routes from traditional termini in Morocco and Tunisia to new ones in Algeria and the recent development of motor roads and airways has gone far to integrate the oases of the northern Sahara with the Algerian system. The age-old routes, followed by the camel caravans were and are narrowly determined by the presence of water and pasturage for the animals; the course taken by the main trans-Saharan motor track was fixed by quite different considerations. Gao on the Niger bend stands on the southern edge of a great tract of rocky, waterless desert which placed it at a great disadvantage to Timbuktu as a desert post for the camel caravans, but this same desert, the Tanzezrouft, provides a relatively good surface for motoring and explains Gao's present status as the southern terminus of the main route. With the rapid growth of air services since the war, the long cherished project of a trans-Saharan railway, actually initiated by the Vichy regime in 1942, remains as chimerical as ever.

Dr. Thomas has travelled very extensively over the routes he describes and his work is admirably illustrated by the numerous sketch maps. One notices minor inaccuracies on these maps, however, where they extend to the Sudan. Map 27 of West African roads, for example, is misleadingly optimistic in its indication of 'difficult sections'. The railway from Abidjan to Bobo-Dioulasso, in Map 31, extends in fact to Wagadougou. There is an extensive, and very useful, bibliography, but no index.

D. H. JONES

E. W. BOVILL: *The golden trade of the Moors*. ix, 281 pp., front., plate, map. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.

When it was first published in 1933, Mr. Bovill's *Caravans of the old Sahara* rightly met with a most favourable reception. It presented the broad lines of the historical development of the Western Sudan in a highly readable and cleverly constructed narrative in some ways more authoritative, if less brilliant, than that of Lady Lugard's *Tropical dependency*. In spite of a certain superficiality and some serious sins of omission it makes judicious use of a wide range of secondary sources and is still the best book to offer English-speaking students as an introduction

to the subject. It has long been out of print and the demand for a new edition, coming in particular from the University Colleges of West Africa, has been answered by the appearance of the present work.

In his introduction, the author claims that this is more than a new edition of *Caravans*—‘The need to rewrite the whole book was plainly inescapable’—but this claim is hardly substantiated by the text, some three-quarters of which is reprinted with only minor stylistic changes from the earlier work. With the exception of the early chapters dealing with the Sahara and North Africa in pre-Islamic times, again the best and most original part of the book, the material changes are more negative than positive. Too often where a passage in the old book seems to call for amendment, in the light of more recent studies, the author has sought safety by omitting it altogether, and, in general, it must be said that little seems to have been done to bring the text up to date. The hypothesis that Hanno’s famous voyage carried him as far south as the Cameroons is repeated virtually unchanged, for example, without reference to Mann’s important objection to it. Nothing at all is said of the progressive desiccation of the territory of Ghana which was probably a more potent factor in its downfall than the martial events here related, and it is deplorable to find the word ‘fetish’ reappearing in a work of this calibre.

A second claim in the author’s preface that he has ‘borne constantly in mind the needs of students of West African history’ is equally questionable. Since he wrote *Caravans*, the emphasis of his own interests has shifted from the southern fringe of the desert to the north and the development of the Sudanese States themselves, Ghana, Mali, Sonrai, the Moorish pashalik of Timbuktu, and the Hausa trading towns, though still a major theme, receives more cursory and general treatment than in the first edition. Most of the few relatively certain dates have gone, together with the very names of most of the rulers. The excellent chapter in *Caravans* on the Arabic literature, the best introduction to it for students, has disappeared, together with much else not readily accessible to them elsewhere. The maps are very good, having been carefully chosen to illustrate the progress of European knowledge of African geography, but their number (including those in the body of the text) has been reduced from 13 to 8. There are now fewer direct references to authority for statements in the text, and the bibliographical notes on each chapter are little use as a guide to further reading since much is omitted. There is no reference to the works of Labouré or Monteil for Ghana, of Rouch for Sonrai, of Urvoý for Dendi and Hausa,

All change has not been loss. It is perhaps easier to see the wood of the unifying theme, the cultural significance of the trans-Saharan trade, now that the trees have been somewhat thinned out. Most teachers of African history, however, will probably feel that their need for an introductory text-book would have been more satisfactorily met by a mere reprinting of *Caravans*, and it is a pity that this reservation has to be made to the warm welcome which is certain to be accorded to the reappearance of this important book.

D. H. JONES

K. G. DAVIES: *The Royal African Company*. ix, 390 pp. London, etc.: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. 42s.

For nearly 300 years the history of European activities in West Africa is little more than the history of the slave trade. It was a trade in which all the maritime powers of Europe contested with furious rivalry, since upon its rise and continuance were based the cash-crop economies of their colonies in the Americas. Yet, paradoxically, while England and France, in particular, regarded the trade as a main prop in their colonial systems, it was always a peculiarly difficult traffic to organize on a sound economic basis, a ‘lottery’ upon which it was as easy to make great losses as great gains. The economic history of the trade is made up of a bewildering succession of national companies, Dutch, French, and English, each in its turn staggering from expedient after desperate expedient into final bankruptcy.

The present work traces the financial rakes’ progress of one such company from its inception in 1672, with the grant of a royal monopoly of all trade with Guinea, down to its virtual extinction in 1712, a failure from the points of view both of its shareholders and its customers, the slave-buying planters of the West Indies. In what must surely be a definitive study, Dr. Davies describes in painstaking, well-documented detail every aspect of the company’s activities. He deals in turn with the administrative organization in England, on the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies, the management of the company’s finances, which were characterized by the rapid growth of an insupportable burden of debt, and its diverse trading operations in gold, ivory, and other African products as well as slaves. From the first, the company was harassed by the heavy demands made upon its capital for the maintenance of its forts and factories in Africa and by the extreme difficulty of recovering debts owed to it by the planters. It fought a losing battle against the interlopers who infringed its monopoly and against the ‘separate traders’ who, after the monopoly

was forfeit in 1889, were able to compete with it on favourable terms.

Dr. Davies writes as an economic historian primarily concerned with the company as a case history in early joint-stock enterprise, but, while much of his book will be more immediately interesting to students of British economic and colonial history, it should become compulsory reading, too, for the historian of West Africa. A full understanding of European trading techniques and policies is the prerequisite of any attempt to assess the nature of their impact upon indigenous societies and the chapter on the company in Africa contains a number of very important suggestions. Regional specialists will not be surprised to find further confirmation of their impression that the character and limits of the trade were to a great extent imposed upon it by the local rulers, but the demonstration of the economic advantages of 'ship' trade over 'castle' trade is more unexpected and carries implications which deserve to be considered.

Again, as Dr. Davies himself points out, the surviving records of the successive companies constitute an important source for the regional history of all the coastal parts of Africa with which they had dealings, which has not yet received the attention it deserves from African historians. Of course he treats of events in Africa only in so far as they affected the company's fortunes more or less directly, but there is enough new information here to inspire a thorough investigation of the company's papers from an African point of view. One notes, for example, that there is much more evidence of Ashanti contacts with the European forts in the early years of the eighteenth century than is implied by the standard accounts of Claridge and Ward, and Dr. Davies has discovered, in the despatch of a schoolmaster by the company to Cape Coast in 1694, what must surely be the earliest notice of English educational work in West Africa.

It is regrettable that there is no bibliography. The reader is often obliged to pursue an 'op. cit.' reference back through 20 pages.

D. H. JONES

C. EDWARD HOPEN: *The pastoral Fulbe family in Gwandu*. xiii, 165 pp., 4 plates. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1958. 30s.

This is the first major report to appear concerning the series of field studies among the Fulani of West Africa inspired by the International African Institute and carried out by a small team of British and French anthropologists. While the core of the book is an

anthropological study of the family, it is in fact a detailed account of the life of certain Fulbe groups in the Northern Nigerian province of Sokoto. (Fulbe is the Fulani's own name for themselves, and is used by Mr. Hopen to refer specifically to pastoral as distinct from settled Fulani.) Written with a minimum of technical terms, it is readily intelligible to the layman, and is an important addition to our knowledge of a people about whom everyone interested in Nigeria knows a little, but few know much.

An introductory section contains a historical résumé, and details of the ecology and transhumance patterns of the Fulbe and the climatic and geographical factors which affect them. The author emphasizes the Fulbe's primary interest in their cattle, even from early years; describes the varying extent to which economic reasons have compelled them to supplement herding by agriculture, and the inevitable conflict with the concentrations of agriculturalists who share their interest in the floodplain of the Sokoto river; and shows how seasonal movements (covering distances up to 180 miles) are governed partly by the herd's needs and partly by the farming calendar.

Stress is laid on the complete interdependence of the family and its herd, whose requirements are of primary importance ('in the management of a household the demands of the herd come first'). Details are given of the size of herds and households (on the basis of sample counts), the layout of the camp, and the division of labour between the sexes; the economic advantage of having a son of herding age (seven and upwards) is particularly stressed. There is an account of marriage, details of the marriage gifts, and an interesting study of the incentives to marry, and the qualities that a man, a girl, and her parents look for in a potential bride or groom. The behaviour and attitude to each other of husband and wife, father, sons, and brothers are considered at some length, with an indication of the potential sources of conflict; the status of the various members *vis-à-vis* each other is shown to alter as the family grows in size and in age—the gradations in a man's status reading rather like Jaques' Seven Ages of man!

Other interesting chapters deal with the pattern of inheritance, and with the incidence of polygyny and its pros and cons in the eyes of the Fulbe. The present practice with regard to inheritance is seen as a compromise resulting from the conflict between Maliki Law and the traditional system, and between the Fulbe's pride in calling themselves Muslims and their suspicion of the Native Courts.

Finally the family is considered in its wider setting—in its relations with other Fulbe

families, and with their non-Fulani neighbours, against whom there is a latent hostility tempered by economic interdependence. In this connexion markets are shown to have both social importance as a rendezvous and a clearing-house for vital information on grazing conditions and many other matters, and economic importance to the Fulbe for the sale of their dairy produce and the purchase of food and household equipment which they do not grow or make.

Historical perspective is provided by a reconstruction, from old men's memories, of conditions before the British occupation (when Fulbe are said to have lived not in scattered households but in endogamous clan-villages, and social sanctions were much stronger), and by repeated references to the considerable social and economic effects of the greater freedom of movement since 1900. It must be admitted, however, that the reconstructions of the past are less convincing than the descriptions of the present (for instance, can a community containing only 200-600 Fulbe have been truly endogamous?).

The author's own early acquaintance with cattle farming has plainly helped him to gain the confidence of a people whose suspicion of strangers is rightly stressed; and the reviewer, having visited Gwandu after Mr. Hopen, can vouch for the regard with which 'Dikko Umaru' was held. He has been able to collect a mass of new information, and to present a convincing picture, supported by quantitative analyses and illustrated by some of the people's own aphorisms. It is not always clear, however, what are observed facts or informants' statements, and what are the author's deductions from them.

If sometimes the account seems too logical and cohesive to be natural, this may be due to the frequent need to generalize, for even in an area as small as Gwandu practices and attitudes vary, so that concise description is often impossible except in terms of general tendencies. Equally, of course, the information given here is not necessarily applicable to other parts of Nigeria. In some areas, for instance, milking is usually done by the women and not, as in Gwandu, by the men. The extent of these variations will no doubt become clearer with the publication of reports from the other investigators.

The mainly favourable impression is unfortunately marred by the poor quality of the photographs, and also by the frequent inaccuracies in spelling, which detract from the linguistic value of the many vernacular words and phrases quoted. Particularly noticeable are the many inconsistencies in the marking of vowel and consonant length and of glottal consonants, even in words which are uniform

throughout the Fulani area and correctly spelt in the standard dictionaries; e.g. *modiibo* for *moodiibo* (pp. 10, 50), *julbe* for *juulbe* (p. 11), *noda* for *nōdda* (p. 93), *ceedu* for *ceedu* and *dabunde* for *dabbunde* (p. 33), *ngiddi* for *ngidi* (p. 123), and many more. There are of course a number of dialectal variants, including *Turoosse* for the much more common *Tooroosse*, and *Fulfulde* (in the sense of 'behaviour befitting a Fullo') for the almost universal *Pulaaku*; but most of the anomalous spellings (including *um* 'my' and *-il* for the diminutive suffix) cannot be explained in this way. Occasionally the same word occurs twice with different spelling, e.g. *naganaajo* on p. 93 *nanganaajo* on p. 120; *fi* on p. 35 and *hi* on p. 87 (for *fiil*); and even *be* and *be* (for *be*) in the same sentence on p. 53. It is also regrettable that the ugly symbol *B* is used in the heading to chapters 4 and 6 instead of the *B* used regularly in vernacular publications. Fortunately poor spelling is not incompatible with ability to use the language; and Mr. Hopen has certainly been able to make a useful addition to our knowledge of an interesting people.

D. W. ARNOTT

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE: *Adamawa past and present: an historical approach to the development of a Northern Cameroons Province*. ix, 230 pp., map. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1958. 35s.

The standard works on the history of Nigeria give excellent general accounts of the country's development, but their scope and range are so wide that detailed treatment of the events and personalities of individual areas was obviously impossible. For the Northern Region, some of the details were supplied by Hogben's *Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria*, and anthropological studies of particular tribes usually contain a short account of their known history. But, apart from Heron-Hodge's *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, published material on the history of individual provinces is meagre. Mr. Kirk-Greene's book, though intended primarily as an introduction to Adamawa for officers posted to the Province, therefore meets a definite need. It is not a major historical work, and the author lays no claim to original research; but it is a useful compilation bringing together information from a wide variety of sources, published and unpublished, and similar works for other provinces would be welcome.

The book begins with a general description of the province, its climate, vegetation, and still plentiful fauna, with some relevant statistics and brief ethnological notes. The author describes scenic riches unusual in Nigeria—ranging from the river valleys of the Benue and Gongola to the mountains that are 'the glory of Adamawa'—and notes the heterogeneity of the population—over 150 tribes, of whom the Fulani, though historically and politically prominent, are only just the largest.

The Adamawa hinterland appears first as the object of occasional visits by explorers of various nationalities, and then, during the 'Scramble for Africa', as the target of rival British, French, and German expeditions intent on opening up the territory's commercial riches, some coming by river up the Niger and Benue, others approaching by the long overland route via the Cameroons. There followed the gradual expansion of the Royal Niger Company's activities, despite French rivalry and difficult relations with the Emirs.

A new period began with the formation of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900, when the British Government took over administration from the Company. But initially, as Mr. Kirk-Greene shows, the area, then divided between the two Provinces of Yola and Muri, had an unsettled history. Even after the defeat of the Fulani, patrols and minor campaigns continued against the many pagan tribes threatening the trade routes. The difficulties were increased by the diversity of the tribes, by the area's inaccessibility, and by the problems of the Nigeria-Cameroons boundary. The first World War also had a more disruptive effect here than elsewhere, the Cameroons Campaign involving attacks and counter-attacks across the frontier, and even a German raid on Yola itself. The size of the two Provinces was increased by the post-war incorporation in them of parts of the old German Cameroons (whose previous history is briefly sketched); but this was only one of a number of organizational changes which inevitably had an unsettling influence, and retarded administrative development in comparison with most other provinces. In 1926, however, the modern Adamawa Province emerged from that year's major reorganization of the Northern Provinces, and since then there has been much progress in many spheres. This is described in a comprehensive chapter on the development of general administration, local government in its many aspects, and missionary and commercial activity.

The general account of the Province's development is followed by separate chapters on the three administrative Divisions—Adamawa, Muri, and Numan. Starting with

the pre-*jihād* penetration of the Fulani among the non-Muslim tribes, the first two cover the establishment of the Fulani Emirates after the receipt of flags from Usman dan Fodio, and the subsequent vicissitudes of the Emirates up to and since the British occupation. The third summarizes the comparatively little that is known of the early history of various tribes in Numan Division. All three chapters contain a note on pre-British forms of authority among the non-Muslim tribes, so far as they are known.

The book concludes with a catalogue, based on the Provincial annual reports, of other local events of the last 30 years, and an appendix records the history of the Provincial Headquarters at Yola. Other appendices are reprints of certain ethnographical articles by the author which, though interesting, hardly seem relevant to the main theme. There are useful maps, and an excellent bibliography; the index, however, would have been more valuable if more names of places and of individuals had been included.

The author, as a serving Administrative Officer, has been able to draw on the wealth of local information available in official files and reports, and it is good that some of this valuable material—the work of many experienced officers unnamed outside official files—has been made available in a handier form and to a wider public. In addition Mr. Kirk-Greene has made an extensive study of the journals and reports of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century visitors to Adamawa, and the narrative is frequently enlivened by appropriate quotations from them. These writings are useful both for their descriptions of contemporary conditions and as cross-checks on local historical traditions. The author's researches cover French and German as well as British publications, and the footnotes to chapters iii and vii provide a useful catalogue of such source material; but here, and throughout the book, it would have been helpful to give more detailed references to the origin of quotations, whether from published material or from official records.

Extracts from the reports of the Royal Niger Company's agents are taken from Government files, and it would seem that the Company's or its successor's own archives, if available, have not been tapped direct.

Divisional Office records are presumably the main immediate source for the local traditions on which the early history of the Divisions is based, so that much of this material is at least second-hand. It was, however, mostly recorded in the pre-1930 days when more touring was possible, there was more opportunity to sift and record traditions, and

memories reached further into the past. Consequently the history here summarized is probably as near the truth as we can hope to get in the absence of written records and without much further research. Incidentally, the author's reservations about his account of Fulani penetration show that he is himself aware of the need for a cautious approach to local tradition.

For Adamawa Emirate East's *Stories of old Adamawa* of course provides supplementary material, on which Mr. Kirk-Greene has drawn; there is, however, at least one point (the occasion of Hayatu's death, p. 143) where his account differs from East's version. One might also note here that the quotations from Fulani texts and traditions come from this book and are not, as Professor Daryll Forde suggests in his foreword, 'here translated for the first time'—though this may be true of some quotations from non-Fulani sources.

Some will no doubt feel that the tribal and dynastic histories should have been given greater prominence and that, much though the Province's recent development owes to British inspiration and help, there is a disproportionate emphasis on European contacts and European influence. It is, however, a factual record, no more an apologia for British policy than a critique of it; and, with the grant of Regional self-government and the approach of independence for the Federation of Nigeria, it is fitting that such a record should be made public.

D. W. ARNOTT

J. DESMOND CLARK and SONIA COLE (ed.): *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, Livingstone, 1955*. xxxix, 440 pp., 7 col. plates. London: Chatto & Windus, 1957. 75s.

1955 was the centenary of Livingstone's discovery of the Victoria Falls and the beginning of the systematic exploration of Africa north of the Zambezi. As part of the celebrations the third Pan-African Prehistory Congress was held at Livingstone, and Dr. Clark has edited, with the assistance of Mrs. Sonia Cole, some 63 papers dealing with various aspects of the discovery of man's early history in Africa, together with three of the public lectures given at the session. One of these, by Mr. Miles Burkitt on 'Archaeology and education', deserves to be widely read at a moment when so much time is devoted to the future of education and plans for its expansion. The formal papers fall into three groups: Quaternary geology, general palaeontology, and climatology (with special groups on Kalahari

sands and the Australopithecinae); Human palaeontology (with papers by Dart and von Koenigswald on the Australopithecinae); Prehistoric archaeology. Within these groups there are papers on a wide range of topics, and one is impressed with the high professional standard which the congress maintained. As is to be expected much space is devoted to problems of chronology and the relation between discoveries in various parts of the continent, as well as to questions of inter-continental correlations. In 1947 the Congress agreed to the development of an African terminology for its prehistoric cultures, and the eight years which had elapsed saw the general adoption of this scheme, based on the well-established sequences of East Africa. (Such a general agreement is badly needed in Asia where scholars still struggle to accommodate their discoveries to European schemata which are ill-suited to Asian problems of climatology and prehistory.)

It is clearly impossible to review adequately a volume of this scope and size, but certain reflections may be in order. It is clear that our understanding of climatic phenomena is not yet sufficient to enable us to make certain correlations even within one continent for the dating of prehistoric material, but the studies now being made in Africa and presented at congresses such as this are gradually contributing to the solution of this problem. (It is gratifying to note the part played by Dr. Oakley and his colleagues in the British Museum (Natural History) in this field, nor should Dr. Oakley's brief note on the earliest use of fire, pp. 385-6, be missed.) It is interesting to note that despite the temptation to seek the new, traditionally an African speciality, considerable time has been spent on the fresh study and re-evaluation of old material, a very necessary discipline if we are to make the best use of our data. Finally, it is to be hoped that the next volume of Proceedings may record the presence of Africans at the Congress and report the papers that they have delivered.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

E. O. JAMES: *Prehistoric religion: a study in prehistoric archaeology*. 300 pp. London: Thames and Hudson, 1957. 30s.

Gordon Childe used to teach that the concern of the archaeologist was with the thoughts that lay behind the human activities which brought about changes in the material world. Professor E. O. James offers, in a single volume, a collection and interpretation of the available material relating specifically to

religious phenomena' in prehistoric archaeology. His primary concern is with the palaeolithic and neolithic periods, but he has 'not hesitated to include the developments in the second millennium B.C. in the background of the higher religious systems of the Fertile Crescent and Western Asia, of India and of pre-Homeric Greece, calculated to throw light on their prehistoric antecedents, though in some cases the faiths may have passed into the realms of recorded history'. To these data Professor James adds 'a quantity of material . . . concerning the observable beliefs and practices still, or until very recently, current in primitive societies on the fringes of civilisation, or in its background, all over the world, many of which appear to have persisted little changed through the ages'. He scrupulously warns against 'uncritical theoretical reconstructions of "origins" and "developments" of an earlier generation of social anthropologists', but feels himself justified in employing this material, since it is 'able to throw light on analogous activities and organisations, beliefs and practices, and their significance within living religious systems under conditions not very different from those which prevailed in prehistoric times'.

Professor James presents his material under eight heads: 'Palaeolithic burial ritual', 'Neolithic burials in the ancient Near East', 'Megalthic burial in Europe', 'Cremation, inhumation and mummification', 'The cult of the dead', 'The mystery of birth', 'Fertility and the food supply', 'The sky-religion'. A ninth section, 'Prehistoric religion', presents his conclusions, and the book is completed by notes (i.e. references to the bibliography), bibliography, maps, chronological tables, and an index. There are 14 text-figures. The experienced reader of such books will no doubt have already drawn his conclusions, and he will be right. Despite Professor James' wide reading, and his cautionary note regarding the procedures of an earlier generation, all is here as before. The cannibals of Chou-kou-tien partake sacramentally of brains; the Red Lady of Paviland lies in 'her' haematite glory; desiccated early Egyptians inspire the mummified splendours of Tut-ankh-Amun; Queen Shub-Ad and her attendants speak for Ur. Habits of the Semang and of Gullen's aborigines, the animism of Kruyt's Indonesians and the desiccatory rites of the Tahitians are adduced to throw their light on analogous activities and organizations. Occasionally Professor James introduces a new thought, not always felicitously, as this example may show. We are told, naturally s.v. Ofnet, of the bear-skulls at the Nuremberger Petershöhle:

'Doubtless it was the great strength of

the bear that caused it to become a cult object at a very early period, and as this was likely to be concentrated in the head it would be the skull that would be preserved and venerated' (p. 21).

But what is concentrated in the head? One had always understood that it was the hug that best exemplified the bear's strength. Or has Professor James confused strength with soreness?

This criticism is not captious, for Professor James is prone to such methods of argument. Thus, in his discussion of the female figurines of the Zhab (p. 157), he asserts 'that they had a fertility significance is shown by the representation of a phallus carved in stone at the mound of Mogul-Ghundai . . . and at the neighbouring mound of Periano-Ghundai, . . . where a vulva is depicted with great prominence'. The reader may legitimately ask what evidence links the figurines and the phallus and the vulva into a single cult. Again, we are told, in a discussion of the phallic cult at Harappa that 'behind the phallic cult lay the mystery of birth and the predominance of female figurines over male in the earliest levels of all cultures in which they occur from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Indus Valley shows that attention was first concentrated in the feminine aspects of generation'. The present state of our knowledge of the Harappan religion does not in fact allow of any assertion as to the mystery behind the phallic cult, of which, incidentally, there is no absolute proof.

As might well be expected, once the Chou-kou-tien cannibals have finished their intellectual sacrament, the archaeology of Further Asia is ignored, only its 'survivors' serving as providers of analogies. One does not demand that historians of religion should be able to read Chinese and Japanese, but one is entitled to expect some acquaintance with the works of Karlgren, Creel, Goloubew, Granet, Mus, Heine-Geldern, and the like who have made available much matter since the days of Tylor, Sollars, and Frazer. And one may well wonder whether it is not time for a new book, a new method, for this is in essence a work in the tradition of Sollars, with new material, from more recent field-work, but without any development in treatment or technique. Or is it that no advance is possible in this field, and that, as Professor James argues (p. 229) is the case with prehistoric religion, 'once a ritual technique had been devised to sublimate the stress, it became established and developed indefinitely to meet every new demand and maintain the equilibrium in an expanding social structure and religious organisation'?

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

SHORT NOTICES

OTTO EISSFELDT: *Enno Littmann* † am 4. Mai 1958. *Gedenkrede bei der Akademischen Gedächtnisfeier in Tübingen am 15. Juli 1958.* (Tübinger Universitätsreden, 5.) 28 pp., front. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958. DM. 2.40.

A Memorial Oration, pronounced before the University of Tübingen, over one of the most highly distinguished members whom that famous University has ever boasted. It is enough to repeat an opinion of Wellhausen's recorded in these pages that if Noldeke was the emperor of Semitists Littmann was the crown prince. Not merely had he a working life of unusual length, but an activity of astonishing breadth, and an intellectual grasp which made him a master in all the scientific subjects, especially the multifarious oriental and other languages, which that activity embraced. He taught at four German universities and one American, he went out with two epigraphical missions to Syria and was later called upon to lead the German Aksum Expedition. Out of all these came important publications in which Littmann took a leading part. And they were accompanied by a host of other writings upon subjects which, in the bibliography of his works, are arranged under no less than 14 heads, ranging from general linguistics and the Abyssinian languages (in which he was particularly at home) to gipsy lore and the Low German dialect. The author of these pages is at pains also to emphasize, in addition to the learning, the high humanity of Littmann, his appreciation of his colleagues, and his sympathetic character, which made him a welcomed as well as honoured guest in many lands.

Professor Eissfeldt has discharged worthily a task which the exceptional distinction of his subject made especially difficult. But in concluding he seems to have been a little overcome perhaps with the solemnity of his theme. Abetted by the known propensity of the German language, he has involved himself in a tortuous sentence which extends over a long quotation and several stops, revives a rather injudicious remark of the great man, and leaves at last in possible doubt the authorship of the sentiments expressed.

O. J. GADD

ERIC F. F. BISHOP and MOHAMED KADDAL (tr.): *Chrestomathia Baidawiana*. 'The light of inspiration and secret of interpretation'; being a trans-

lation of the Chapter of Joseph (Sūrat Yūsuf) with the commentary of Nasir Id-Din al-Baidāwī (Glasgow University Publications. [Oriental Studies, No. 1.] 30 pp. Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co., 1957. 10s.

This slender volume is a new addition to the *Chrestomathia Baidawiana*, dedicated by the authors to the memory of D. S. Margolouth. The Chapter of Joseph has always been of special interest, the authors point out in the preface, 'both because in itself it is a connected whole, and equally because it concerns one of the more famous characters of the Old Testament, who naturally figures in the New'.

An appendix on the references to Joseph in Samaritan sources and some Jewish accounts, prepared by the Reverend John Macdonald, of the University of Leeds, proved too long to include in the present volume, and was published separately in the *Muslim World* for April and July, 1956, under the title 'Joseph in the Qur'ān'.

W. 'ARAFAT

WILLIAM POPPER (tr.): *History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A.D. Translated from the Arabic annals of Abū'l-Mahāsīn ibn Taghrī Birdī Part III, 1412-1422 A.D.—Part IV, 1422-1438 A.D.* (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vols. xvii, xviii.) xii, 176 pp.; xiv, 217 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957, 1958. \$3.50, \$4.50.

WILLIAM POPPER *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382-1468 A.D. Systematic notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's chronicles of Egypt (continued).* (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. xvi.) ix, 123 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. \$2.50.

These three volumes constitute a further instalment (up to vol. vi, p. 856 of Popper's edition) of the translation of the *Nuḡm al-zāhira* (noticed in *BSOAS*, xviii, 1, 1956. 202) and the completion of the *Systematic notes* to it (*BSOAS*, xix, 2, 1957, 411). The volume of *Systematic notes* has sections on 'The people', 'Names, titles', 'Official documents and diplomas', 'The calendar',

'Measures and weights', 'Currency and exchange (domestic)', 'Food prices', and 'Income: fiefs, salaries'.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

IBN KHALDŪN: *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale. Traduite de l'arabe par le Baron de Slane. Nouvelle édition publiée sous la direction de Paul Casanova. Tome quatrième . . . publié par Henri Pérès.* [iii], 628 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1956.

This volume completes the reprint of de Slane's *Berbères* which was begun in 1925, and those interested in medieval North Africa will be grateful that the whole of the work is now readily available. It is a great pity, however, that the publishers could not complete the printing according to the original plan. What this plan was is nowhere clearly stated, but one infers that there was to be a fifth volume containing a bibliography, the 'Table géographique', and the index. This was little enough, for no revision of the text, nor even of the transliteration, was apparently ever contemplated; but one hoped for a complete overhaul of the 'Table géographique' and the index, at least, for the first is now quite out of date, while the second is gravely deficient. Yet we still have nothing better. The present volume, appearing all but a century after the original edition, simply completes the text and reprints the 'Table' (omitted from vol. 1) and the index exactly as in the original, and that in a different typeface and on different paper.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

AMBROSIO HUICI MIRANDA: *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las invasiones africanas (almorávides, almohades y benimerines).* 405 pp., 21 plates, map. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956. Ptas. 300.

The battles in question are those of Zallāqa (479/1086), Alado (481/1088), Uclés (501/1108), Alarcos (591/1195), Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212), and El Salado (741/1340). The campaigns culminating in these battles, as well as the battles themselves, are described in great detail with an impressive array of documentation, Latin and Romance as well as Arabic. There are many photographs and maps.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

AMBROSIO HUICI MIRANDA: *Historia política del imperio almohade.* II. (Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe.) [iv], 391-697 pp., 42 plates. Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1957.

This volume completes Señor Huici's study of the Almohades, of which the first volume was reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxi, 1, 1958, 190-1. It contains chapters (vii-xii) each named after an Almohade caliph, or several caliphs, beginning with Muhammad al-Nāṣir and ending with Abū Dabbūs; two appendices, one on 'Legend and history in the origins of the Almohade Empire', the other on the Almohade 'Sayyids'; three indices; and a bibliography. There are numerous (poor) illustrations, and maps.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

J. ALAZARD and others: *Initiation à l'Algérie.* [By 18 authors.] xi, 422 pp., 21 plates, 2 maps. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, [1957]. Fr. 950.

So the trio, begun by Morocco in 1945 and continued by Tunisia in 1950, is now complete. This last addition follows not only in format and typography but also in general arrangement *Initiation à la Tunisie* (noticed in *BSOAS*, xvii, 2, 1955, 398). Like its sisters, *Initiation à l'Algérie* sets out to provide the non-specialist reader with a general picture of the social, physical, and economic features, past and present, which gave to Algeria its personality. I would say that it succeeds triumphantly. The linguistic articles may be a little beyond the layman, but they could not be omitted, and for the specialist they furnish a useful summary. The other articles bring together in a convenient form much information only to be found otherwise scattered over many books and some, indeed, which is quite new.

The illustrations are excellent.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

MUṢṬAFĀ 'AWAD AL-KARĪM (ed.): *Ibn Dihya: al-Muṭrib fī ash'ār ahl al-maghrib.* (Publications of the University of Khartoum, Faculty of Arts, Arabic Language Division, vol. 1.) [ii], 16, 267 pp. Khartoum: Maṭba'at Miṣr, [1957].

Ibn Dihya was an Andalusian scholar born at Valencia in 547-8/1162 who died at Cairo, much-travelled, in 633/1235. He seems to have been something of a fraud. The *Muṭrib* is an anthology of excerpts from some 120

poets, most of them, despite the title, Andalusians. Ibn Dihya himself gives much empty wordy biographical and historical information and the editor provides an introduction, notes, and very full indices. The volume is well produced and fittingly opens the University of Khartoum's new series.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

SIR GODFREY FISHER: *Barbary legend: war, trade and piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830*. xii, 349 pp., front., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. 50s.

The present volume, in respect of its subject matter, can be divided into two main sections: the earlier chapters describe the emergence and consolidation of the states established, under Ottoman suzerainty, at Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis in the course of the sixteenth century, while the later chapters examine in considerable detail the relations, both economic and political, which existed between those states and England during the reign of Elizabeth I and, more particularly, in the years 1603-1712. A brief epilogue outlines the subsequent course of English relations with the three regencies from 1712 until 1830, when Algiers came under French rule. The volume contains, moreover, twelve appendices dealing with special problems, a select bibliography, many items of which are furnished with short explanatory notes, and also a map of Barbary taken from a work printed in 1750.

The author observes in his introduction (p. 3) that 'to a large extent the regencies have been the victims of history in a singularly unscientific form'. His book, as its title of *Barbary legend* suggests, is intended to expose some of the misconceptions and inconsistencies which underlie the traditional picture of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli as states having no foundation and purpose other than ceaseless and indiscriminate piracy directed against the commerce of Western Europe. An enterprise of this kind would demand, for its full achievement, an exhaustive and critical re-examination of the material available in Europe and also the exploitation of the rich, but still almost wholly unused evidence to be found in the Ottoman chronicles and archives. The volume here under review, conceived and written within limits carefully defined by the author, is a welcome contribution towards the attainment of such an ultimate objective, both because it offers a vigorous reassessment of relations between the regencies and England, especially during the seventeenth century, and also because, in its general approach, it

emphasizes the fact that a thorough 'historical revision' of this entire subject is now long overdue.

V. J. PARRY

ERNEST EDMONDSON RAMSAUR, Jr.: *The Young Turks: prelude to the Revolution of 1908*. Princeton Oriental Studies. Social Science, [No.] 2.) xii, 180 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 32s.

Historians writing in English have given little attention to the Young Turk movement which culminated in the revolution of 1908, and still less to the gradual emergence and growth of that movement during the second half of the nineteenth century. Dr. Ramsaur, in this volume, examines the general background to the movement, the origin and activities of the Committee of Union and Progress down to its collapse in 1897, and the conflict of ideas and cleavage between factions which prevented the first Congress of Ottoman Liberals, held at Paris in 1902, from achieving positive results. He also describes the revival of the movement within the Ottoman Empire and its extension to Macedonia, the second Congress of Ottoman Liberals convened at Paris in 1907, and the course of events in 1908. The book contains bibliographical notes on the materials available to the author, and in addition a full list of memoirs, articles, biographies, etc., which relate to this period. A most valuable feature of the work is that it embraces information gathered from Turkish personalities connected with the Young Turk movement in the years of its growth and final success. Dr. Ramsaur has written a volume rich in new evidence, lucid and careful in its treatment of a complex subject, and all the more valuable in that it does much to fill a serious gap in the historical literature on the Young Turks.

V. J. PARRY

Dumbarton Oaks Papers. No. 12. xii, 287 pp., front., £5 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £4.)

This latest volume is dedicated to the memory of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., whose genial personality and fine scholarly endowments will always be associated with the early history of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library.

For orientalists, the main attraction is the characteristically well-balanced essay by Sir Hamilton Gibb on Arab-Byzantine relations

under the Umayyad Caliphate, the main object of which is to re-examine the tradition current in Muslim sources to the effect that the caliph al-Walid I requested and obtained the aid of the Greek emperor for the decoration of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina and the Great Mosque at Damascus. This story, related by al-Tabarī and elaborated by later writers, was vigorously attacked by Mademoiselle van Berchem, who asserted that conditions during this period were quite unfavourable to friendly exchanges between Byzantium and the Caliphate. 'Would not so patriotic a monarch as al-Walid have experienced some reluctance in asking a favour from Constantinople?' Sir Hamilton has little difficulty in pointing out the hazards implicit in applying to that era our modern concept of 'total war', under which social and economic contacts are all broken off in times of political and military hostility. (Even to-day, the prevailing Cold War with its intermittent flare-ups does not rule out cultural exchanges and diplomatic courtesies between Moscow and the West.) The Arabs were, after all, heirs to the rich Byzantine possessions in the Levant. To administer and exploit them to the full, those hardy warriors from the desert were not backward in making use of men, material, and methods bequeathed by the former Greek overlords. Among the evidence marshalled by Sir Hamilton in support of the tradition of Christian participation in the embellishment of those great Muslim sanctuaries, particular weight attaches to a little-known passage in the history of Medina composed in A.D. 814 by a certain Ibn Zabāla, who gives details about loads of mosaic cubes and a gang of workmen sent to Medina by the emperor of Byzantium. It is also relevant to note that the generosity was not all on one side. In Old Cairo, there existed an establishment called the Pepper House (*Dār al-Fuṣṣūl*), so named because pepper to the value of 20,000 dinars was stored there in the time of the caliph al-Walid, 'who purposed to send that as a gift to the *Ṣāhib al-Rūm*'.

Art and archaeology are represented in this volume by Alfred R. Bellinger's catalogue of Roman and Byzantine medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks collection; Henri Stern's study of the mosaics of the church of St. Constantine in Rome; and Paul A. Underwood's third preliminary report on the restoration of the frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute. All these articles are illustrated with plates of fine quality.

Finally, the student of patristics will find much of value in Harry A. Wolfson's article, 'Philosophical implications of Arianism and Apollinarianism', while three other writers contribute studies on the Cappadocian Fathers:

Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa.

D. M. LANG

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI and SUKUMAR SEN: *A Middle Indo-Aryan reader*. Revised edition. 2 parts: vii, 101 pp.; [ii], 103-226 pp. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1957. Rs. 10.

This reader was first published in 1953 and to this revised edition is now added a second part containing notes on the language and forms. The passages chosen cover almost all aspects of Middle Indian from the edicts of Aśoka to late specimens of Apabhramśa barely distinguishable from Neo-Indian. The misprints do not appear to be numerous or conspicuous, and the work will doubtless be of value to students.

R. W.

SUSHIL KUMAR DE (ed.): *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa*. With a general introduction by S. Radhakrishnan. [ii], 32, [i], xxxiii, 35-115 pp. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1957.

After collating a number of hitherto unutilized MSS and referring to several unpublished commentaries Dr. De concludes that the material at present available cannot add much to our information, and he here presents a text as near authentic as possible, containing the same 111 stanzas as Hultzsch's edition of 1911, but with a few transpositions and a good many different readings. His usual plan was to follow Vallabhadeva (the oldest extant commentary) in respect of interpolated stanzas, but for text-readings to follow him only when he agreed with the eighth-century Jain adaptation of Jināsena, and in other cases to decide on the basis of other available evidence. Dr. De has added a valuable and interesting introduction on the poem's textual history, full critical apparatus beneath the text on each page, the 19 doubtful or interpolated stanzas which occur in various MSS or versions, a copious bibliography, and index of all pādas. Dr. Radhakrishnan has contributed by way of general introduction an appreciation of Kālidāsa with choice extracts from his works. The book is well produced and printed, cheap, and altogether very welcome.

O. A. R.

WALTER RUBEN: *Kālidāsa: the human meaning of his works*. Translated by Joan Becker. 105 pp. + errata sheet. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM. 5.50.

'To-day our working people are inspired by

humanism, internationalism and love of all peoples of the earth to acquaint themselves with the works of the masters of international literature.' This quotation from the first chapter shows the purpose for which the original German version was undertaken, in connexion with the World Peace Council in Vienna in 1955. I do not know how successful it was in bringing Kālidāsa home to the workers, but for Sanskritists it is an interesting addition to the numerous 'appreciations' we already have. Professor Ruben studies each of the six major works in turn, comparing and contrasting their treatment of human behaviour and emotion, with frequent references to the earlier works from which the stories were taken, and in the case of the dramas occasional illuminating observations on technique. Notable features are his suggestions that Kālidāsa sharply criticized most of the kings of the Raghu dynasty (perhaps thereby implying criticism of the government of his own time!), and that his adherence to Śaivism prevented him from doing justice to the Rāmāyaṇa and its Vaiṣṇava hero.

C. A. B.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI (ed.): *The Vedānta Kaumudī of Rāmādvayāchārya*. (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 20.) [v], 6, viii, 289, xx pp. Madras : University of Madras, 1955. Rs. 12.

The editing of this text forms a valuable contribution to the knowledge of post-Śaṅkara Advaita. Surendranath Dasgupta was the first to notice its importance. He gave a brief survey in his *History of Indian philosophy*, II, 204 f. The work is a *prakaraṇa* of a strongly polemical character, rejecting the Cārvāka, Buddhist, Jaina, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and other views. It adheres primarily, but not exclusively, to the tenets and theories of the vivaraṇa school. It is based on the *Brahma-sūtra*, more particularly on the first four *sūtras* of that work. Its subject matter is theological, epistemological, linguistic, and, to some extent, logical. The third chapter is especially interesting. It contains a refutation of the famous 'proofs' of the existence of God, as given by Udayana in his *Kusumāñjali*, a discussion of *anumāna*, inference, and of word-meaning problems as well as a refutation of the Sphota theory. On good grounds, it may be assumed that Rāmādvaya lived in the first half of the fourteenth century. He wrote his own commentary, the *Vk-vyākhyāna*. There are only a few MSS (Madras, Calcutta). After the completion of the printing, the editor discovered a fragment of the work (ch. iv)

in the MS Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, which contains many variant readings. He lists them separately (seven pages at the end of the book), observing 'that they will be very useful to correct the text' (introduction, p. 6). There is an index of citations and an (incomplete) index of works and authors cited in the text. There is no index of important technical-philosophical terms. There is, however, a very detailed and helpful table of contents.

D. F.

SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA: *A history of Indian philosophy. Vol. v. Southern schools of Śaivism*. xiv, 204 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1955. 25s.

This volume is the last of Dasgupta's comprehensive work on Indian philosophy. It was posthumously published by his wife, Dr. Surama Dasgupta, who opens the work with an interesting short 'Memoir' of the late author. The original plan of this volume was: (1) Southern schools of Śaivism; (2) Northern schools of Śaivism; (3) philosophy of grammar; (4) philosophy of some selected Tantras. It is a matter of regret that only the first section was sufficiently ready for publication. It gives a detailed description of the religious philosophy of Southern Śaivism. In addition to published material, it is based on a number of Sanskrit manuscripts which the late author collected from various sources in Southern India. These are mentioned in the text of the book as well as in footnotes, especially in the first chapter (ch. xxxiv) which treats of the literature and history of this form of Śaivism and of the Āgama literature. There is, however, no separate descriptive list of these MSS, nor is there a bibliography of the published material. On p. 20 it is said that 'the Āgama literature is pretty extensive, but its philosophical achievement is rather poor. . . . Yet, in most of the Āgamas there is a separate section called the Vidyā-pāda in which the general philosophical view underlying the cult is enunciated'. Although the present volume is necessarily determined by the ambiguous character of this literature, on the basis of its more philosophical (epistemological and causal) theories Dasgupta has given important historical information on the relation of Śaivism to other branches of Indian philosophy, especially Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Vedānta. In addition to the first chapter mentioned above, there are chapters on: Viśiṣṭa Śaivism; philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha; the Śaiva philosophy in the *Purāṇas*; Śaiva philosophy in some of the important texts

(*Pāṣupata-sūtras*, Tiru-vācaka, Śaiva Siddhānta, Bhoja and his commentators, etc.). For various reasons (see p. 149), the author refrained from utilizing material from a Dravidian language. Scholars may disagree with his opinion that 'there is hardly anything of value from the philosophical point of view in Dravidian literature which is unobtainable through Sanskrit'.

D. F.

WALTER RUBEN (tr.): *Beginn der Philosophie in Indien. Aus den Veden.* (Philosophische Studentexte. Texte der indischen Philosophie, Bd. 1.) xii, 338 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955. DM. 12.

It is not necessary to share Professor Ruben's Marxist-Leninist views to appreciate his valuable and original selection of texts—newly translated by himself—from the Vedas (*RV, YV, AV*), *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Upaniṣads*, although these views determined the selection. They are summarized in a statement on p. 5 of his 17 p. introduction from which it appears that there can be no scientific understanding of the beginning of philosophy in India, unless one defines the history of philosophy in terms of the origin and development of materialism and its struggle with idealism. This is what Professor Ruben sets out to do, in his introduction as well as in his selection. In the centre of the conflict he places on the one hand the materialist or 'hylologist' Uddālaka (*Chānd. Up.*) whom he compares with the Greek philosopher Thales, and on the other hand, the idealist Yājñavalkya (*BAU*). Both are mentioned, in different contexts, in older *Brāhmaṇas*. The author propounds interesting theories concerning the parallelism of ancient social (and therefore philosophical) developments in Europe (Greece) and India. He traces the precursors of Uddālaka (the Breath-Wind Magicians of *Rg* and *Atharva Veda*, of *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*) and stresses the importance of Vedic cosmogonic and other speculations for later developments. His grammatical and stylistic observations are noteworthy (introduction, pp. 13–17). The major portion of the book (pp. 128–331) contains selections from 'the five old *Upaniṣads*', viz. the *Aitareya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Kauṣītaki*, and *Taittiriya Upaniṣads*.

D. F.

VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT: *The evolution of India.* (The Whidden Lectures, 1957.) ix, 46 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 6s.

This book consists of three lectures delivered

in 1957 at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, by India's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom. In the first, the lecturer surveys the course of Indian history from Mohenjo-daro to the present and argues that India's response to external and internal challenges has been 'one of gradual adaptation rather than violent opposition'. The second and third lectures examine the educational and economic policies of the present government of India and emphasize their merits. As Mrs. Pandit says, 'Planning is a magic word', and these lectures successfully convey her confidence in it.

KENNETH BALLHATCHET

R. D. CHOKSEY (ed.): *Select documents from the Ratnagiri Collector's files (Peshwa Daftar): Malwan Residency (Savantvadi affairs), (1812–1819).* [ii], ii, viii, 142 pp. Poona: R. D. Choksey, 1956. Rs. 7.

Professor Choksey has already rendered valuable service to students of the modern history of western India by publishing several volumes of documents from the Peshwa Daftar at Poona. These were taken from the files of the Resident at Poona and from those of the Deccan Commissioner. He has now turned to the files of the Ratnagiri Collectorate, and within that collection to the records of the Resident at Malwan. The volume now under review contains documents concerning British relations with Savantvadi during the regency of the Rani Durgabai.

Relations were strained throughout this period. There were several border incidents, and at one point the Resident's agent was imprisoned by the Rani. The British also knew that the Rani was intriguing with the Peshwa against them. But although she was soon involved in difficulties with her overmighty subjects, the British refrained from active intervention until their defeat of the Peshwa in 1818 enabled them to send an effective force and to impose a drastic treaty in the following year. Henceforth Savantvadi would have 'to act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government'.

This story can be followed without difficulty in Professor Choksey's selection of documents. There are, however, a few instances in which a formal acknowledgment of a letter has been included while the letter itself has not. John Adam sometimes appears as 'I. Adams', John Briggs as 'Brigis', and Francis Warden as 'Waren'. On p. 25, line 11 should be read after line 7. Apart from these minor points, Professor Choksey has again produced a thoroughly useful volume. It is welcome news that he has now prepared a further volume of

documents from the same collection, to be called *The Ratnagiri Collectorate (1821-1829)*.

KENNETH BALLHATCHET

G. C. MENDIS (ed.): *The Colebrooke-Cameron papers: documents on British colonial policy in Ceylon, 1796-1833*. 2 vols.: lxxv, 404 pp.; ix, 416 pp. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1956. £5 5s.

Though all history may not be the history of ideas, even the closest followers of the Namier tradition in historical writing would hardly deny that there have been movements of thought which have strongly influenced the world of action. But unless philosophers are kings, or at least civil servants, historians will often find it a difficult if also a challenging task to establish connexions between philosophies of life and policies of governments.

The Colebrooke reforms in Ceylon provide a classic example of the application of Utilitarian ideas to administrative, social, and economic problems. Thus the reports of the two Commissioners, W. M. G. Colebrooke and C. H. Cameron, criticized the unchecked powers of the Governor, the absence of a Legislative Council, the system of forced labour, the cinnamon monopoly, inequalities of taxation, the complexity of the judicial system, the expense of litigation, and the persistence of caste and racial distinctions in the administrative system. The reforms which they proposed were in similar accord with Utilitarian ideas, and have been of fundamental importance in the subsequent history of Ceylon. Their reports are therefore of considerable value both as evidence of conditions in Ceylon at that time and also for the light which they throw upon the ideas of the reformers.

Besides the actual reports the two volumes under review include not only the dispatches in which the Secretary of State told the Ceylon Government how to carry out the Commissioners' recommendations but also a number of important documents relating to previous British policy in Ceylon. These set the reforms in their historical context. Not all the documents are of equal significance, and some would have gained from further editorial comment: for example, a proclamation of 1800 levying a tax on 'joys' is followed by a note to the effect that this tax 'has ceased to be enforced', but we are not told when this note was added, or by whom.

Dr. Mendis has added a lucid introduction and a useful index. These volumes will long remain of major importance to students of the

history of Ceylon; they will also be of interest to students of British policy in India and elsewhere.

KENNETH BALLHATCHET

D. T. DEVENDRA: *Classical Sinhalese sculpture, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000*. (Chapters in Art Vol. 31.) [iv], 48 pp., 128 photos., map. London: Alec Tiranti, 1958. 30s.

In the numerous picture books of Indian art and architecture which have appeared since the war, scarcely one of which—with the happy exception of Heinrich Zimmer's posthumous *Art of Indian Asia*—has made any original contribution to our knowledge, Ceylon has been unjustly neglected. If she has been represented at all it is by objects long familiar from Coomaraswamy or Vincent Smith. While the serious student could find more in the publications of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, for the general reader these volumes remain extremely rare and therefore little known outside Ceylon. The present book does something to fill this gap. It is well produced and the short introductory text is clearly written. The author is to be congratulated upon judicious selection and upon giving so much in so compact a space.

The richness of the early architecture and sculpture of Ceylon underlines the hope that this little volume may be the prelude to their further, more thorough treatment. There is obviously ample room in both fields and thus we are prompted to make a few suggestions of a general nature. The history of these two subjects can only be properly understood if it is taken in the context of the whole Indian sub-continent. The approach must treat evidence of contacts between India and Ceylon impartially, evaluating each instance in its context. The influences from North India, particularly from Sanci and Bodhi Gaya, the suggestions of Kushan influence, and the whole question of the comings and goings between Ceylon and the Andhra coast in the late second and third centuries A.D. deserve careful attention. Likewise the close connexions of later Sinhalese styles with those of the Guptas, Pallavas, and Cholas are well worth pursuing. This demands a personal acquaintance with the Indian no less than the Sinhalese monuments. The present work lacks assurance in its handling of the Indian comparative material and consequently loses some of its force. Another problem is raised in Ceylon by her rich historical traditions. While there is doubtless no harm in discussing them along with the monuments, it cannot be over-emphasized that in a work of this kind the prime evidence is that afforded by the

objects, while the texts are of secondary concern. It is not easy to accept some of the author's datings—as for example his assigning of the Kuocaveli Buddha to the first century A.D.—but a thorough reassessment of the whole problem of dating and contacts is called for if they are to be placed upon firmer ground.

F. R. ALLCHIN

LIONEL GILES: *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tun-huang in the British Museum*. xxv, 334 pp. London: British Museum, 1957. £5 10s.

The discovery of a manuscript hoard of astonishing richness in a walled-up chamber in one of the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tun-huang in north-west China at the end of the last century came at a time when the Chinese Empire was in a distracted and weakened state, and it is perhaps not surprising that it was at first being disposed of piecemeal by the local Taoist priest who had charge of the cave and that it was left to foreigners to carry off the bulk of it to London and Paris. Sir Aurel Stein visited the cave in the course of his second expedition to Central Asia and acquired a large, though not very selective collection. Paul Pelliot came the following year and extracted the cream of what remained for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Only after this did the Chinese Government wake up to what was happening and remove the rest to the National Library in Peking.

The result has been that (apart from individual items that by one means or another came into private hands) the bulk of the manuscripts are now divided into three separate collections and the work of making this unique body of material available to the world of scholarship has been correspondingly complicated and delayed. Fortunately many of the most important manuscripts have been published by one means or another by Chinese, Japanese, or Western scholars, but apart from the analytical list of the Peking collection by Ch'en Yuan, published in 1931 under the forthright title *Tun-huang chieh yü lu* 'Record of the remains after the plunder of Tun-huang', and a list of the Paris collection published in the *Bulletin of the National Library of Peking* in 1933 and 1934, Dr. Giles' work, now published, is the first complete catalogue we have. Dr. Giles was in charge of the collection in the British Museum from 1919 until his retirement in 1940 and he devoted the greater part of his available time and energy to studying the manuscripts, continuing this work as his health permitted after his retirement. His previously published studies on the collection include, besides a

number of articles on individual manuscripts, *Six centuries at Tunhuang* (1944), a semi-popular account, and 'Dated Chinese manuscripts in the Stein collection' (*BSOS*, vii, 4, 1935; viii, 1, 1935; ix, 1, 1937; ix, 4, 1939; x, 2, 1940; xi, 1, 1943). Ill health delayed the completion of the catalogue itself but fortunately it appeared shortly before his death so that he could have the satisfaction of seeing his life's work in print.

Especially now that, owing to Japanese initiative and funds, microfilm sets of the Stein collection are available, Giles' catalogue will be a welcome aid to scholars engaged on Tun-huang studies. Though it is perhaps regrettable that there is so little reference in the catalogue to published studies on the manuscripts, scholars will no doubt make their own annotations. Meanwhile we await with eagerness the catalogue of the Pelliot collection which is in progress.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK

LAURENCE G. THOMPSON (tr.): *Ta t'ung shu: the one-world philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. 300 pp. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 35s.

This is a partial translation of the *Ta t'ung shu*, with a brief biography of its author and a brief introduction to the work.

The first question the reviewer must ask is whether the original is worth the labour of translation; and in this case there can be little doubt that it is not. Utopias as a whole date badly; in spite of their avowed purpose of describing a brave new world, systematically worked out from moral and political first principles, they tend to be more interesting for what they condemn of their own times than for what they propose for the future. If they prove not only interesting but readable, like Sir Thomas More's original, it is usually because of the passion with which they describe and condemn the prevailing forms of greed and tyranny, and this the *Ta t'ung shu* lacks. Its interest is wholly historical: it describes by implication what a nineteenth-century Chinese scholar of genius, who had had indirect contacts with Western thought and institutions, felt that China should get rid of; it reveals the extent and the limits of K'ang's surrender to Westernization; and it illustrates the philosophy which he developed on the basis of his classical studies (selecting confirmations of it where convenient from what he knew of philosophy and science elsewhere), from another angle but with much less clarity than in his other and equally accessible writings. It is a book for specialists to read, and it is reasonable to assume that specialists will consult the original. It is unlikely that there

will be a wide demand among non-specialists to read K'ang's work in any form. In fact, when there is so much in Chinese which ought to be and has not been translated, it seems a pity that Mr. Thompson chose a work of such limited general interest.

JOHN GRAY

CHAO KUO-CHÜN: *Agrarian policies of mainland China: a documentary study (1949-1956)*. (Chinese Economic and Political Studies. Special Series.) xiii, 276 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: [Chinese Economic and Political Studies, Harvard University], 1957. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. \$3.75.)

Dr. Chao's latest compilation of documents from the Chinese People's Republic consists of excerpts from 47 major government and Party policy statements, and of references to, and sometimes short quotations from, about 170 other documents, mainly from the Chinese daily press. The introduction to each section of documents and the comments which follow are well-informed, moderate, and sensible. Although he stresses where necessary the fact that no Chinese Communist economic policies are without their political implications, Dr. Chao is able to look at these policies as practical economic measures, and to judge them by their results.

A brief but valuable introduction to the relevant statistical terminology is given in the author's preface, and there is also a glossary of special economic and administrative terms at the end. The book provides a handy ready-reference to the whole movement since 1949, enlivened by Dr. Chao's comments. The actual translations are clear and readable. The only criticism to be made of this volume is that many documents are included which, while among the most obviously indispensable, are also for that reason readily available in good and cheap translations; while on the other hand, many of the documents which are not translated but merely referred to are much less easily found in translation, if at all, although they form part of the all-important exegesis of official policy.

JOHN GRAY

Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie, 1. Année 1955. (École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.) 194 pp. Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1957.

The amount of academic publications on sinological topics is already so formidable, and is being added to at such a rate, that there is obviously a great need, on the part of all

those concerned with Chinese studies, for regular bulletins which will enable scholars everywhere to keep track of the work that is being done. To the periodical bibliographies already appearing, the *Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie* makes a very welcome addition. This first volume covers the work of the year 1955 and contains 473 abstracts of books and articles in Chinese, Japanese, and European languages. These abstracts, which are in English or French, have been contributed by many hands and succeed admirably in indicating in a few words the nature of the work with which they deal. In addition there is a brief survey for 1955 of Soviet publications on China, by P. E. Skadkov, together with a bibliography of Russian titles. It is to be noted that 'sinology' is interpreted in the most liberal sense, and that current affairs and contemporary Chinese fiction are to be reviewed from time to time in special articles. Excellent indexes make the volume exceptionally easy to consult.

That such a work should be achieved at all is a triumph of organization. That this first volume should have appeared so soon after the inception of the enterprise in 1955 is a remarkable testimony to the enthusiasm and skill of Mr. Piet van der Loon, its editor, and to his capacity for gaining the collaboration of scholars from so many lands. He deserves congratulations, and good wishes for the continued success of the venture.

H. M.

NOBUTAKA IKE: *Japanese politics: an introductory survey*. xiv, 300, ix pp. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958. 25s.

In this book Dr. Ike sets out to survey Japanese political life in a rather wider and more analytical manner than is usually attempted. He divides his material into three parts. The first deals with 'the setting', i.e. social structure, especially the family, political beliefs, and political institutions. The second describes the main forces operating in Japanese politics, identified as business, labour, and agriculture, together with the types of organization through which they make their influence felt. The third treats of the machinery of action, partly through a discussion of groups like political parties, intellectuals, or the bureaucracy, partly through an analysis of topics like elections, the decision-making process, and violence in politics.

To the specialist in things Japanese, much of the material used and many of the conclusions reached will be familiar. Moreover, the attempt in so small a compass to bring such a variety of factors—social, economic,

and ideological, as well as institutional—to bear on the problem of political behaviour, means that no one of them can be dealt with fully. On the other hand, the avowed purpose of the book is to try and relate the parts to the whole. It is in this light that it must be judged, in its success in identifying, rather than in solving, problems. To summarize Dr. Ike's conclusions drastically, it would seem that there are three main topics which require further elucidation: first, the role of what he calls the 'middle strata', that is, those who act as intermediaries between the impersonal agencies of government and the small groups (family or other) of which Japanese society is composed; second, the connexion between 'informal government' at the local level and formal political activity in the framework of a national constitution; third, the process by which 'decision by consensus' is achieved and the place it occupies in political councils. Each would provide subject-matter for a good-sized book, but there is no doubt that Dr. Ike's preliminary discussion of them serves a useful purpose.

W. G. B.

Puisi Melayu: sha'ir, pantun, sēloka dan lain-lain: An anthology of Malay poetry. (Kesusasteraan Melayu, Rampai-rampai II: Longmans' Malay Studies Series (Literature).) viii, 119 pp. + errata slip. London, etc.: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. 5s.

This little book is the second of seven anthologies of similar size and format together forming Longmans' Malay Studies Series (Literature). The introduction and notes in each of the books are in Malay and many of the chosen passages are followed by specimen questions, also in Malay, which are evidently intended to help the inexperienced teacher of Malay literature. An English translation of the introduction and notes appears in an inconspicuous place at the end. The compiler's name is entirely lacking.

These anthologies have clearly been prepared to meet the situation caused by the recent adoption of Malay (the literature of which has hitherto been somewhat sketchily taught in

Malayan schools) as the national language of the Federation of Malaya. They meet a very pressing need.

Puisi Melayu has clearly been compiled by a European with a far deeper knowledge of Malay verse than is possessed by the majority of scholars of Malay race. He will do modern Malay youth a great service by introducing it at this juncture to its very pleasant heritage in so tactful a manner. His field ranges from the charming *Sha'ir Ken Tambahan*, which is so old as to be pre-Islamic in language, to modern Indonesian poets who use the language in a new way but nevertheless with considerable grace.

E. C. G. B.

O. G. S. CRAWFORD (ed.): *Ethiopian itineraries circa 1400–1524, including those collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the years 1519–24.* (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series, No. CIX.) xxix, 232 pp., front., plate, 2 maps. Cambridge: University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1958. 30s.

This book, which went to press on the day on which its talented editor died, consists mainly of itineraries through Ethiopia collected at Venice between 1519 and 1524 by Alessandro Zorzi from Ethiopian monks who visited Italy. It includes also an anonymous *iter* from Axum to Cairo written in the reign of David I of Ethiopia (1380–1409). The book begins with a chapter on the background of medieval Ethiopia, and a discussion of the various Europeans, mainly Italians, who visited or wrote about Ethiopia between 1322 and Zorzi's day, with some notes on certain early maps (e.g. Dulcert, 1339; Pizzigani, 1367; 'Egyptus Novelo', c. 1460; and Fra Mauro, 1460); the gazetteer on pp. 194–204 is confined to names on Fra Mauro's map. The main part of the book consists of an analysis of Zorzi's itineraries, with identifications of some of the places, followed by the Italian text, and an English translation by C. A. Ralegh Radford. The maps (of which a further 19 are in the body of the text), as always in Hakluyt Society books, are admirable.

E. A. O.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- NAFIS AHMAD : *An economic geography of East Pakistan*. xiv, 361 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 50s.
- A. ALTMANN and S. M. STERN : *Isaac Israeli, a Neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century : his works translated with comments and an outline of his philosophy*. (Institute of Jewish Studies, Manchester. Scripta Judaica, 1.) xxiii, 226 pp., front. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- MULK RÂJ ANAND : *Kama kala : some notes on the philosophical basis of Hindu erotic sculpture*. 47 pp., 69 plates, 16 photos. Geneva, etc. : Nagel, [1958]. (Distributed in G.B. by Charles Skilton Ltd. £7 7s.)
- ARTHUR J. ARBERY : *The Chester Beatty Library : a handlist of the Arabic manuscripts. Vol. III. MSS. 3501 to 3750*. [iv], 128 + [62] pp., 51 plates. Dublin : Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd., 1958. £4 4s.
- DENISE and LUCIEN BERNOT : *Les Khyang des collines de Cratagong (Pakistan oriental) : matériaux pour l'étude linguistique des Chin*. (L'Homme, Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Géographie et de Linguistique, Nouvelle Série, 3.) 151 pp. Paris : Librairie Plon, [1958].
- CYRIL BIRCH (tr.) : *Stories from a Ming collection : translations of Chinese short stories published in the seventeenth century*. (Unesco Collection of Representative Works. Chinese Series.) 205 pp. London : The Bodley Head, 1958. 18s.
- W. BRAND : *The struggle for a higher standard of living : the problem of the under-developed countries*. ix, 438 pp. Glencoe, Illinois : The Free Press ; The Hague and Bandung : W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1958. Guilders 17.50.
- C. BUCKLEY : *A school history of North Borneo*. (North Borneo Social Studies Series.) [vii], 72 pp. London : Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1958. 2s. 6d.
- Bulletin of the Yoga Teachers' Training Institute (Academy of Yoga)*. No. 1. Cover-title, 38 pp., 2 plates. Bombay : The Yoga Institute, 1958.
- CLAUDE A. BUSS : *Southeast Asia and the world today*. (Anvil Books, No. 32.) 189 pp. Princeton, N.J., etc. : D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., [1955]. \$1.25, 9s. 6d.
- AMIYÂ CHATTERJI : *The constitutional development of India : 1937-1947*. xi, 299 pp. Calcutta : K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958. Rs. 15.
- CHENG TÊ-K'UN : *Archaeology in China. Vol. 1. Prehistoric China*. xix, 250 pp., including 44 plates. Cambridge : W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., [1959] 42s.
- B. COLLINS : *Elementary Tonga grammar with exercises and key*. [vi], 69 pp. [Lusaka] : Northern Rhodesia & Nyasaland Publications Bureau, [1958].
- HENRY CORBIN and MOH. MO'IN (ed.) : *Rûzbehân Baghî Shîrâzî (522/1128-606/1209) : Le jasmin des fidèles d'amour (Kitâb-e 'Abhar al-'âshiqân). Traité de soufisme en persan publié avec une double introduction et la traduction du chapitre premier*. (Bibliothèque Iranienne, Vol. 8.) [iv], 129, 244, 113 [ii] pp., 6 plates. Téhéran : Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien ; Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958.
- WILLIAM S. CORNYN (ed.) : *Burmese chrestomathy*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series A—Texts—No. 4.) [ix], 393 pp. Washington : American Council of Learned Societies, 1957. \$4.50. (European agents : Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 40s.)
- WILLIAM S. CORNYN and JOHN K. MUSGRAVE : *Burmese glossary*. American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series A—Texts—No. 5.) [v], 209 pp. New York : American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. \$3.50. (European agents : Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 32s.)
- K. L. DAFTARI : *The rationalistic and realistic interpretation of the Upanishads*. [iii], xv, 256 pp., 2 plates. Nagpur : Daftari Granth Prakashan Samiti, [1958]. Rs. 8.

- F. J. DANIELS : *The sound system of Standard Japanese : a tentative account from the teaching point of view* . . . vii, 110 pp. Tokyo : Kenkyusha Ltd., 1958. Y. 300, \$1.70.
- F. J. DANIELS (ed.) : *Selections from Japanese literature (12th to 19th centuries) : texts with notes, transcriptions and translations by members of the Japanese seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies*. x, 183 pp. London : Lund Humphries, [1959]. 45s.
- D. T. DEVENDRA : *Classical Sinhalese sculpture, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000*. (Chapters in Art, Vol. 31.) [iv], 48 pp., 128 photos., map. London : Alec Tiranti, 1958. 30s.
- EMMI DOLEZAL : *Baule, Sprache eines Negervolkes an der Elfenbeinküste*. [Offprint from *Die Sprache*, Bd. iv, 1958.] pp. 178-97.
- R. P. DORE : *Land reform in Japan*. xix, 510 pp., 4 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1959. 55s. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. No. 12. xii, 287 pp., front., 65 plates. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £4.)
- JÁNOS ECKMANN and others (ed.) : *Jean Deny armağanı : Mélanges Jean Deny. Hazırlayanlar : János Eckmann, Ağâh Sırrı Levend, Mecdiut Mansuroğlu*. (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınlarından, Sayı 172.) [iv], 355 pp., front., 8 plates. Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958. Lira 36.
- MIRCEA ELIADE : *Yoga : immortality and freedom*. Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. xxii, 529 pp. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958. 35s.
- VERRIER ELWIN (tr.) : *Myths of the North-East Frontier of India*. xxii, 448 pp. Shillong : North-East Frontier Agency, [1958]. Rs. 10.
- ISIDORE EPSTEIN : *Judaism : a historical presentation*. (Pelican Books, A 440.) 349 pp. Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1959. 3s. 6d.
- EARLE ERNST (ed.) : *Three Japanese plays from the traditional theatre*. xv, 200 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1959. 25s.
- OMAR A. FARRUKH : *Islam and the Arabs in the eastern Mediterranean down to the fall of the Umayyad caliphate (132 A.H./750 C.E.)*. 168 pp. [in Arabic], cover-title. Beirut : [al-Maktab al-Tijārī, 1378/1958]. (Agents : Luzac. 12s. 6d.)
- ANTOINE FATTAL : *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tom. x.) xvi, 394 pp. Beyrouth : Imprimerie Catholique, 1958.
- HANS L. GOTTSCHALK : *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit : eine Studie zur Geschichte Vorderasiens und Egyptens in der ersten Hälfte des 7./13. Jahrhunderts*. x, 256 pp. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 30.
- A. C. GRAHAM : *Two Chinese philosophers : Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan*. xxi, 195 pp. London : Lund Humphries, 1958. 45s.
- PAUL HACKER : *Zur Funktion einiger Hilfsverben im modernen Hindi*. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrg. 1958, Nr. 4.) 92 pp. Wiesbaden : Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1958. DM. 8.60.
- GEORGE L. HARRIS and others : *Iraq : its people, its society, its culture*. [By seven authors.] (Survey of World Cultures, [3].) [xv], 350 pp. New Haven : HRAF Press, [1958]. \$7.
- DAVID HAWKES (tr.) : *Ch'u tz'ü, the songs of the south : an ancient Chinese anthology*. (Unesco Collection of Representative Works. Chinese Series.) x, 229 pp. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1959. 30s.
- RICHARD HILL : *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881*. (Middle Eastern Monographs, II.) xii, 188 pp., map. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1959. 25s.

- JOHANNES HOHENBERGER: *Semitisches und hamitisches Sprachgut im Masai, mit vergleichendem Wörterbuch: eine sprachvergleichende Untersuchung unter Berücksichtigung von rund 50 semitischen, hamitischen, nilo-hamitischen und anderen afrikanischen Sprachen.* xxiv, 508 pp. Sachsenmühle (Fränkische Schweiz): im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1958. DM. 64. (Obtainable from Kegan Paul.)
- AMBROSIO HUIJO MIRANDA: *Historia política del imperio almohade. II.* (Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe.) [iv], 391-697 pp., 42 plates. Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1957.
- G. HULSTAERT: *Dictionnaire lomongo-français, K-Z.* (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 16, Tom. II.) ix, 919-1949 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1957.
- The Indonesian town: studies in urban sociology.* (Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Vol. 4.) xxxvi, 379 pp., plate, 4 maps [2 in end-pocket, 2 on front endpapers]. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1958. Guilders 17.50.
- GERHARD KAHLO: Die Nikobaren. [Offprint from *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Bd. 32, Ht. 9, 1958.] pp. 277-9.
- PANDURANG VAMAN KANE: *History of dharmasāstra (ancient and mediaeval religious and civil law in India).* Vol. v, Pt. 1 (*vratas, utsavas and kēla etc.*) (Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6.) [v], 718 pp., 3 plates. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1958. Rs. 25.
- MUSTAFA 'AWAD AL-KARIM (ed.): *Ibn Dihya: al-Muṭrib fī ṣh'ār ahl al-maghrib.* [ii], 16, 267 pp. (Publications of the University of Khartoum, Faculty of Arts, Arabic Language Division, vol. I.) Khartoum: Maṭba'at Miṣr, [1957].
- PETER KAWERAU: *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens.* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 31.) xi, 772 pp., 17 plates, 5 maps [in end-pocket]. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 48.
- S. A. KHULUSI: *Studies in comparative literature and Western literary schools.* 246 pp. [in Arabic], cover-title. Baghdad: ar-Rabita Press, 1958.
- E. STUART KIRBY (ed.): *Contemporary China: economic and social studies, documents, bibliography, chronology.* II. 1956-57. xi, 352 pp. Hong Kong: University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- CASPER J. KRAEMER, Jr.: *Excavations at Nessana. Vol. 3. Non-literary papyri.* [Published under the general direction of the] *Colt Archaeological Institute.* xxiii, 355 pp., 8 plates. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 60s.)
- ANDREAS KRONENBERG: *Die Teda von Tibesti.* (Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Bd. XII.) xiv, 160 pp., 17 plates. Horn, Wien: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, [1958]. S. 110.
- J. LABOCHETTE: *Grammaire des dialectes Mangbetu et Medje, suivie d'un manuel de conversation et d'un lexique.* (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 18.) 232 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1958.
- JOSEF LATZ (tr.): *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn 'Abdūs Al-Ghāṣiyārī: Anfänge und Umaradenzeit.* (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Ht. 11.) ix, 182 pp. Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1958. DM. 9.60.
- R.-Y. LEFEBVRE D'ARGENCÉ: *Les céramiques à base chocolatée au Musée Louis-Finot de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient à Hanoi.* (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XLIV.) [iv], 30 pp., 15 plates, 5 figs. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1958.

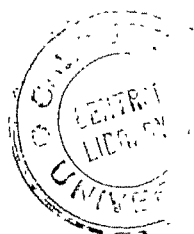
- BENJAMIN LEKENS and GEREBERN MENS: *Ngbandi-idioticon. II. Ngbandi en Frans-Nederlands*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 3, Tom. II.) 1072 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1958.
- REGINALD LE MAY (tr.): *Siamese tales old and new: The four riddles and other stories, with some reflections on the tales. Second (revised) impression*. 192 pp. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1958. 21s.
- WOLF LESLAU: Arabic loan-words in Geez. [Offprint from *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1958.] pp. 146-68.
- WOLF LESLAU: Une hypothèse sur la forme primitive du type B en amharique. [Offprint from *Word*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1957.] pp. 479-88.
- WOLF LESLAU: Moča, a tone language of the Kafa group in south-western Ethiopia. [Offprint from *Africa*, Vol. xxviii, No. 2, 1958.] pp. 135-47.
- WOLF LESLAU: Observations on a comparative phonology of Semitic Ethiopic. [Offprint from *Annales d'Éthiopie*, Tom. II, 1957.] pp. 147-66.
- WOLF LESLAU: *The verb in Harari (South Ethiopic)*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. xxi.) xi, 86 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. \$1.75.
- I. MAHMUD: *Muslim law of succession and administration: a comparative study of the principles of Muslim law (Shari'ah) relating to succession and administration of the estate of a deceased Muslim person and its application in Pakistan and India*. [xi], v, 237 pp. Karachi: Pakistan Law House, 1958. (Agents in U.K.: Sweet and Maxwell. 30s.)
- KENNETH MELLANBY: *The birth of Nigeria's university*. 263 pp., front., 8 plates. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1958. 25s.
- V. MINORSKY: *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*. vii, 187, 32, [i] pp., 2 plates. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., [1958]. 63s.
- GYULA MORAVOSIK: *Byzantinoturcica. II. Sprachreste der Türkvolker in den byzantinischen Quellen. Zweite durchgearbeitete Auflage*. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Griechisch-Römische Altertumskunde. Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd. 11.) xxv, 376 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. DM. 68.
- KEWAL MOTWANI: *Manu dharma śāstra: a sociological and historical study*. xxviii, 384 pp. Madras: Ganesh & Co. Private Ltd., 1958. Rs. 15.
- P. NAGARAJA RAO: *The epistemology of Dvaita Vedānta*. (Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. xxii, Parts 3-4, 1958.) viii, 120 pp. Adyar, Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre, [1958].
- PAUL NGOI and E. BORLAET (ed. and tr.): *Lianja-verhalen. II. De voorouders van Lianja*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 19.) 115 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1958.
- P. G. O'NEILL: *Early Nô drama: its background, character and development 1300-1450*. xiv, 223 pp., front., plate. London: Lund Humphries, 1958. 45s.
- RUDI PABET: *Symbolik des Islam*. (Symbolik der Religionen, II.) 96 pp. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1958. DM. 18.
- J. D. PEARSON (comp.): *Index Islamicus, 1906-1955: a catalogue of articles on Islamic subjects in periodicals and other collective publications, compiled by J. D. Pearson with the assistance of Julia F. Ashton*. xxxvi, 897 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., [1958]. £5 5s.
- MOSHE PIAMENTA: *The use of the imperfect (without b-) in the Arabic dialect of Jerusalem*. [iii], xiii, 133, xvi, [iii] pp. Jerusalem: Mif'al Hashichpul, 1958. I.L. 4.100.

- WILLIAM POPPER (tr.): *History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A.D. Part IV, 1422-1438 A.D. Translated from the Arabic annals of Abū 'l-Mahāsīn Ibn Taghrī Birdī*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. xviii.) xiv, 217 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. \$4.50.
- MUNIBUR RAHMAN (comp.): *An anthology of modern Persian poetry. Vol. I*. (Institute of Islamic Studies Publications Series, v.) xv, 321, [xxiii] pp. + errata slip. Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1958. Rs. 10, 15s.
- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA: *The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature*. (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 23.) xxiv, 310 pp., map. Madras: University of Madras, 1958. Rs. 9.
- HEMOCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI: *Studies in Indian antiquities. Second edition (revised and enlarged)*. xvi, 327 pp. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1958. Rs. 15.
- Recueil de textes tirés de la presse arabe, précédés d'une introduction de Ch. Pellat*. [I], 160 pp. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958. Fr. 775.
- R. H. ROBINS: *The Yurok language: grammar, texts, lexicon*. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. xv.) xiv, 300 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. \$6.
- LUDO ROCHER: *Manual of modern Hindi for the use of colleges: selected texts with synopsis of grammar and a complete vocabulary*. (Orientalia Gandensia, I.) x, 138 pp. Gent: [Instituut voor Oosterse, Oosteuropese en Afrikaanse Taalkunde en Geschiedenis, Rijksuniversiteit te Gent], 1958.
- GEORGES DE ROERICH: *Le parler de l'Amdo: étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet*. (Serie Orientale Roma, xviii.) [v], 159 pp., map. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 6000.
- N. ROOD: *Ngombe-Nederlands-Frans woordenboek*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 21.) 1, 414 pp. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1958.
- ALBERT DE ROP: *Éléments de phonétique historique du lomongo*. (Studia Universitatis 'Lovanium', Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 5.) 28 pp. Léopoldville: Éditions de l'Université, 1958. Bel. fr. 30.
- ALBERT DE ROP: *Grammaire du lomongo (phonologie et morphologie)*. (Studia Universitatis 'Lovanium', Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 3.) 116 pp., map. Léopoldville: Éditions de l'Université, 1958. Bel. fr. 110.
- HASMUKH DHIRAJLAL SANKALIA and others: *The excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatola, 1952-53. By Hasmukh Dhirajlal Sankalia, Bendapudi Subbarao, Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo*. (Deccan College Research Institute and M.S. University Publication, No. 1.) xxvi, 257 pp., 23 plates. Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute; Baroda: Maharaja Sayajirao University, 1958. Rs. 35.
- GEORGE SANSOM: *A history of Japan to 1334*. (The Cresset Historical Series.) xi, 500 pp., front., 12 plates. London: Cresset Press, 1958. 63s.
- GENJUN H. SASAKI: *A study of Abhidharma philosophy—a historical and critical study of Buddhist realism*. xlv, 29, 603, 8, ix, [ii] pp. Tokyo: Kobundo & Co., 1958. Y. 1400, £1 16s.
- GENJUN H. SASAKI (ed.): *Vimuktimārga Dhutanganirdeśa. Tibetan text with Japanese translation and notes*. 114 pp. Kyoto: Hozokan, 1958. Y. 500, 13s.
- FRIEDRICH AUGUST SCHULTZ: *Die philosophisch-theologischen Lehren des Pāśupata-Systems nach dem Pañcārthabhāṣya und der Ratnāṭikā*. (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Ht. 10.) 149 pp. Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1958. DM. 8.75.

- Sefunot : annual for research on the Jewish communities in the East. Vol. two.* (Publications of the Ben-Zvi Institute, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.) 16, 376 pp., 6 plates. Jerusalem : Kiryat Sefer B.M. for the Ben-Zvi Institute, 1958.
- RAM SHARAN SHARMA : *Sūdras in ancient India (a survey of the position of the lower orders down to circa A.D. 500).* [ii], v, [v], 318 pp. Delhi, etc. : Motilal Banarsidass, 1958. Rs. 15.
- CHARLES DAVID SHELDON : *The rise of the merchant class in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868 : an introductory survey.* (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, v.) xi, 206 pp. Locust Valley, N.Y. : J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, [1958]. \$5.
- NINIAN SMART : *Reasons and faiths : an investigation of religious discourse, Christian and non-Christian.* (International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method.) ix, 211 pp. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958. 25s.
- G. WILLIAM SKINNER : *Leadership and power in the Chinese community of Thailand.* (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, III.) xix, 363 pp. Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press for the Association for Asian Studies, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 52s.)
- VINCENT A. SMITH : *The Oxford history of India. Third edition, edited by Percival Spear.* xv, 898 pp., 40 plates, map. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1958. 42s.
- R. H. STEVENSON (tr.) : *Amiran-Darejaniani : a cycle of medieval Georgian tales traditionally ascribed to Mose Khoneli.* xxxiii, 240 pp. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1958. 42s.
- HELMUTH STOECKER : *Deutschland und China im 19. Jahrhundert : das Eindringen des deutschen Kapitalismus.* (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Bd. 2.) 307 pp. Berlin : Rütten & Loening, 1958. DM. 17.50.
- BENDAPUDI SUBBARAO : *The personality of India : pre and proto-historic foundation of India and Pakistan. Second edition (revised and enlarged).* (M.S. University Archaeology Series, No. 3.) xvi, 193 pp., 11 plates. Baroda : Faculty of Arts, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1958. Rs. 20.
- F. W. TAYLOR : *A practical Hausa grammar. Second edition.* xix, 157 pp. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1959. 25s.
- ‘ABDALLAH AL-TAYYIB : *Al-gharām al-maknūn ; ḡiṣṣa shi’riyya . . .* [Part 2.] [i], 106 pp. *Khartūm* : Maṭba‘at Miṣr, [1378/1958]. Piastres 25.
- ‘ABDALLAH AL-TAYYIB (ed.) : *Sharḥ arba‘ qasā’id li Dhī al-Rummah.* [v], 77, 242 pp. *Khartūm* : Maṭba‘at Miṣr, 1377/1958. Piastres 60.
- ANANTALAL THAKUR (ed.) : *Ratnakīrti-nibandhāvalī (Buddhist Nyāya works of Ratnakīrti).* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Vol. III.) [vii], 36, 166 pp. Patna : Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1957. Rs. 4.
- JONAS THALIATH : *The Synod of Diamper.* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 152.) xx, 238 pp. Roma : Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958. L. 3000.
- ULRICH THILO : *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie : ein Beitrag zur vor- und frühislamischen Dichtung und zur historischen Topographie Nordarabiens.* (Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Ht. 3.) 122 pp., 4 maps. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 18.
- J. SPENCER TRIMMINGHAM : *Islam in West Africa.* x, 262 pp., map. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1959. 30s.
- TOR ULVING : The transcription of Cantonese : a critical review of some current systems of ‘tonal spelling’, and a presentation of a new rational transcription. [Offprint from *T’oung Pao*, Vol. XLVI, Livr. 1-2, 1958.] pp. 81-110.
- GEORGES VAJDA (ed.) : *Album de paléographie arabe.* [v] pp., 94 plates. Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958. Fr. 3700.

- K. M. VARMA : *Seven words in Bharatā : what do they signify ?* xv, 144 pp. Calcutta, etc. : Orient Longmans, 1958. Rs. 5.
- GEORGE VERNADSKY : *The origins of Russia*. xi, 354 pp., 2 plates. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1959. 35s.
- EWALD WAGNER (ed.) : *Der Dīwān des Abū Nuwās. Teil I.* (Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 20a.) x, 363, [xv] pp. Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1958. DM. 32.
- ARTHUR WALEY : *The Opium War through Chinese eyes*. 257 pp. London : George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 21s.
- MONICA WILSON : *Communal rituals of the Nyakyusa*. x, 228 pp., front., 13 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1959. 35s.
- H. V. WISEMAN : *The Cabinet in the Commonwealth : post-war developments in Africa, the West Indies and South-East Asia*. xvi, 364 pp. London : Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1958. £2 10s.
- ANANIASZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI (ed.) : *Najstarsza wersja turecka Hurāv u Šīrīn Qubā. Część II. Facsimile.* (Prace Orientalistyczne, Tom VIII.) ix, 238 pp. Warszawa : Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1958. Zł. 48.

BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXII: PART 3

1959

Published by
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL : New Qatabāni inscriptions—II
 R. B. SERJEANT : *Mihrāb*
 D. M. LANG and G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS : *Amiran-D*
 Georgian romance and its English rendering
 R. L. TURNER : Transference of aspiration in European
 J. E. B. GRAY : An analysis of Nambudiri R̥gvedic
 the nature of the Vedic accent
 PADMANABH S. JAINI : Origin and development of t
viprayukta-saṁskāras
 F. R. ALLCHIN : Upon the contextual significance of c
 of ancient Indian signs
 A. C. GRAHAM : Observations on a new Classical Chinese

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

- R. B. SERJEANT : *Ukhūd*
 R. B. SERJEANT : Saint Sergius
 B. MATSUKAWA (1890–1959) : A 31 syllable poem .

REVIEWS

- Claude Sumner : *Étude expérimentale de l'amharique moderne*. Sec
 F. R. PALMER
 Wolf Leslau : *Ethiopic and South Arabic contributions to the Hebrew*
 PALMER
 Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks (ed.) : *Corpus papyr*
 Vol. I. By RAPHAEL LOEWY
 Frederick Victor Winnett (ed. and tr.) : *Safaitic inscriptions from Jor*
 'ALI GHUL
 Ananiasz Zajaczkowski : *Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak de l'époque de*
 1-ère partie. Le nom. By T. BANGUOĞLU
 Farhat J. Ziadeh and R. Bayly Winder : *An introduction to modern*
 SERJEANT
 Hans Wehr (ed.) : *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der*
unveränderte Auflage.—Hans Wehr : *Supplement zum Arabischen*
 R. B. SERJEANT
 Wadie Jwaideh (tr.) : *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'ja*
 R. B. SERJEANT
 Paul Nwyia (ed.) : *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (1333–1390) : Lettres de d*
 By F. RAHMAN
 J. D. Pearson (comp.) : *Index Islamicus, 1906–1955*. By A. F. L. BEI
 Henry Corbin and Moh. Mo'in (ed.) : *Commentaire de la qasida is*
Haitham Jorjānt attribué à Mohammad ibn Sorkh de Nishapour. F
 Henry Corbin and Moh. Mo'in (ed.) : *Rūzbehān Baqlī Shīrāzī (522/11*
jasmin des fidèles d'amour. By R. C. ZAKHNER
 Donald N. Wilber : *Iran past and present. Fourth edition*. By A. K. I
 Bjorn Collinder : *Survey of the Uralic languages*. By D. SINOR
 Ernest N. McCarus : *A Kurdish grammar : descriptive analysis*
Sulaimaniya, Iraq. By D. N. MACKENZIE
 Gordon H. Fairbanks and Earl W. Stevick : *Spoken East Armenian*.
 banks : *Spoken West Armenian*. By C. J. F. DOWSETT

	PAGE
Charu Chandra Das Gupta : <i>The development of the Kharoṣṭhī script.</i> By J. BROUGH	593
Ásutoṣ Dās (ed.): <i>Doij Rāmādev : Abhayāṃgaṅgā.</i> By T. W. CLARK	594
J.-C. Gardin : <i>Céramiques de Bactres.</i> By F. R. ALLOHIN	594
Baij Nath Puri : <i>India in the time of Palaṅjali.</i> By A. L. BASHAM	595
R. A. Stein (ed. and tr.): <i>L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling.</i> By D. L. SNELLGROVE	596
Maurice Freedman : <i>Lineage organization in southeastern China.</i> By C. VON FÜRER- HAENDENDORF	597
P. G. O'Neill : <i>Early nō drama : its background, character and development 1300-1450.</i> By C. J. DUNN	598
Ryusaku Tsunoda and others (comp.): <i>Sources of the Japanese tradition.</i> By F. J. DANIELS	598
George Sansom : <i>A history of Japan to 1334.</i> By W. G. BRASLEY	600
William S. Cornyn (ed.): <i>Burmese chrestomathy.</i> —William S. Cornyn and John K. MUSGRAVE : <i>Burmese glossary.</i> By ANNA J. ALLOTT	601
R.-Y. Lefebvre d'Argencé : <i>Les céramiques à base chocolatée au Musée Louis-Finot de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient à Hanoi.</i> By ANTHONY CHRISTIE	603
<i>The Indonesian town : studies in urban sociology.</i> By ADRIAN C. MAYER	604
K. G. Tregonning : <i>Under Chartered Company rule (North Borneo, 1881-1946).</i> By C. D. COWAN	604
Eva L. R. Meyerowitz : <i>The Akan of Ghana : their ancient beliefs.</i> By D. H. JONES	605
J. Spencer Trimingham : <i>Islam in West Africa.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	607
John Middleton and David Tait (ed.): <i>Tribes without rulers : studies in African segmentary systems.</i> By W. H. WHITELEY	608
R. C. Zaehner : <i>At sundry times : an essay in the comparison of religions.</i> By T. GELBLUM	609

SHORT NOTICES

T. F. Mitchell : <i>An introduction to Egyptian colloquial Arabic.</i> By J. F. P. HOPKINS	611
Ewald Wagner (ed.): <i>Der Diwān des Abū Nuwās. Teil I.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	611
'Abd al-Majīd 'Abidīn and Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.): <i>Faṣl al-maḡāl fī ḡharḡ Kitāb al-amṡāl.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	612
Eberhard Kuhnt : <i>Syrisch-arabischer Sprachführer.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	612
Ulrich Thilo : <i>Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	612
Fahim I. Qubān : <i>The reconstruction of Iraq : 1950-1957</i>	612
George L. Harris and others : <i>Jordan.</i> —George L. Harris and others : <i>Iraq</i>	613
T. S. Willan : <i>Studies in Elizabethan foreign trade</i>	613
Leon Nemoy (comp.): <i>Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library</i>	613
Gustave E. von Grunebaum (ed.): <i>Unity and variety in Muslim civilization</i>	614
Rudi Paret : <i>Symbolik des Islam.</i> By R. C. ZAEHNER	614
I. Mahmud : <i>Muslim law of succession and administration.</i> By J. N. D. ANDERSON	614
Felix Tauer (tr.): <i>Kniha tisíce a jedné noci. I-II.</i> By D. M. LANG	615
Hellmut Ritter : <i>Das Meer der Seele : Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār.</i> By R. M. SAVORY	615
Munibur Rahman (comp.): <i>An anthology of modern Persian poetry. Vol. I.</i> By R. M. SAVORY	615
Erroll F. Rhodes : <i>An annotated list of Armenian New Testament manuscripts.</i> By C. J. F. DOWSETT	616
Robert Ansterlitz : <i>Ob-Ugrić metrics : the metrical structure of Ostyak and Vogul folk- poetry.</i> By D. SINOR	616
Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya : <i>Ollari : a Dravidian speech.</i> By T. BURROW	617
W. Norman Brown (ed. and tr.): <i>The Saundaryalaharī or flood of beauty, traditionally ascribed to Saṅkarācārya.</i> By T. BURROW	617
Anantalal Thakur (ed.): <i>Ratnakīrti-nībandhāvalī</i>	618
Hanns-Peter Schmidt : <i>Vedisch vratī und awestisch uroṡta.</i> —Pandurang Vaman Kane : <i>History of dharmaśāstra (ancient and mediæval religious and civil law in India).</i> Vol. V, Pt. 1	618
Th. Stoherbatsky : <i>Buddhist logic</i>	619

	PAGE
Sunil Chandra Ray : <i>Early history and culture of Kashmir</i> . By A. L. BASHAM . . .	619
Jonas Thaliath : <i>The Synod of Diamper</i> . By J. R. MARR . . .	619
G. J. Somayaji (ed.) : <i>Telugu documents ; being petitions, etc., in Telugu preserved in the Oriental collection at the National Archives of India</i> . By J. R. MARR . . .	620
Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya : <i>The sepoy mutiny, 1857.—Sashi Bhushan Chaudhuri : Civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies (1857-1859)</i> . By K. A. BALLHATCHET . . .	620
D. C. Ganguly (ed.) : <i>Select documents of the British period of Indian history (in the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta)</i> . By K. A. BALLHATCHET . . .	621
Georges de Roerich : <i>Le parler de l'Amdo : étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet</i> . By D. L. SNELLGROVE . . .	621
R. O. Meiszahl : <i>Die tibetischen Handschriften und Drucke des Linden-Museums in Stuttgart</i> . By D. L. SNELLGROVE . . .	621
Daniel J. Finn : <i>Archaeological finds on Lamna Island (船遠洲) near Hong Kong</i> . By W. WATSON . . .	621
Donald Holzman : <i>Japanese religion and philosophy : a guide to Japanese reference and research materials.—Joseph K. Yamagiwa : Japanese literature of the Shōwa period : a guide to Japanese reference and research materials</i> . By F. J. DANIELS . . .	622
Earle Ernst (ed.) : <i>Three Japanese plays from the traditional theatre</i> . . .	623
G. W. Sargent : <i>Ihara Sansaku : The Japanese family storehouse, or The millionaires' gospel modernised</i> . . .	623
Lennox A. Mills : <i>Malaya : a political and economic appraisal</i> . By D. G. E. HALL . . .	624
J. M. Gullick : <i>Indigenous political systems of western Malaya</i> . By C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDOFF . . .	624
F. W. Taylor : <i>A practical Hausa grammar. Second edition</i> . . .	625
Kenneth Mellanby : <i>The birth of Nigeria's university</i> . . .	625
J. H. Hilders and J. C. D. Lawrance : <i>An English-Ateso and Ateso-English vocabulary</i> . By A. N. TUCKER . . .	625
W. H. Whiteley : <i>A short description of item categories in Iraqw</i> . By A. N. TUCKER . . .	626
Letter from Professor G. Dumézil	627
BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW	628

Editorial Board

Professor J. Brough, M.A., D.LITT.
(Chairman)

Professor M. Guthrie, PH.D., B.Sc., A.R.S.M.

Miss E. J. A. Henderson, B.A.

Professor W. B. Henning, DR.PHIL., F.B.A.

Professor B. Lewis, B.A., PH.D.

J. D. Pearson, Esq., M.A.

Professor C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D.

Professor W. Simon, DR.PHIL., D.LIT., F.B.A.

Editorial Secretary: Miss D. M. Johnson, M.A.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1. Articles, Notes and Communications, and Notices of Books should be submitted in typescript.

Offprints of articles, from Volume XIV onwards, may be purchased from the Editorial Secretary. (A list of offprints available for sale may be obtained from the Editorial Secretary.)

All communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to the Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

NEW QATABĀNI INSCRIPTIONS—II¹

By MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL

(PLATES I-III)

VAN LESSEN 9

Inscription on a limestone slab, 27½ in. × 7½ in.; obtained from a man who has done extensive digging in Haid Ibn 'Aqil, the necropolis of Timnā', and now in Major M. D. Van Lessen's possession. Plate I.

1. 'ws'l/bn/llhy'tt/drwyn/kbr/m'nm/btmn'/wm'nm/bkl/tm
2. n'/bnryw/w'ly/wshdt/qbrhmw/zrbn/bn/šrsm/'d/fr'm/
3. glm/bhg/'nby/w'l/t'ly/'slmm/dzlwmm/wdymmm/dsylv/
4. w'wsn/dbrm/wwfdm/dhdket/wyhr'l/d'wsn/wšhrm/
5. d'šzr/whwkn/dmdymtn/tqdmw/mhllk/wmbny/qbrn/zrbn
6. lš'bsm/m'nm/'nby/wnkrhm/rd'w

Translation

1. 'WS'L (a), the son of LHYY'TT (b), of the clan RWYN (c), the chief of Ma'in in Timnā', and Ma'in (who are) residents (d) of Tim-
2. nā', built (a) and raised high (b) and renewed their burial-place (c), the 'Immune' (d), from (the) foundation to (the) top
3. as (their) property (a) in agreement with (b) 'NBY and 'L T'LY. 'SLMM (c), of the clan ZLWMN (d), and DYMm (e), of the clan SYL (f),
4. and 'WSN (a), of the clan BQRm (b), and WFDm (c), of the clan HDKT (d), and YHR'L (e) of the clan 'WSN (f), and ŠHRm (g),
5. of the clan 'ŠZR (a), and HWKN (b), of the clan MDYMTN (c), supervised (d) the execution and the building of the burial-place, the 'Immune',

¹ For Part I see *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 1-22.

Abbreviations for works and articles cited:

- R. LeB. Bowen and F. P. Albright, *ADSA: Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia*, Baltimore, 1958.
- M. Hofner, *ASG: Al-Sudarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1943.
- M. Hofner, *UTQK: 'Über einige Termini in qatabanischen Kaufurkunden'*, *ZDMG*, cv, 1, 1955, 74-80.
- A. Jamme, *IHYT: 'Inscriptions related to the house Yafash in Timnā'*, in R. LeB. Bowen and F. P. Albright, *Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia*, Baltimore, 1958.
- A. Jamme, *PEHA: Pièces épigraphiques de Heid bin 'Aqil, la nécropole de Timnā' (Haḡr Kohlān)*, Louvain, 1952.
- N. Rhodokanakis, *KT: Katabanische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft*, I, Wien, 1919; II (Zweite Folge), Wien, 1922.
- N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien: Studien zur Lexicographie und Grammatik des Al-Sudarabischen*, I, Wien, 1915; II, Wien, 1917; III, Wien, 1931.
- Conti Rossini, 'Glossarium': in *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Roma, 1931, pp. 99-261.
- J. Ryckmans, *L'institution: L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam (Ma'in et Saba)*, Louvain, 1951.

6. for their tribe (a) Ma'in. May 'NBY and NKRH. (b) give their protection (c).

Notes

L. 1. (a) 'ws'l: Min. pr. n.; RNP, 218.

(b) *ly'tt*: a personal name common to all South Arabian dialects; RNP, 229.

(c) *drwyn*: cf. *rwyn*, Min. pr. n.; RNP, 198.

(d) *m'nm/bkl/tmn*: 'Ma'in (who are) residents of Timnā';¹ cf. *CIH*, 601, 13, *Uhr/wbkl/bhgrn/srw*/'ad commorandum et habitandum in urbe Širwāḥ'. Rhodokanakis, *Grundsatz*, 18, translates it as 'damit sīn wohnen und Besitz nehmen in der Stadt Širwāḥ'; cf. also his *Studien*, II, 128 for his full discussion of the usages of *bkl*. The usage of *bkl* in Van Lessen 9 here shows the compatibility of the two interpretations of *CIH* and Rhodokanakis: it denotes the Minaeans who were full or permanent residents in Timnā' and who would own property of some kind there.

L. 2. (a) *bnyw*: the use of the plural form of the verb with suffix *w* at the head of a series of verbs is Qatabāni and not Minaean; cf. *RES*, 2771, 2; 2774, 1, etc.; cf. also M. Höfner, *ASG*, 65, 181; cf. also *infra*, p. 425.

(b) *w'ly*: cf. *dbny/w'ly*, *RES*, 2774, 2 (Min.), and *w'ly/ws'db*, *RES*, 2980 bis, 2 (Min.). The sense of 'ly here is the finishing of the structure to the top, 'd/fr'm. This usage seems peculiar to Minaean inscriptions.

(c) *qbrhmw*: 'their burial-place'; it is significant that one *qbr* should serve for a whole community. It must have been an ossuary. This is the conclusion arrived at by Richard LeBaron Bowen about the tombs excavated at Hajar Ibn Ḥumaid and Ḥaid Ibn 'Aqīl; cf. *ADSA*, 10. For the use of the *h*-suffix in Qatabāni inscriptions cf. Rhodokanakis, *KT*, I, 79-81; A. Jamme, *PEHA*, 189-90; A. Jamme, 'Sabaeen inscriptions on two bronze statues from Mārib (Yemen)', *JAOS*, LXXVII, 1, 1957, 34-6.

(d) *zrbn*: cf. *RES*, 3961, 3: *mqbrm/zrbm*/'als eine vor fremden Ansprüchen gesicherte Grabanlage'; cf. also Ry., 367, 1-3: *sqnyw/lsm/wmr'sm/dsmwy*/'lh'/mm/bm[hms/]zrbn/btmn', where *zrbn* is taken as the name of the temple (*Le Muséeon*, LXII, 1-2, 1949, 64). Although *zrbn* after *qbrhmw* here can be considered the name of the burial-place, yet the adjectival implication conveyed by it cannot be overlooked; hence 'the Immune', i.e. secured against

¹ cf. *RES*, 3695, 1 (Min. from al-'Ela): *wm'n/bkln*/'w'b/bm'mim/. . . 'et Ma'an de tout . . . cent . . .'. *bkln* should be related to *bkl* and not to *kl*, which normally is in the construct state with the noun it 'qualifies'; cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 137. According to the note in *RES* the next word appears in the squeeze as *wobl*. From the photograph it is possible to read what follows *bkln* as */wobl/bm'm*/. . . So the first three words in *RES*, 3695, 1, can be reconstructed as *wm'n/bkln/wobl*/'and Ma'in: the property-owning residents and the rentpayers (or, the camel-drivers, camelers)'. For *wobl* 'rentpayers', cf. *RES*, 269f, 3, and Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 152-3; for 'camelers', cf. *wabala* 'to strike, to hit, e.g. a horse, with a stick or whip; to drive strenuously' and *wabil* 'a big stick' used, according to a citation, for driving a she-camel. (*Liedn*, art. *wbl*.) In either case *wobl* would mean temporary inhabitants, those engaged in caravan transport and trade. Cf. also *RES*, 3285, 2: *w'hrn/wbkl* 'and the ruler and the residents'. (For 'hr 'ruler', cf. Arabic *ahd*.)

all claims of others, and against reoccupation.¹ The form of *zrbn* here is probably *fa'ul*, a passive participle.²

L. 3. (a) *glm*: cf. *RES*, 4231, 3 (Sab.): '*sy/wbny/hdrhw/hrf/gwlm*/ 'hat erworben und gebaut sein Grab *HRF* als Eigentum'. The contracted form *glm* is only known in Qatabānī inscriptions, while *gwlm* is known in Sabaean and Minaean inscriptions. Rhodokanakis, *KT*, II, 15, n. 5, states that because *glm* occurs in *RES*, 3882 (SE 86) separated from *bhg/'nby/w'l/t'ly*, while in the other cases previously known—*RES*, 3962 and 3963—as well as in *RES*, 3961, it follows *kls*, he thinks it should be considered a contracted form not of *gwlm*, but rather of *glm*, which he interprets as an emphasis of *kls* and thus renders it 'insgesamt' by comparing Arabic *jull* and *julāl*. His opinion has been the accepted view ever since. When Rhodokanakis wrote thus, *glm* was known to have occurred in three inscriptions only. But more inscriptions in which *glm* occurs have come to light since, and all of them are Qatabānī: Ry., 463, 521; Jamme, 118, 119, 121, 331, 343A, 343B, 344. In Ry., 521, *glm* follows a list of verbs, *zrb* among them, without *kls* or *kls* being mentioned anywhere in the text, and with *bhg/'* separated from it by *bn/šrsm/'d/fr'm*. In Jamme, 331, 343A and B, and 344, *glm* is not preceded by *kls* or *kls*, neither of which occurs at all in these texts, and in all cases immediately precedes *bhg/'*. In Ry., 463, *glm* follows *kl[s]m*, but neither *zrb* nor *bhg/'* occurs in that text. In Jamme, 118, 119, and 121, *glm* follows *klhmw*, *kls*, and *kls* respectively and in all cases immediately precedes *bhg/'*. Moreover, in all the texts now known, with the exception of Ry., 463, and Jamme, 121, *glm* occurs in the context of *zrb* and *bhg/'*. It is worthwhile, therefore, to repeat here what Rhodokanakis himself wrote at the end of the abovementioned footnote; he added: 'Doch ist mir dieses *glm* ausserhalb dieser Texte, die nach *zrb* eben eine Bedeutung wie "Eigentum" nahelegen, bisher nicht untergekommen'. Besides, the sense which Rhodokanakis seems to attribute to *jull* and *julāl* in Arabic is hardly correct; the meaning of both words is *mu'zam* 'the main, or greater, part of a thing'; cf. *Lisān* and *Tāj*.

(b) *bhg*: the dedicators secure immunity for their burial-place 'in accordance with' or 'in agreement with' the gods who impose the divine ban, the curse on

¹ For the most recent discussion of *zrb* cf. M. Hofner, *UTQK*, 75-9; A. Jamme, *PEHA*, 185-9; A. Jamme, *IHYT*, 184-6. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, III, 49, compares *zrb* with Arabic *zariba*: *laṣiqa* 'it stuck', and with *zuriba*, said of a hoof, 'it became hard and strong'. It is more appropriate to compare with it Arabic *daraba* and *'idtaraba* (form VIII): '*iktasaba* 'he gained, earned, came to possess (something)'; *Tāj*, art. *ḍrb*. (According to al-Ṣāghani, quoted in *Tāj*, it should be read *'iṣtaraba*, with *ṣād*. Cf. *ṣaraba*: *kasiba*; *Tāj*, art. *ṣrb*. For the interchange of *z* and *s*, cf. A. F. L. Beeston, 'Notes on old South Arabian lexicography, III', *Le Muséon*, LXXIV, 1-2, 1951, p. 132 and n. 26.) One may also compare with *zrb* here *daraba* *'alā yadīhi* 'he struck his (i.e. another man's) hand; meaning: he struck, or made, the bargain with him; or ratified the sale with him'; Lane, *Lexicon*. Compare with this usage of *daraba* Arabic *ṣafqa* 'a striking of the hand of one person upon the hand of another in ratifying a sale or purchase and a covenant'. *Ṣafqa* has come to mean a final deal; cf. *al-bai'u ṣafqat-un 'aw ḥiyār-un* 'selling is decisive or with the option of returning' (Lane, *Lexicon*).

² Or *fa'ū*? Cf. *zrb*, pl. *zrb*, *RES*, 3854, 2 and 3. This passive participle is known in *bd* 'wounded' and *hā* 'captive'; cf. Conti Rossini, 'Glossarium', 117 and 102 respectively.

transgressors ; cf. *RES*, 3272.¹ Some evidence as to the meaning of *bhg* here can be derived from comparing Jamme, 331, 2 : *bhg/wmḡdm/'nby*, and *RES*, 3856, 4 : *b'mr/wmḡdm/'tr/šrqn*. The latter phrase occurs in a text establishing proprietary rights to land ; cf. Rhodokanakis, *KT*, I, 39 f. ; II, 30 f. It is possible to say that *hg* in Jamme, 331, and *'mr* in *RES*, 3856, are partly synonymous. This finds support in the comment of M. Höfner on the rendering of *bhg/'* as 'nach dem Recht . . .' ; she says, 'Damit dürfte an eine nach dem Willen des Gottes aufgestellte, vielleicht durch ein Orakel verkündete Rechtsatzung appelliert sein, nach der der Kaufpreis und sonstige Kaufbedingungen festgelegt wurden ; möglich auch dass bei jedem solchen Kauf ad hoc das Orakel befragt wurde. Dass im alten Südarabien auch bei Kaufgeschäften die Götter mitzureden hatten, ist nach allem, was wir über das dortige öffentliche Leben wissen, nicht erstaunlich' (UTQK, 80). As for the etymology of *hg* it is relevant to point out here that Van Lessen 25, 4-5 (a late Sabaeen inscription from the vicinity of *Shurjān*), reads : *hngn/wqhḥw/'mr'hw/bny/hšbh*. This makes it necessary to compare Arabic *ḥinj* under which Nashwān gives a Ḥimyarī usage meaning *miḥl*, and explains it by giving the example *humā ḥinjān* : 'ay *miḥlān*.² The sense of the conjunction *hngn* can be adequately and correctly rendered *miḥlamā* in Arabic. Besides, *maṭal*, a variant form of *miḥl*, means 'example, instance, sign, portent' ; cf. *Lisān*. So, *bhg* may mean or indicate here the pre-secured agreement of the gods, as M. Höfner suggests. In view of the possibility of the price being fixed by the oracle of the god, as M. Höfner also suggests, the sense of *miḥl* reminds one of the term *badal al-miḥl* 'the compensation for the equivalent', used for the fee payable for land transferred from state ownership or from waste land status (*marwāt*) to personal ownership. *Marwāt* land and state-owned land would correspond to land owned by the temple ; cf. Rhodokanakis, *KT*, II, 30-2. If such a sense is to be associated with *bhg*, then the *b* is to be taken for *ba'u-ttāmāni* ; cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 142. An explicit reference to the price paid in such a situation is made in Van Lessen 10, *infra*, p. 423 f.

(c) *'slmm* : cf. *'slm*, Min. pr. n. in *RES*, 3282, 1, from al-'Ela ; also Sab., *RNP*, 150.

¹ To accommodate *bhg* with his translation of *zrb* as 'to offer', Rhodokanakis maintained that *bhg* indicated in relation to the gods whose names followed what *z* indicated in relation to human beings ; *Studien*, III, 13, 29. He assigned to it the sense of 'nach der Gebühr', which he explained by saying, 'D.h. so wie zusteht, gebührt dem . . .' ; *ibid.*, 35, n. 8. M. Höfner, who admits that Rhodokanakis's interpretation of *zrb* as 'widmung' can no longer be maintained, says, however, 'An dieser Auffassung des Verbums *zrb* ändert auch der Passus *b-hg 'nby* nichts, der in keiner dieser Urkunden fehlt. Er bedeutet "nach der Gebühr, nach dem Recht des (Gottes) 'Anbay"', UTQK, 80. The latter rendering, 'nach dem Recht', seems to be M. Höfner's own suggestion. A. Jamme, apparently following this rendering, translates *bhg* in his 118 and 119 as 'according to the law' ; *IHYT*, 186, 188, 183 f. *bhg* can only precede a noun, in a genitive relation ; cf. *RES*, 2865, 2 : */bhg/str/wtwn/str/wtwn/krb'l* ; cf. also Jamme, 540, 2-3 : */l'wtwn/wbhg/str/ḡmrwqh* 'jusqu'à ses limites et selon ce qu'a écrit Dama-waqah', A. Jamme, 'Inscriptions des alentours de Mareb (Yemen), I', *Cahiers de Byrsa*, v 1955, 269 f. P. Bonaschi, 'Tres tituli sabaei iterum interpretati', *RSO*, XXXIV, 1-2, 1959, 31, renders *wbhg/str* in Jamme, 540, 2-3 (above) 'et sicut delineavit', making *bhg* here a conjunction. This is not correct.

² cf. the note on *hngn*, Van Lessen 25, 4-5, *infra*, p. 428 f.

(d) *ḏlwmn*: Min. name of clan in *RES*, 3752, from al-‘Ela; cf. also *’hl/ḏlwmn* in *RES*, 2975, 2 and 15; *RNP*, 299.

(e) *ḏymm*: a new name? Cf. under *ḏmm*, *RNP*, 70.

(f) *ḏsyl*: Min. name of clan in *RES*, 3366, 3839, 3841; all from al-‘Ela.

L. 4. (a) *’wsn*: pr. n. common to South and North Arabian dialects but occurring more often in Min. and North Arabian inscriptions; *RNP*, 41 f.

(b) *ḏbqrm*: cf. *RES*, 2965, 1 (Min.): *mḥfdn/(ḏ)n/ḏbqrm/*; cf. also *RNP*, 325.

(c) *wfdm*: cf. *RNP*, 80.

(d) *ḏḥḏkt*: Sab.; *RNP*, 295.

(e) *yhr’l*: Min. pr. n.; *RNP*, 232.

(f) *ḏ’wsn*: cf. *RNP*, 285.

(g) *šhrm*: well-known Qat. name; cf. *šhr*, Min. pr. n.; *RNP*, 206.

L. 5. (a) *ḏ’šzr*: a new name; perhaps a compound one: cf. *’š*, *RNP*, 172, and *zrm*, *RNP*, 86. Cf. also Arabic *’aṣḥanzar* ‘strong, huge’ and also ‘a hyena’.

(b) *hwkn*: from *wkn*? cf. *’wkn*, *RNP*, 78; or from *hwk*? cf. Arabic *’ahwak* ‘half-wit, rash’, and *mutahawwik* ‘erring, perplexed’. cf. *hwkn*, pr. n? Ry., 433, d.

(c) *ḏmḏymtn*: cf. *ḏymm*, l. 3 above.

(d) *tqdmw*: cf. the comment on *bnym*, l. 2 above. It is significant that seven people supervised the work, as this might indicate the size of even an ossuary for a whole community; cf. note (c), l. 2 above.

L. 6. (a) *lš’bsm*: cf. *RES*, 2954: *š’bsm/m’n/*; *RES*, 3022, 3: *wb/š’bsm/m’n/wḏytl/*. Notice the return to the *s*-suffix in contrast to *qbrhmw*, l. 2 above. See also Appendix I, *infra*, p. 431 f.

(b) *nkrhm*: the Minaean solar deity; *RNP*, 22. It is significant that in l. 3 we read *bḥg/’nby/w’l/t’ly*, with no mention of *nkrhm*. The possible reason is that *bḥg/’* indicated a concept governing a matter over which *nkrhm*, an alien deity in Timnā, could have no jurisdiction.

(c) *rd’w*: the verb is optative; cf. Arabic *rahimahu Allah*.

VAN LESSEN 10

An inscription on a rock near a grave on Ḥaid Ibn ‘Aqil. Plate II.

1. *ḥmyšm/wrkln/bnw/šrhwd*
2. *bn/ḥlbn/’syw/zrbw/qbrsmw/zrb*
3. *b’blm/wnfshsyw/bḥg/’nby*
4. *w’l/t’ly*

Translation

1. *ḤMYŠm* (a) and *RKLM* (b), the two sons of *ŠRHWD* (c),
2. the son of *HLBN* (a), took into possession (and) secured title to their burial-place—secured (b)
3. for a she-camel (a)—and its chambers (b) in agreement with (c) *’NBY*
4. and *’LT’LY*.

Notes

L. 1. (a) *ḥmyšm* : cf. *ḥmš* and *'ḥmš*, Saf. pr. ns. ; *RNP*, 95.

(b) *rklm* : cf. *rkl*, pr. n. in *RES*, 3820 (Min.), from al-'Ela ; cf. also *rkl*, Lih. ; *RNP*, 200.

(c) *šrhwd* : theophorous names with Wadd are common to all the dialects of ancient South and North Arabia, but are distinctly more frequent in North Arabian dialects and in Minaean inscriptions from al-'Ela. cf. *šrhwd* : *RES*, 2999, 1.

L. 2. (a) *ḥlbn* : cf. *ḥlbn*, Sab., *CIH*, 348, 4 ; cf. also *RNP*, 103.

(b) *zrb* : in the construct state with the prepositional phrase *b'bltm* ; cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 128. Cf. also note (d), Van Lessen 9, 2, above.

L. 3. (a) *b'bltm* : this is the only known case where the payment or the offering of something is mentioned explicitly in such contexts. The principle seems to be stated in *CIH*, 290, 4 : *lydbhn/ttr/bln/kl/š'mm*, which Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 153, renders 'das dem Attar die Abgabe (den Tribut) opfere jeder Besitzer durch Kauf'. Even if *š'mm* was to be identified with *šm* 'to set up, to build' (cf. *CIH*, 1, 3), as the editors of *CIH* suggest, then it should be rendered 'one who builds'. The reference would then still be to acquiring or occupying land. Although *CIH*, 290, is partly damaged, it is still clear that it is connected with land. For the significance of the offering of a she-camel see Appendix 1, *infra*, p. 433 f.

(b) *nfshsyw* : 'chambers, compartments'. A. Jamme, *IHYT*, 185, compares a number of Akkadian, Arabic, and Hebrew usages from the same or corresponding roots, all of which denote the basic senses of space or repose and some of which denote the specific senses of 'living room' and 'make room for me', and renders *nfs* as 'roof-terrace' on the ground that *nfs* follows *srht* in two inscriptions (Jamme, 118, and *RES*, 3962) concerned with the building and possession of houses. He comments, 'a roof-terrace fits a tomb as well as a house'. Although the last remark can be valid, it is perhaps to attach too much importance to what may be the mere 'juxtaposition' of *nfs* and *srht*.¹ I think 'chamber, compartment' is more fitting to the sense of *nfs*, whether used for a part of a burial-place (Jamme, 343A, 343B, 34c ; Van Lessen 10), or for a part of a house (Jamme, 118, 119 ; *RES*, 3962). Tombs excavated in Bayḥān were made of up to 16 chambers ; cf. R. LeB. Bowen, *ADSA*, 9. (The term *nafsha* is known to have been used twice in Palmyrene inscriptions for 'burial-towers', and Ernest Will finds this usage 'un peu surprennant pour

¹ It is doubtful whether *srht* in such inscriptions always means 'upper chambers, or superstructure'. Cf. Arabic *ṣarḥat al-dār* : *ṣarḥatūha wa 'araṣatūha* 'the open space, the courtyard, of the house' ; *Tāj*, art. *srh*. Cf. also *ṣarḥat* [sic] 'courtyard', in R. B. Serjeant, 'A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān', *JRAS*, 1953, 125 f. The mention of open areas and courtyards in house-deeds is quite common in Islamic legal practice ; cf. Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, I, Cairo, 1934, Text 67, 12, p. 238. Verbs denoting construction can govern 'courtyards', for according to Arabic lexica, a *ṣarḥa* has to be made level to be called so ; cf. *Lisān* and *Tāj*, art. *srh*. Nowadays *ṣarḥa* is the term in Hebrew for a piece of levelled, or terraced, land.

la tour à chambres à loculi successives'; E. Will, 'La tour funéraire de la Syrie et les monuments apparentés', *Syria*, xxvi, 3-4, 1949, 308.) *nfshsyw* here is an object of '*syw/zrbw*, l. 2, although the two objects of the verbs are separated by the adjectival phrase *zrb/b'blm*. The suffix *syw* is feminine, referring to *qbrsm*, l. 2. Cf. *dt/qbrn* 'this tomb', Jamme, 343A, 3; cf. also A. Jamme, *PEHA*, 186; idem., *IHYT*, 186.

(c) *bhg*: note the absence of *glm* from this inscription. It is rather difficult to say whether the interpretation of *bhg* as *badal al-mīl* (cf. *supra*, p. 422), is corroborated or contradicted by the presence of *zrb b'blm*.

VAN LESSEN 25

Major Van Lessen reported two groups of Sabaeen inscriptions from near *Shurjān* in the 'Audhali plateau: Van Lessen 21-3 from am-Sālīma and Van Lessen 24-9 from the region of Jabal Jarundish.¹ The first group are all in the vicinity of the remains of an ancient dam. The second group all come from the side of the hill called Jabal Jarundish on the north side of the wadi with the exception of Van Lessen 24, a large inscription, which is on a rock face on the south side across the wadi bed from Jabal Jarundish. Major Van Lessen writes about this second group, 'It seems possible that this group of inscriptions, too, may be in connection with irrigation works of some kind. There is some cement adhering to the rock on the north bank of the wadi, which is narrow at this point with a sheer rock face bearing the longest inscription of those previously sent (Van Lessen 25),² and it could be dammed here without much difficulty. On the hill on the south bank is a great deal of earth and rubble that I feel certain mark the site of a building whose stones have been completely removed to build the village of Ḥusain Muḥammad nearby'. Plate III.

1. *hwf'm'wlt/nhln/wbnhw/h*
2. *l'w/whlbtm/'lht/qyln/kbr/nhmn*
3. *wbr'n/wmggrtn/wgrbnt/wtqdm/*
4. *'rd'hw/bdn/m'gln/bn'/hn*
5. *gn/wqhhw/'mr'hw/b*
6. *ny/hshh/whkl/f'ln*
7. *y / w /*

Translation

1. HWF'M 'WLT (a) NHLN (b), with (c) his (two) sons H-

¹ A. Jamme reported four big rock inscriptions from 'Gebel Mḡanīmeḡ' in his 'Les inscriptions rupestres de la région de Mukérās', *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5me Sér., Tom. xxxvii, 1951, 308. My colleague Mr. H. T. Norris tells me that it is the same place in *Shurjān* as that from which some of the Van Lessen inscriptions 21-9 come. I cannot say for certain which of Jamme's individual numbers for the inscriptions correspond with Van Lessen's individual numbers.

² This was before Major Van Lessen sent to me his no. 29, which is a longer text, though not so clear.

2. L'W (a) and ḤṬBm (b), (the servants) of the *qayl* (c), directed (d) the dressing of the rock (or, stones) (e)
3. and the building and the plastering (a) and (the construction of) the stepped interior facing (b) and supervised (c)
4. his (contingent of) helpers (a) in (the work on) this (b) water-reservoir (c) BN' (d) in accord-
5. ance (a) with what ordered him his lords Ba-
6. nu Haṣbaḥ (a) and he completed (b) the work (c).

Notes

L. 1. (a) 'wlṭ: a new name; cf. *ylṭ*, *RES*, 3958, 9.

(b) *nḥln*: possibly an epithet denoting profession, used here as a name; cf. Arabic *naḥḥāl* 'bee-keeper' (*Tāj*).

(c) *wbnḥw*: 'with his (two) sons'; for this meaning of *w* here cf. note (d) in the following line.

L. 2. (a) *hl'w*: a new name; deriving either from *hl'* or *l'w*; compare with *l'w* ḡū-La'wa, a Ḥimyarī clan included among Hamḡān (Hamḡānī, *Ikḡl*, Cairo, 1948, x, 108). Cf. also *dl'ym*, *RES*, 3902, 68.

(b) *ḥṭbm*: not known as a personal name; cf. *ḥṭb*, *Ṭat.*, and *ḥṭbm*, *Sab.*, as names of sanctuaries; *RNP*, 336.

(c) *'lht/qyln*: cf. *RES*, 4196, 2: *wyḥmwo/dqyln/wdy/dḥbm* / 'ihrem Weinberg, (nämlich) dem (Weinberg) des Vogtes und ęer zwei (Edlen) von DHBm'. *RES*, 4196, has many points of close similarity to Van Lessen 25. *qyln* here refers to the *qayl* among Banu Haṣbaḥ in whose service HWF'M 'WLṬ NḤLN and his sons were; see further note (a), l. 6, below.

(d) *kbr*: 'directed'; cf. *RES*, 2743, 7-8. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 50, explains this usage as 'als *kbr* leiten'. Cf. also *RES*, 368ę, 3839. Kh. Y. Nāmi, 'Nuqūṣ al-*arabiyya janūbiyya*: al-majmū'atu al-tāniya', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University*, XVI, 1954, 25 f., translates inscription 6, 5: *kysqym/wkbrn/rāhw* / as *likay yasqiya wa yuwass'a 'ardahu* 'that he may irrigate and enlarge his land'; cf. also *RES*, 2959, 2. The verb here is singular, although preceded by the names of three persons; cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 181. Could the *waw* in such cases be of *ma'iyya*, meaning 'with', and not of *'atf*, meaning 'and'? Cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 166.

(e) *nḥmn*: this word and the three following ones are all infinitives in the determinate state. Cf. *mnḥmtn* in *CIH*, 325, 9, rendered by Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 42, 'behauenen Bausteinen'. In *CIH*, 541, 9, *nḥmt* is rendered 'saxorum rubrorum'; Sidney Smith renders it 'workmen's shops'.¹ Cf. further under *grbtm*, note (b), l. 3, below.

L. 3. (a) *mgyrtn*: cf. *dmbr'm/wgyrn*, *CIH*, 540, 25, and *bgyrm/wqsm* /, *RES*, 5085, 7. The operation referred to here is that of strengthening and smoothing the facing of the casement of the dam or of the tank made of rough stones and rubble. It is meant also to seal the sides against leaks. This coating

¹ Sidney Smith, 'Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.', *BSOAS*, XVI, 3, 1954, 439.

with plaster was an important feature of the latter stages of canal construction in Qatabān; cf. R. LeB. Bowen, *ADSA*, 48, col. A.

(b) *grbin*: 'stepped interior facing'. The reference here is to the internal appearance of the tank or reservoir, which resembles a flight of stairs.¹

(c) *iqdm*: normally followed by a description of the work carried out; cf. *RES*, 3553, 2, and Van Lessen, 9, 5. See further what follows.

L. 4. (a) *'rd'hw*: pl. of *rd'*. This is the first time that *rd'* is known to be used for persons. The plural here seems to refer to the people who 'helped' with the work. This kind of help is most probably forced labour; the same kind of labour seems to be indicated in *CIH*, 541, 100-1, where '*m'inkn* (as amended according to Fakhry, 87, Face D, 2-3), may be rendered 'with forced labourers'; cf. Arabic *ḍanīk* 'the follower, the servant, who works for his daily bread; who gets only his bare subsistence', cf. *Tāj*. The practice still persists in South Arabia under the name *wakād*.²

(b) *bān*: the *b* here indicates locality; cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 141.

(c) *m'gln*: the term *m'gl* occurs in the unpublished inscriptions Van Lessen 21 and 23 (from am-Sālīma) and Van Lessen 24 (from across the wadi bed from Van Lessen 25). Van Lessen 21, 2-3 reads: */(b)[r']w/wħnotr[n]/m'glyhmo/ygb/wm'gll/[ḍhthw/yhlg(b)*. Van Lessen 23 reads:

6. */b[r']w/wħqh/m'glyhmo/*

7. *ygb/wḍhthw/yhlg(b)/[m'g]ly/(s)rhmo/ṣḥt*

8. *ḍb'ly/srhmo/ṣrgn/*

'erected and repaired (with plaster) their two tanks, (the one called) YGB and the one below it (called) YHLG(B), two tanks of their valley ṢḤT which is above (i.e. higher up the stream than) their valley *Shurjān*'.³ Van Lessen 24, 2

¹ cf. R. LeB. Bowen, *ADSA*, 45, col. B. Cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 43, for a discussion of the different senses of *grb* in the inscriptions. The two words *munhama* and *jurūb* occur next to each other twice in two lines of verse by 'Alqama ḡu-Jadan describing the structure of the palace or fortress of ḡumdān. One verse occurs in Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, I, 949, which reads: *bi-munhamat-in wa'asfaluhu jurūb-un*; the other (Hamdāni, *Iktīl*, VIII, 15—for *mubhama* read *munhama*) reads: *'a'lāhu munhamat-un ruḥām-un 'al-in wa 'asfaluhu jurūb-u*. The latter verse may be translated: 'Its top is raised high with smooth blocks, *munhamat-un*, of marble, and its bottom (foundation) is made of *jurūb*'. This last word is explained as *biḡarat-un maḡtū'a*; cf. Rhodokanakis, *ibid*. I think that *jurūb* in 'Alqama's description referred, originally at least, to the terrace shape of the bottom of the walls. A parallel may be found in the method of setbacks used in the foundations of the temple of 'Awwām in Ma'rib; cf. F. P. Albright, *ADSA*, 217, col. B. It seems that the use of roughly dressed stones in the building of this kind of foundation caused the transfer of the meaning of the word to the blocks of stone themselves.

² I owe this information to the kindness of Professor R. B. Serjeant.

³ *wḥqh*: cf. *RES*, 3854, 2; cf. also Arabic *kaḡḡh al-hawd* 'to repair a tank (or, to perfect it) with mortar, plaster, until it hardens (becomes watertight) so that water would not dry up (leak)' (*Tāj*). *b'ly* 'above'; cf. A. F. L. Beeston, 'Notes on old South Arabian lexicography, I', *Le Muséon*, LXIII, 1-2, 1950, 53. It is only natural that an irrigation reservoir should be higher than the land it is meant to irrigate. *ṣrgn*: cf. *RES*, 3878, 18: *huf'm/ḡḡḡh/w'mḡḡr/ḡṣrgn/*. The present-day name of the place. In Hamdāni's *Ṣīfat jazīrat al-'Arab* (ed. D. H. Müller, 1884), p. 96, it is read *سرحان*; cf. the variant reading *سرحان* given by the editor, *ibid*, II, 98. Hamdāni's text reads: *رجع من السرو ويريد الى دينة، سرحان من السرو لبني مالك من الود،*

رجع من السرو ويريد الى دينة، سرحان من السرو لبني مالك من الود، نهران للأصبحيين من حير. The same inscription, Van Lessen 23, 10, reads: *wḡl/woynhmo/n'mn*.

reads: *bn'/m'gl/msqt/...* 'BN', the tank for the irrigation of...'.¹ Cf. also *RES*, 4196, 2: *br'w/whwtr/whšqr/m'glyhmo/sorm/wyr'z/b'ly/wymhmo/*. Arabic knows two words which are etymologically linked with *m'gl*, namely *ma'jal* 'a thing like a wide, or spacious, basin in which water is collected if it is scanty and is then let out into canals, plantation ground, and cisterns', and *mawjil* 'a pit in which water gathers', in the dialect of al-Yaman.² A. F. L. Beeston denies that *m'gl* in the three inscriptions in which it was known when he wrote means 'cistern, reservoir', and suggests instead 'watch-tower'.³ His case seems strongest in connexion with *RES*, 2633 (the Ḥiṣn al-Ġurāb inscription), where he suggests that it 'is plain that works of military defence are in question'. But why should not water tanks or cisterns be of importance to people getting ready for fortifying themselves in the place? Besides, we know that there are four great cisterns in Ḥiṣn al-Ġurāb,⁴ apparently the ones referred to as *m'glthw*. As for his remark on *b'ly* in *RES*, 4196, 2, see n. 3, p. 427 above. Professor Beeston suggests that *m'gl* should be compared etymologically with Hebrew מַגֵּל which means both 'stagnum' and 'propugnacula'. He adds in a footnote, 'It might perhaps be not excluded to regard the root 'gl as simply a doublet of 'gm, with interchange of l/m'.⁵ But it happens that Arabic has the exact equivalent of Hebrew 'agām: cf. 'ajm 'any square roofed house', and 'ujum 'a fortress'; cf. also 'ajima al-mā'u: 'ajina 'the water deteriorated', apparently through stagnation. (Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, and *Lisān*, art. 'jm.)

(d) *bn'*: also in Van Lessen 24, 2, as quoted above; cf. *RNP*, 325. L. 5. (a) *hngn*: cf. the note on *bhg* in Van Lessen 9, 3 *supra*, p. 421 f. (Cf. also *RES*, 3181, the last two words and the note thereupon. It is clear that it must have read حنج or حنج. Hamdānī's translation, *Iktūl*, Princeton, 1940, VIII, 135, gives its Arabic equivalent as *mūl*.) This spelling can be explained on one of two grounds. The first is that the word was always pronounced *hing* or *hang* but written always without the *n*; cf. M. Höfner, *ASG*, 25.⁶ This spelling here would be either wrong orthography or due to the insertion of a vowel after the *nūn*, as an additional deictic. The second possible explanation is that the *nūn* was inserted in the pronunciation of *hg* as a nasalization and then became so well established that people who were not well versed in the rules of

¹ cf. *CIH*, 982, 2: *hriho/msqt/nhthw* 'his canal for the irrigation of his palm garden'; cf. A. F. L. Beeston, 'Notes on old South Arabian lexicography, VI', *Le Muséon*, LXVII, 3-4, 1964, p. 311, n. 2.

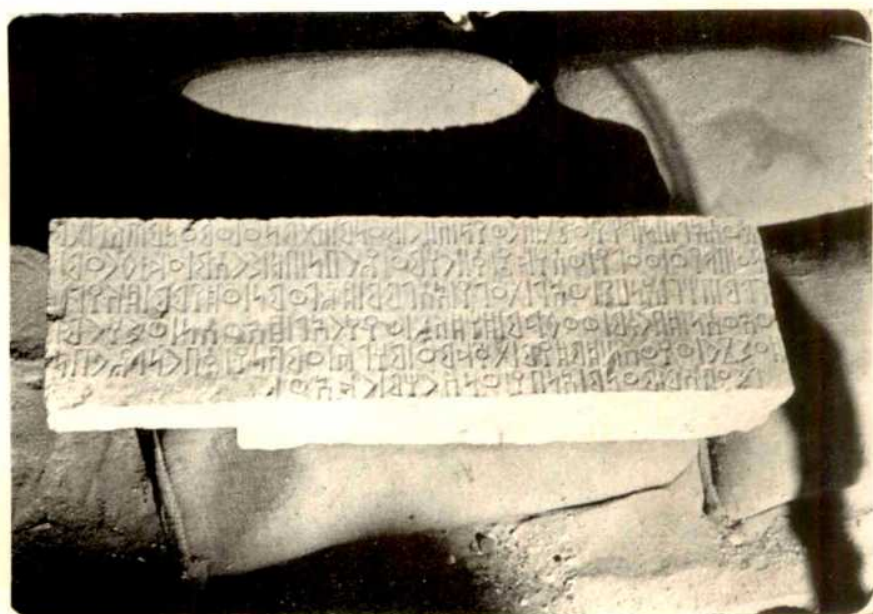
² Landberg enters *mājil* under *mjl*; *Glossaire daïnois*, III, Leiden, 1942, 2676. Arabic lexica also mention that some scholars entered it under *mjl*; cf. *Lisān*, art. 'jl.

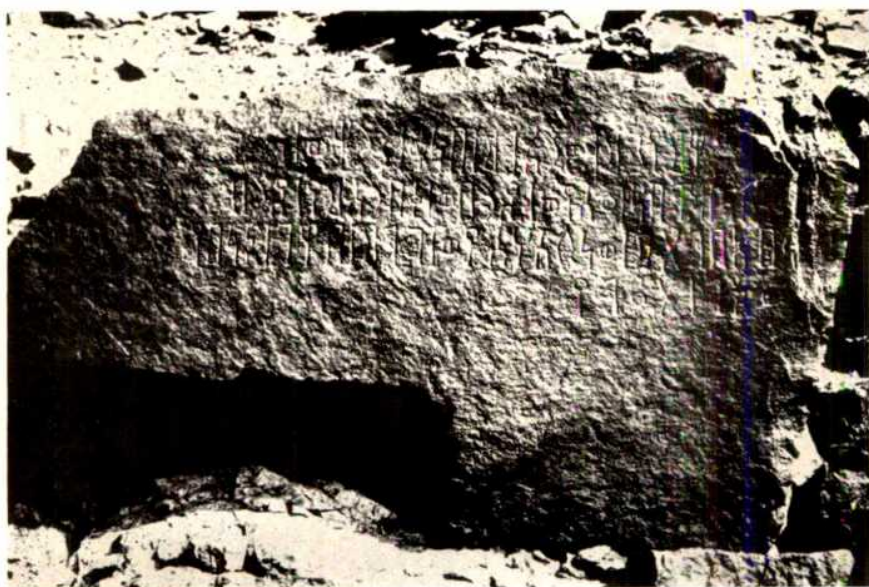
³ 'Notes on old South Arabian lexicography, I', loc. cit., 53.

⁴ cf. R. LeB. Bowen, *ADSA*, 8, col. A.

⁵ loc. cit., 54 and n. 2; cf. also A. Jamme, 'L'inscription hadramoutique Ingrams I', *Le Muséon*, LXXIX, 1966, p. 99, n. 3.

⁶ Such a rule of not writing the *nūn sākina* before another consonant is known in the orthography of the Qur'ān; cf. C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London, 1931, 146 f.; cf. also Hans Kofler, 'Beste altarabischer Dialekte', *WZKM*, XLVII, 1-2, 1940, 80 f.







orthography wrote it down.¹ The latter explanation may find support in the very late period of this inscription as is shown by palaeography.²

L. 6. (a) *bn̄y/hšbh*: cf. HWF'M *ḏḥṣBH*, *RES*, 3878, 18 (Qat.); cf. also *RES*, 4196, 1. Van Lessen 24, 1 reads: *s'dm/yhskr/bn̄/hšbh*; apparently he was the owner of the *m'gl* BN'. A part of his name still appears in Van Lessen 29, 4, found near Van Lessen 25, but considerably damaged. Van Lessen 23, from the other group, reads:

1. *'līb' / gšr / w' hyhw / (ḏmr / yk) f / w' lšrh / s'r*

2. *bn̄w / mrtḏ' l̄n / šw' / bn̄w / hšbh*.

These names are followed by the names of other persons. In lines 5–6 of the same inscription all the persons mentioned before are referred to as *'(q)wl / wmlrg[w /] š'bn / mḏhym / wḏnt / wšfrm* 'the *qayls* and governors of the tribe *MDHYM* and *Daṭīna* and *SFRM*'. The name of *'LTB' 'GŠR* and that of his father *MRTD'LN 'ŠW'* appear also in Van Lessen 21 and 22.

(b) *kl̄l*: cf. *kl̄l* (form II), in *RES*, 3902 bis, 130, 2, and *ibid.*, 131, 2.

(c) *f'ln*: cf. *CIH*, 540, 84.

L. 7. It is difficult to make any sense out of the scribble in this line and the curved line across it, of which Major Van Lessen writes, 'This curved line appears to be contemporary with the inscription'.

APPENDIX I

A. *Ma'in in Timnā'*

Apart from Van Lessen 9, only three other known inscriptions convey information about the relationship between *Ma'in* and *Qatabān*. *RES*, 3854, promulgates an edict of *ŠHR HLL bn̄ DR'KRB* whose provisions are binding on *š'bn / qṭbn / wḏ' l̄sn / wml'nm / wḏ' t̄tm /*, who are designated there as *'b'l / zrw / dw / šdw* 'owners of lands (fields) in *ŠDW*'. Rhodokanakis, *KT*, II, 10, has identified *ŠDW* here as the place referred to in *dū-ŠDW*, the name of a gate of *Timnā'* in *RES*, 3691, 8. The edict regulates matters related to the cultivation of these fields and names the *kabīr* of *Timnā'* as the official in charge of supervising the carrying out of the provisions of the edict. *RES*, 4337, speaks in B, 10–12 of *bn̄ / qṭbn / wbn̄ / m'nm / wbn̄ / h̄wr / t̄mn̄ /* 'sei es ein Katabaner oder ein Minäer oder ein Bewohner *Timnā's*'. This inscription, an edict, is promulgated in the name of *ŠHR HLL*, the son of *YD'B*, the king of *Qatabān*, and in the name of *Qatabān in Timnā'* and other *Qatabāni* groups and dignitaries, enumerated in lines 4–7, without any mention of *Ma'in*. The three categories of people mentioned in *RES*, 4337 B, 10–12 cover, as should be expected, all

¹ According to al-Lait, quoted in *Tāj*, and to al-'Azharī, quoted in *Lisān*, some people of *Ḥim̄s* (in Syria) pronounced *ḥazz* as *han̄z* but in the plural went back to *huzūz*. It is interesting and instructive to read in Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 132, that *Ḥim̄s* was *ḥim̄yariyya*, apparently meaning that the majority of the population (or, of the Arab population?) were *Ḥim̄yarites*. (This statement, however, cannot be taken at its face value, since by *ḥim̄yariyya* he might have meant that the Arabs were of Banū Kalb of *Quḏā'a*, whom he mentions in the same line, and who are claimed by some genealogists to be a branch of *Ḥim̄yar*.)

² cf. A. Jamme, 'Les inscriptions rupestres de la région de *Mukérās*', *loc. cit.*, 314.

the population of Timnā'. So, we seem to have a Ma'in which, while not sharing the sovereign rights with Qatabān and integrity within the framework of the state acknowledged the third category, *ḥwr/tmn'*, is not quite clear; but to be the 'subjects'. Under this category might have been the dedicant of Van Lessen 1 (*BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 1) dedicants of Ry., 367, who are described there as "dmn.

RES, 2999, from Barāqish, concludes with: *bywmh/ṛ'lyf'/yšr/mlk/m'n/wb/mr's/šhr/y(g)l/yhrqb/mlk/qṭbn*. R this connexion, 'Wessen Herr ist dieser katabanische hauptes IŠRḤ'L, des Stifters von Hal. 504 (*RES*, 2999) Königs UKḤ'L IT' ?'; *KT*, i, 35 f. But Rhodokanakis later adopted the view that *RES*, 2999, indicated that M of ŠHR YGL YHRGB. He based this view on the v explicitly denoted that Ma'in were the vassals of Qat ŠHR HLL, the son of DR'KRB, whom he placed before in order of chronology; cf. *KT*, i, 34. But *RES*, 3854, light of Van Lessen 9, does not indicate that Ma'in there whole of the Minaean people, including those in their l Glaser's copy of *RES*, 2999, reads *mlky/m'n*¹; this r with the singular suffix of *mr's*. If it is to be claimed t senior king, then it is still more reasonable to say that it dedicant, for all the other dedicants mentioned in the inscri sons and grandsons; cf. Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, 95. I the family, might have been a resident of Timnā' who was in Yaṭīl and undertook, or met the expenses of, 'all ornamentation (?) of the covered passage T'RM in the wal situation is probably indicated in *RES*, 3707, a Mina Khereibeh in the vicinity of al-'Ela. The inscription gave

¹ cf. Rhodokanakis, *KT*, i, 35, n. 4; J. Ryckmans, *L'institution, mlky/m'n* is now established beyond doubt through the text based on M edited by Kh. Y. Nāmi, 'Nuqūṣ al-Khirbat Barāqish 'alā ḡaw' majmū'a majmū'a al-ḡāḡa', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University*, xvii Nāmi comments on *wb/mr's/šhr/ygl/yhrqb/mlk/qṭbn* as follows: (I t ' Undoubtedly the pronominal suffix in *mr's* does not refer to the two pr WQH'L YT' and his son 'LYF' YŠR, the two kings of Ma'in. I hold refers to the dedicant of the inscription, YŠRḤ'L; and although his name of the inscription), yet it must have been near or present in the mind of t he (YŠRḤ'L) was the dedicant of the inscription. It is possible, t "people of DMRN" were Qatabānians who were living in the town of been why they dated their document with the reign of the two kings of and made their living, as well as being the reason why they ended their of their king to whom they owed allegiance' (ibid., 26). Professor available to me, through his kindness, only when this article was in an a Although I do not find that I can agree with Professor Nāmi's expl circumstances of the dedicant of *RES*, 2999, in Yaṭīl, yet it is clear the ground between his view and mine: in both views it is maintained indicate that a king of Qatabān was then the suzerain of Ma'in in Yaṭīl

done in Qarnāw, when the dedicant was there, and not on the site in Khereibeh where the inscription was found. He undertook the construction of some irrigation work belonging to the king.¹ It seems that these traders whose domicile was either in the region of al-‘Ela or in Timnā were required, or volunteered, to meet the expenses of some public or royal structure. This might be a reflection on the wealth that their trade must have brought them. It also shows that their allegiance to the kings of Ma‘īn in their ‘homeland’ was strong and binding in spite of their alien domicile. But whereas the Minaeans of the region of al-‘Ela were independent from any local ruler or sovereign and came directly under the sovereignty of the kings of Ma‘īn, the Minaean community in Timnā could not enjoy such independence, although they kept their communal integrity. Hence, most probably, why YŠRḤ’L, the chief dedicant in *RES*, 2999, had to mention ‘his’ lord ŠHR YGL YHRGB, the king of Qatabān. YŠRḤ’L and his sons and grandsons are described in *RES*, 2999, as *’hl/dmrn*. In the light of the close link between the names of Ma‘īnis in Van Lessen 9 and the names of Ma‘īnis from al-‘Ela, it may be more than mere coincidence that the clan name *dmrn* is not known in other inscriptions except in *RES*, 3792, from al-‘Ela, which reads: *’wsn/ddmrn*. More recently a claim was made that ŠHR YGL YHRGB conquered Ma‘īn. It was made by W. F. Albright in his ‘Proposed chronology of the kings of Qatabān’, *BASOR*, 119, 1950, 12. J. Ryckmans remarks on this claim: ‘Cette affirmation, dont on ne trouve aucun indice dans les inscriptions actuellement connues, est peut-être fondée—quoique l’auteur ne le signale pas—sur des textes encore inédits du Wadi Bayḥān’ (*L’institution*, 27–8). M. J. Ryckmans’ remark is still valid.

The following points arising from Van Lessen 9 attract attention: (a) the use of the term *š’bsm/m’n* in l. 6; (b) the strong link between the names of the Minaeans in this inscription and those of Minaeans in inscriptions from the region of al-‘Ela in North Arabia.

(a) In his lengthy comment on *RES*, 3854, 1: *hghm/šhr/whrg/šhr/hll/bn/dr’krb/mlk/qtbn/š’bn/qtbn/wd’lsm/wm’n/wd’tm/*, Rhodokanakis, *KT*, II, 7–9, states the following points or conclusions:

(1) Ma‘īn, or part of Ma‘īn, were under the suzerainty of Qatabān.

(2) The use of *š’bn* in *RES*, 3854, 1, only in connexion with Qatabān shows that Qatabān were the leading tribe among the four mentioned. In this connexion he points out that the use of the formulae *š’bsm m’n* or *š’bs m’n wyl* and the like denoted, during the time of the independence of Ma‘īn, the leading tribe of the state.

(3) The use of *š’bhmw m’n* in *CIH*, 609 (Gl. 1548/9) cannot have the same significance as the expression *š’bsm m’n*, which was used in the days of independent Ma‘īn. In *CIH*, 609, Minaeans in three towns (Qarnāw, Yaṭīl, and Šu‘ūb) are under the rule of the clan Ma‘āhir and according to Rhodokanakis it is the clan which speak of ‘their tribe Ma‘īn’; for ‘the clan Ma‘āhir appear

¹ See Appendix II, *infra*, pp. 436–8.

in Gl. 1548/9 actually to have power and authority over a part of the Minaean tribe in the name of the sovereign'.

According to Rhodokanakis' conclusions, the use of š'bsm m'nm in Van Lessen 9 can mean one of two things: either that Ma'in in Qatabān were the subjects of Qatabān, if the suffix sm is to be construed as referring to Qatabān, or that Ma'in in Timnā' belonged to an independent sovereign tribe or state of Ma'in. The first alternative does not really arise, since there is no mention in Van Lessen 9 of Qatabān or any other Qatabāni authority, and no analogy between it and *CIH*, 609, is possible. The second alternative is the only valid one. It means that the Minaeans in Timnā' were citizens of Ma'in resident in Timnā' and naturally accepting the authority of Qatabān over their affairs in Timnā'. It also means that at this time there must still have existed an independent sovereign state or tribe of Ma'in. To the Minaean community of Van Lessen 9 their identity as citizens of Ma'in was a primary concept, hence their use of š'bsm m'nm.¹ To the kings of Qatabān, who were legislating for all the population of their state, as in *RES*, 4337, or for a number of tribes, as in *RES*, 3854, only Qatabān counted as a sovereign tribe in their territory, hence the use of š'bn only with Qatabān in *RES*, 3854. But this special standing of Ma'in in Qatabān or in Timnā' is explicitly clear in the edicts of the Qatabāni kings, for Ma'in is given separate mention which seems to denote that although they did not stand on the same level with Qatabān in Qatabāni territory, they enjoyed a separate and apparently privileged place among the rest of the population. And now we know from Van Lessen 9 that Ma'in in Timnā' had their own kabīr.

(b) Some of the names of the Minaeans in Van Lessen 9 have actually no known parallels except in inscriptions from the region of al-'Ela; and most of them occur in inscriptions from that region. I have already pointed out that du-DMRN, the name of the clan to which YŠRH'L, the chief dedicant in *RES*, 2999, belonged, has no parallel except in an inscription from al-'Ela. I have also pointed out the similarity between the circumstances of the dedicant of *RES*, 3707, from the region of al-'Ela and those of YŠRH'L. Does this strong link between the names from al-'Ela and from Timnā' mean that the two communities were composed of the same clans and that these clans split themselves so that they could look after their commercial affairs near the two ends of the trade route? If that was so then it might have been the case that the Minaeans were in virtual control of the trade route, and that far from being a subjugated tribe or people, they wielded a considerable power in western Arabia, south and north.

Van Lessen 9 differs from the other inscriptions discussed here in that no

¹ I am using the term 'citizens' in preference to 'members of the tribe' because it is becoming clear that a tribe, š'b, need not always mean a kindred. And when the š'b in question happens to be the ruling one, or that of the rulers, first-class members of the community need not all be blood relations. Cf. Sidney Smith in his review of J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam, Vetus Testamentum*, II, 3, 1952, 287.

name of a Qatabāni ruler is mentioned in it nor in reality could be expected to be mentioned. It is therefore difficult to tell where to place this inscription within Qatabāni chronology. The only criterion is the palaeographical one, which I do not feel qualified to examine.

B. *The community of DSMWY in Timnā'*

The status of the community worshipping DSMWY mentioned in Ry., 367, may be analogous to some extent to that of Ma'in. Some time before the present author received Van Lessen 9 he had been engaged upon a study of the cult of DSMWY in South Arabia for a forthcoming publication. The following points, relevant to the issue under discussion here, are reproduced.

One main point which is clear from reading the inscriptions in which DSMWY is mentioned is the fact that the community who worshipped him were to a considerable extent camel breeders or owners. In 12 of these inscriptions the dedicants made offerings, mainly in the shape of statuettes of camels in gold (?)¹ for the welfare of their camels and/or for their own welfare.² This close association with camels might have meant that the community were engaged upon caravan trade and transport and that they kept the camels mainly for that purpose, since their sedentary habits, apparent in other inscriptions where they are stated to have cultivated land and pursued other activities of a sedentary nature,³ would preclude the possibility that they were, all of them at least, camel breeders in the nomadic manner.

We have evidence from the inscriptions which points to the probability

¹ A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaeen inscriptions*, 28, says, in comment on *ḥlḥn/ḥlḥn/ḡḡḥn/*, 'Marg(oliouth) suspects gilding to be really meant, on account of the huge expense of thirty golden statues'. This may be preferable to rendering *ḡḡḥ* as 'bronze'; cf. A. Jamme, 'Sabaeen inscriptions on two bronze statues from Mārib (Yemen)', *JAOS*, LXXVII, 1, 1957, 32, n. 10. G. Ryckmans, *Le Muséon*, LXX, 1-2, 1957, 106, hesitates between bronze and gilded bronze. W. E. N. Kensdale, *The religious beliefs and practices of the ancient South Arabians*, Ibadan (Nigeria), 1955, p. 6, claims that in 'Al-Iklil Book VIII the word *ḡḡḥ* occurs in many contexts in which it plainly refers to bronze'. Further, *ibid.*, p. 7, he states that in 'Al-Iklil VIII we are told of inscribed bronze . . . tablets (126, 149, 157), . . . a bronze lined coffin, . . . a bronze chest (149), a bronze staff (126, 149)'. (The pagination is supplied by me.) In all these cases *ḡḡḥ* is used in the Arabic text. All the cases given above occur in legendary accounts of finds in ancient burial-places where the legends could have referred to nothing but gold. Hamdāni even mentions *al-ḡḡḥ al-qubūriy* 'burial-places gold', and names the sites where it was commonly dug out; *ibid.*, 108. It is true that *ḡḡḥ* 'ahmar' 'red gold' is mentioned twice there, 48 and 155, but that could not exclude *ḡḡḥ* in the same work from meaning gold. And *ḡḡḥ* unmistakably means gold in the contexts on pp. 129, 143, and 183. Besides, mention is made there of statues made of *nḥḥ* 'asfar' 'brass, bronze', 19, and of *nḥḥ*, meaning the same, 19, 20, 204; and we read also of inscribed tablets of *sifr* 'brass, bronze', 94. The use of *ḡḡḥ* 'copper' for joining masonry is mentioned there, 16, 38, 44, 47, and 198. (This practice is confirmed by the report of Ahmad Fakhry, *Archaeological journey to Yemen*, Cairo, 1952, I, 68.) If the legends, or if Hamdāni had wanted to denote a metal other than gold where *ḡḡḥ* was used, clearer and less ambiguous terms were available and could have been used.

² *CIH*, 521, 527, 535, 536; *RES*, 4142, 4143, 4144, 4145, 4147, 4229, 3902 bis, 138; Ry., 367. Cf. also G. Ryckmans, 'Heaven and earth in the South Arabian inscriptions', *JSS*, III, 3, 1958, 228 f.; cf. also Rossi, 17 (Jamme, 513), *RSO*, xxx, 1-2, 1955, 110.

³ *CIH*, 517, 518, 521.

that at one time camels seem to have been known or commonly kept only in the northern parts of South Arabia in the vicinity of Najrān. In *RES*, 3945, Karib'il Watar gives a list of his conquests over a considerable part of South Arabia, especially the parts through which the trade route passed to the north. He gives also an account of his spoils and booty; camels are mentioned only in the booty taken from MH'MRM and 'MRM, both of which were places or tribes between Najrān and Ma'in.¹ The same is the case in *RES*, 3943, where camels were only taken from Ma'in, MH'MRM, and 'MRM.

DSMWY is described as 'lh/'*mr̄m* in no less than seven inscriptions. For a long time it was accepted that 'mr̄m here referred to a tribe or group of people.² This view is strengthened by the fact that one of his worshippers is described as 'mr̄m; *CIH*, 518. Nielsen, however, suggested that 'lh/'*mr̄m* should refer to an oracular god.³ This view was his main stepping stone to his claim that DSMWY was a moon-god.⁴ G. Ryckmans, in his comment on Ry., 367, 2, rendered 'lh/'*mr̄m* as 'dieu d'oracle' and decided against considering 'mr̄m a proper noun. He went on to say: 'Il serait étonnant qu'après le transfert de son culte en pays qatabanite, ce dieu reste qualifié de nom d'un clan sabéen. A la l. 5, Dū-Samāwī manifesta sa volonté d'être l'objet d'une dédicace. Cette manifestation constitue une allusion à l'usage de l'oracle'.⁵ G. Ryckmans, in his more recent treatment of the subject, still holds this opinion about 'lh/'*mr̄m*.⁶

The description of DSMWY as 'lh/'*mr̄m* in the only Qatabāni inscription in which the deity is mentioned could indicate a conclusion different from that of G. Ryckmans. The dedicants of this inscription might simply have been an immigrant group or community in Qatabān. D. Nielsen, objecting to the identification of DSMWY with Ba'al Samīn, says that that identification would mean 'dass der nordwestsemitische Gottesname von Norden her schon in vorehristlicher Zeit sich bis an die Südküste Arabiens verbreitet haben soll'.⁷ Actually, no inscription mentioning DSMWY has been found as far south as the southern coasts of Arabia. Moreover, with the exception of Ry., 367, from Hajar Kuhlān, none of these inscriptions whose provenance is known comes from any point further south than Ma'rib. Most of them actually come from Madīnat Haram.⁸ One *graffito* in which DSMWY is mentioned was found as far north as Qāra.⁹

Of the forty-odd inscriptions in which DSMWY is mentioned, other deities are mentioned along with him only in six, usually in the final invocation.¹⁰

¹ cf. D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Kopenhagen, 1927, 81.

² cf. the note in *CIH*, II, p. 243, on *CIH*, 528, 3.

³ D. Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott*, Kopenhagen, 1942, 131.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *Le Muséon*, LXII, 1-2, 1949, 64.

⁶ 'Heaven and earth', *JSS*, III, 3, 1958, 226 f.

⁷ *Der dreieinige Gott*, 124.

⁸ cf. G. Ryckmans, 'Heaven and earth', *JSS*, III, 3, 1958, 226.

⁹ *ibid.*, 227.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 227 and 230.

Of these, two, *CIH*, 517 and 519, are known to come from Ma'rib. A third, *CIH*, 534, the provenance of which is not known, might have emanated from Ma'rib as well, because the dedicants describe themselves as 'dm/mlk/sb', a description possibly applying also to the dedicants in *CIH*, 517, known to come from Ma'rib, where a king of Saba', *bn/whb'l/yhz/mlk/sb*', is mentioned. *CIH*, 521, provenance unknown, shares with *CIH*, 519, known to have come from Ma'rib, the mention of the two deities 'TTR and HBS. *CIH*, 518, 'an inscription of as-Sauda, emanating from Haram',¹ mentions a king of Saba', the dedicant being a vassal or servant of that king.² The deities invoked in this inscription are headed by the name of DSMWY; their names are those of minor deities.³ In Fakhry, 127, the temple of DSMWY, MWQTN, at al-Ḥazm in the northern Jawf, is put under the protection of 'TTR ŠRQN.

One common factor is noticeable in the inscriptions where DSMWY is mentioned along with other deities. The dedicants were either away from Madinat Haram or under the domination of the kings of Saba' or both. In none of these 'polytheist' inscriptions was DSMWY described as 'lh/'mrm, although one of the dedicants, that of *CIH*, 518, is described as 'mryn 'Amirensis'. This piece of evidence, although of a negative nature, might point to the possibility that the dedicants in these cases had compromised their status as members of the clan or tribe 'MRM or lost it through having come to live under new circumstances of habitat or political domination.

It is therefore instructive to notice in the only Qatabānī inscription in which DSMWY is mentioned, Ry., 367, the following four points. First, DSMWY alone is mentioned in the invocation; second, DSMWY is described as 'lh/'mrm; third, DSMWY had a temple of his own in Timnā'; and fourth, a camel is put under the protection of DSMWY.

In l. 6 of Ry., 367, G. Ryckmans restored the text to read *wstbro/ldsmwy/w[l'm]/l't'mrm/*, and commented 'La mention de 'Amm suit vraisemblablement celle de Dū-Samāwī'. The mention of 'nby/wnkrhm in Van Lessen 9, 6, strengthens the validity of this restoration. Yet the mention of 'Amm next to DSMWY once in an inscription where DSMWY is mentioned as 'lsm/wmr'sm/dsmwy/'lh/'mrm/ (l. 2), *dsmwy/'lh/'mrm/* (l. 5), *mr'sm/dsmwy/* (ll. 9-10), and three times alone as *dsmwy* (ll. 6, 7, 8), need not mean that DSMWY here was held to be in the apparently inferior position in which he stood *vis-à-vis* the other deities mentioned along with him in the abovementioned inscriptions.⁴

The second and third points mentioned above about Ry., 367, show that there must have been in Timnā' at that time a number of people from the tribe

¹ *ibid.*, 230.

² of the author's 'New Qatabānī inscriptions', *BSOAS*, xxi, 1, 1959, 6.

³ cf. G. Ryckmans, 'Heaven and earth', *JSS*, iii, 3, 1958, 230.

⁴ The mention of 'Amm might have been a polite gesture to the 'host' community rather than a subordination of DSMWY to 'Amm. This seems to find support in the clause 'nby/wnkrhm/rd'w, Van Lessen 9, 6. Yet it is clear that the Minaean community in Timnā' must have enjoyed a higher standing than that of DSMWY whose members are described in Ry., 367, l. 1, as 'dmn/.

'MRM large enough to keep the independent community character and to sanction the building of a temple for DSMWY. The reason why such a community could or should have existed then in Timnā' may be found in the fourth fact, which is that the protection of DSMWY was sought for a camel of the dedicant. The community might have been camel owners engaged on caravan transport, exactly as their fellow-worshippers of DSMWY further north might have been. It is clear then that Ry., 367, does not attest the transfer of the cult of DSMWY to Qatabāni land, in the sense that G. Ryckmans seems to imply, but rather attests the movement into Qatabāni land of members of a community which worshipped DSMWY in their land of origin and who did not lose, in the land of their immigration, the loyalty to their older community and its god.

G. Ryckmans thinks that there is evidence in l. 5 of Ry., 367, which alludes to the use of the oracle by DSMWY. This may well be the case, although the evidence is not all that clear. But G. Ryckmans seems to have been driven into adopting the sense of 'dieu d'oracle' because the translation 'the god of 'MRM' seemed to him to imply that the cult had been recognized officially in Qatabān and yet the god was described as the exclusive god of a Sabaeen group. The anomaly does not, I think, exist if a reasonable explanation is accepted; and any weight it might have had in making G. Ryckmans adopt 'dieu d'oracle' should be eliminated.

The fact that the language of the inscription is Qatabāni does not weaken the explanation put forward here. Linguistic compliance in such a case would be only natural.¹

APPENDIX II

RES, 3707

Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archaéologique en Arabie*, II, 301, state that they could not get near enough to this inscription which was found some 15 metres above ground level in an ancient quarry and which was unapproachable from the top of the hill, so they had to use binoculars for reading it. They add, 'Les lettres sont profondément gravées et de belle dimension, mais l'eau de pluie, en coulant le long de la roche, a entraîné à peu de terre et a rempli, en grande partie, le creux de lettres. C'est ce qui nous a fait hésiter pour la copie de quelques signes'; *ibid.*, 301-2. The present text reads:

1. 's' / dbr / gw'
2. wqh' / l / nbt / mlk
3. m'n / ymt / 'rb / h
4. grn / qrmw / bkbr
5. hn' / f' mn / wdbh
6. 'ttr / dqb / 'st
7. hr

¹ cf. the note on qbrhmw, Van Lessen 9, 2, above. Cf. for a comparable case, M. Hartmann, *Arabische Frage*, Leipzig, 1909, 177, in connexion with the h- and s-sounds in the inscriptions of Kaminahu.

It has been assumed that the beginning of the inscription is intact. Jaussen and Savignac rendered the beginning of it as, 'a fait le travail de la carrière Waqah'il Nabīṭ, roi de Ma'in'. *RES* renders '(A creusé) le travail . . .'. This order of verb-subject at the beginning of an inscription is unparalleled, and the syntax is further unjustifiable in the light of *gw*', which must be in the construct state. M. Höfner, *WZKM*, XLIII, 1936, 78, renders the beginning as, 'Steine gebrochen hat, ins Innere vorgedrungen ist, in die Tiefe eingedrungen ist WQH'L . . .'. This order, which makes three verbs, 'joined asyndetically', precede their subject is again unparalleled; and it is this same example which M. Höfner quotes for this kind of structure (cf. *ASG*, 180). No other example is known. Apart from these objections from the purely syntactical point of view, in neither case is the meaning of the three first words of the inscription adequately rendered.

Following the translation of this inscription as given in *RES*, J. Ryckmans says: 'Dans *RES*, 3707, le roi Waqah'il Nabīṭ rappelle les travaux d'extraction de pierres d'une carrière lors de l'édification de la ville de Qarnāwu'. But this unfeasible claim evokes from him a lengthy footnote in which he says: 'Il ne s'agit vraisemblablement pas de la ville de Qarnāwu (actuellement Ma'in), l'ancienne capitale minéenne; le lieu où on a decouvert cette inscription, dans une carrière abandonnée, à Hereibeh, en Arabie du Nord, et l'époque de Waqah'il Nabīṭ (un des derniers rois minéens), s'opposent à cette identification' (*L'institution*, 20, and n. 4). The exceptional 'irregularities' presented by the assumption that the beginning of this inscription as known to us is intact are too many.

I think it reasonable, in the light of the circumstances in which the inscription was found and copied, and in the light of the objections which must be raised against the two obtaining translations referred to above, to suppose that a line, or perhaps more than one line, giving the name or names of the dedicant or dedicants in the normal syntactical order must have been too filled in or too obliterated for Jaussen and Savignac to be able to read under the above-mentioned circumstances. I therefore translate:

1. (So and So) dug (cut out) (a) the channels (or, the beds for seed-produce) (b) of the levelled land (c)
2. of WQH'L NBT, the king
3. of Ma'in, when he was (or, they were) away (a) in the
4. town Qarnāw.

Notes

L. 1. (a) 's': cf. Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften*, Hamburg, 1931, 19–20, where they point out that 's' occurs quite often in Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions, usually in connexion with digging. M. Höfner, who disagrees with this interpretation of 's', holds that it means 'to break stones; to work, construct, in stones'; 'to break stones' being applied to 's' only here; *WZKM*, XLIII, 1936, 77–90. Since the term is used elsewhere in relation

to work on irrigation and the sense 'to construct in stone' is considered by M. Höfner to be compatible with such a context, this sense could also, if accepted, fit the work done on *dbr* 'channels, plots of seed-produce'.

(b) *dbr*: Lane, *Lexicon*, comments on *dabra* by saying: '*dabra* and *dibāra* which signify a *mashāra*, explained in TA[J] as meaning a channel of water; but it seems to be here used as meaning: ϵ portion of ground separated from the adjacent parts, for sowing or planting, being surrounded by dams, or by ridges of earth, which retain the water for irrigation . . .'. This meaning proposed by Lane is to be found also in *Lisān*, art. *ḍbr*. Cf. also *al-dabr*: *al-zar* ' (land of) seed-produce', Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, I, 86. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 952, quotes Hamdānī almost verbatim but ends by saying *al-dabr*: *al-zar* '*indahum*'. This '*indahum*' means that this usage is in the dialect of al-Yaman. This statement of Yāqūt's is quoted fully in *Tāj*, art. *hjr*; cf. also Landberg, *Glossaire daïnois*, I, Leiden, 1920, 692 f.

(c) *gw'*: cf. Arabic *jwā'* 'level land, a wide valley'; *Tāj*, art. *jwy*. L. 3. (a) '*rb*': etymologically related to Arabic *ḡrb*; cf. *m'rb* 'west', *RES*, 2975, 18. Cf. Arabic *ḡaraba* 'he went away', and *ḡarraḡa* and '*aḡraḡa* 'he penetrated far into, he went far away in, the land or territory'.¹

¹ cf. Akkadian *erēbu* 'to enter, to penetrate'. M. Höfner renders *rb* here 'er aus Quadersteinen baute'; *WZKM*, XLIII, 1938, 78. Cf. also Rhodokanakis, *Die Inschriften an der Mauer von Kohlān-Tinnā'*, Wien, 1924, 34, 36, in connexion with '*rb*' in SE 94, 3, 4. I hold that a sense of 'went to' or 'went into' should be assigned to '*rb*' in SE 94 as well. The text of SE 94 reads: /wḡrēwts(2)ḡry'm/bn/mrḡdm/sd/ḡly/bḡryn/'m/whwkm/y(3)wz/ḡry/'m/bn/n'ḡ/whwkm/bn/ḡly/w'rb/b'm/n(4)hlw/ḡlbn/w'rb/mkntn/bbn'. I translate: 'whereas (or, since) his chief priest, ṢRY'M, son of MRQDM, had offered (in fulfilment) (a) a lamb according to the oracular order of 'Amm and ḤWKM, when 'Amm had given an oracular order concerning a lump of (boneless) meat (b) and ḤWKM (had given his order) concerning a grilled (or, fried) (piece of) meat, (c) and had gone with the gifts (in)to (the temple) QLBN (d) and gone (in)to the cella in (the temple) BN'.

(a) *sd*: cf. Arabic '*istanadda haqqahu*': '*istanjazahu* 'he demanded the payment, the fulfilment, of his due or right'; *tanaḡḡadahu haqqi*: '*istawḡayyahu* 'I secure the payment, the fulfilment, of my due'. *sd* here must be form IV from the root *nd*.

(b) *n'ḡ*: cf. Arabic *naḡḡ*: 'meat; a big lump of meat, e.g. a leg; a lump of boneless meat enough for several persons'.

(c) *ḡly*: cf. Arabic *ḡalā* 'to fry, to grill, meat'. For the offering of parts of a victim cf. *RES*, 4782, 4784.

(d) *ḡlbn*: it is also the name of a temple in Van Lessen 31, an unpublished Qatabāni inscription on a slab of limestone in the possession of Mr. T. W. Hague, by whose kind permission photographs of it were made. It reads:

1. ḡrm/hrn/ḡny/mr's/w'ls/'ḡr/w'm/w'ḡly/bytn/bn

2. 'ḡlm/ḡhbn/ . . .

The names of these deities are repeated in the same words and order in line 3 and again in lines 4-5. The invocation at the end reads:

7. /b'ḡr/wb'm/wb/'nby/wb/mr's/ḡt/ḡntm/b'

8. l/ḡlbn/wbḡt/ḡhrn/

MIHRĀB¹

By R. B. SEEJEANT

THE origin of the term *mihrāb* is somewhat obscure. In Islām it is usually particularly applied to the prayer-niche, and the article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*² treats of it only as such, yet this technical usage of the word seems to be derived from a more primitive and general meaning, and on the balance of the evidence its emergence as a name for a part of the sanctuary appears to be Islāmic only. *Mihrāb* has been discussed by Nöldeke,³ by Horovitz,⁴ and by Landberg.⁵ It has been discussed in connexion with architectural studies by Creswell,⁶ and by Sauvaget.⁷ These studies cite a number of references and sources which I have re-examined, but do not propose to repeat *in toto*. Each of these authorities shows conclusively that the employment in the technical sense of prayer-niche is not early.

In our one sure early Arabic source, the Qur'ān, the word occurs but five times (*Sūrah*s, III, 37, 39; XIX, 10; XXXVIII, 21; XXXIV, 13). Again there is no need to add to the commentary of former scholars, but it is significant that, in no case, is *mihrāb* used to mean a prayer-niche. For the Prophet it evidently meant a covered place where people sat.

The *Tāj al-'arūs*⁸ contains a full and important article on the subject of *mihrāb* which it seems fitting to render into English almost in its entirety.

“The *mihrāb* is the chamber (*ghurfah*)⁹ and the high place.” This al-Harawī transmitted in his *Ḥharīb*,¹⁰ on the authority of al-Aṣma'ī.

Waḍḍāḥ of the Yaman said,¹¹

“A mistress of a *mihrāb* whom, when I go to her,
I do not meet until I ascend a flight of steps (*sullam*)”.

The prominent place of the room (*ṣadr al-bait*) and noblest (*akram*) place in it. Al-Zajjāj said concerning the word of God,¹² “Did the news of the foe

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to the scholars I have consulted in preparing this article. To my colleague Maḥmūd al-Qḥl I am specially indebted for his very considerable contribution, and the thorough examination he has made of the inscriptional material. To the courtesy of Professor Carl Rathjens I am indebted also for permission to reproduce the sketch of the Hugga Temple (fig. 2).

² *Et*, under ‘Kibla’, ‘Maasjid’, ‘Mihrāb’.

³ *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1910, p. 52, footnote.

⁴ ‘Bemerkungen zur Geschichte und Terminologie’, *Der Islam* (Strassburg), XVI, 1927, 260-3.

⁵ *Glossaire daftnois*, Leiden, 1920-42, 393 seq.

⁶ *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford, 1932, I, p. 99.

⁷ *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris, 1947, 145 seq.

⁸ Cairo, A.H. 1306, I, 206.

⁹ *Ghurfa* (pl. *ghuraf*) seems also applicable to houses of some sort, for there are two Ḥadramī villages with these names.

¹⁰ Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 107, *Suppl.*, I, 166 seq.

¹¹ Ibn Duraid, *al-Iḥṭiqāq*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854), p. 47, reads *lam adnu hattā*, for *lam alqa-hā aw*, the former being preferable.

¹² Qur'ān XXXVIII, 21.

come to you when they scaled the *mihrāb*? ”¹ “ The *mihrāb* ”, he (al-Zajjāj) said, “ is the highest room (*bait*) in the house (*dār*), and the highest place in the mosque.” “ The *mihrāb* here ”, he said, “ is like the *ghurfah*.”

Concerning the Tradition that the Prophet sent ‘Urwah b. Mas‘ūd to a tribe (*qawm*) of his at al-Tā‘if, and he came to them, entered a *mihrāb* of his, and at dawn looked down on them, then he performed the call to the prayer, he said, “ This shows that it is the chamber (*ghurfah*) to which one ascends ”.

Abū ‘Ubaidah said, “ The *mihrāb* is the highest place (*ashraf al-amākin*) ”.

In the *Miṣbāḥ*² (it runs), “ It is the highest of places where one sits (*ashraf al-majālis*) ”.

Al-Zuhri said, “ The *mihrāb* after (the usage of) the common people (‘ind al-‘āmmah) (in the sense in which) people understand it, is the station (*maqām*) of the Imām in the mosque ”.

Al-Anbārī said, “ The *mihrāb* of the mosque was so named because the Imām is there by himself and removed from the people. Hence one says, ‘ So and so became angry on account of (*ḥaraba li-*) so and so ’, when there is distance and mutual hatred between them. . . . It is said that the *mihrāb* is the place in which the king is by himself and far removed from the people ”.

In the *Lisān al-‘Arab*³ (it is stated that) “ The *maḥārīb* are the prominent parts of the places where people sit (*sudūr al-majālis*). From this (is derived) the *mihrāb* of the place where one sits (*majlis*), and from this (also is derived) the *maḥārīb* of Ghumdān⁴ in the Yemen. The *mihrāb* is the *qiblah*, and the *mihrāb* of the mosque is also its prominent part and the highest place in it ”.

It is the Tradition of Anas that he used to dislike the *maḥārīb*, i.e. sitting in the prominent part of the place where people sit (*saḍr al-majlis*) and being on a higher level than other people (*yataraffa’ ala’ l-nās*).

(Concerning) the word of God,⁵ “ And he came out to his people from the *mihrāb* ” they say (means), “ from the mosque ”. The *mihrāb* is the noblest of the places where kings sit (*akram majālis al-mulūk*), according to Abū Ḥanīfah.

Abū ‘Ubaidah⁶ said, “ The *mihrāb* is the Lord (*saiyid*) of places where one sits, and that which is set foremost (*muqaddam*), and the loftiest of them (*ashrafu-hā*) ”. “ Thus it is ”, he said, “ in relation to the mosques.”

According to al-Aṣma‘ī, the Arabs call the castle (*qaṣr*) a *mihrāb*, on account of its loftiness (*sharaf*), and he quoted,

“ Or a statue (*dumyah*) decorating a *mihrāb*,
Or a pearl sold to a merchant ”.

By the *mihrāb* he meant the castle (*qaṣr*) and by *dumyah* an image (*ṣūrah*). Al-Aṣma‘ī related on the authority of Ibn ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ “ I entered one of

¹ The commentators render this phrase as, *Idh rāsa ‘adū sūr al-ghurfah*.

² Al-Faiyūmī, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*, Cairo, 1912, 138. *Ashraf* could mean ‘most honourable’.

³ *Lisān al-‘Arab*, I, 206, new ed., I, 305.

⁴ The famous castle of Ṣan‘ā’, the site of which is still known to this day.

⁵ Qur’ān XIX, 10.

⁶ cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 103. Abū ‘Ubaidah was born in 110/728.

the *maḥārīb* of Ḥimyar and the scent of musk blew upon my face". He meant a castle and the like.

Concerning the word of God,¹ "Of *mihrābs* and statues (*min maḥārīb wa-tamāthīl*)" al-Farrā' said, "He remarked that they were pictures (*ṣuwar*) of the angels,² for angels were depicted (*tuṣuwwira*) in the *masjids* so that the people might see them and reflect the more".

Al-Zajjāj said, "It is the same thing, the *mihrāb* in which one prays".

It is said that the *mihrāb* was called a *mihrāb* because the Imām, when he stands (*qāma*) therein, is not safe from committing a solecism or an error. . . .

The *maḥārīb* of the Banū Isrā'īl are their *masjids* in which they used to sit, as if it were for counsel in the matter of war. According to the *Tahdhīb*,³ "in which they used to congregate for the prayer and the like".

Similar to this is Ibn al-A'rābī's opinion, "The *mihrāb* is the place where people sit (*majlīs*) and congregate".

A most significant opinion quoted is that of al-Zuhri (ob. A.D. 742) who flourished towards the end of the Umayyad period. He places the *mihrāb* at the *qiblah* end of the mosque, but does not identify it positively at least, with the *qiblah*. He defines it as the diction of the common folk with this sense, which might seem to indicate that it was developing a technical application at this period. The *mihrāb* was a raised place where people sat, and it is associated with notions of honour. In this way it is related perhaps to the raised mud part of the reception room in a house I saw in Ḍālī', known there as *dīwān*, in Ṣan'ā' as *līwān*,⁴ but in Baiḥān as *hidaḥ*. It might be added that the word *qaṣr* by which some of these early authorities define *mihrāb*, means in Ḥaḍramawt a story of a *dār*,⁵ but I do not suggest positively that it has been so used here.

The question at issue is, then, what exactly did a *mihrāb* mean before Islām? That the word was derived from Ethiopic seems to me unlikely for, relative to Southern Arabia, Abyssinian culture would seem to be primitive and derivative. Salis Daiches has proposed to connect it with the Hebrew חֶרְבוֹת in the sense of castle, palace⁶ and supports his argument from a number of Biblical citations. My colleague Maḥmūd al-Ḡhūl has provided me

¹ Qur'ān xxxiv, 13. These were provided for Solomon along with *jifan* like cisterns (*jābiyah*), and cooking pots. The decorated *mihrābs* were then probably places where guests were entertained. In view of recent archaeological discoveries in Southern Arabia it is interesting to find the commentators state that Solomon's throne was set on two lions while two eagles (*naṣr*) were above it.

² An angel's head in marble discovered in Ḥuṣn al-Ranād in Tarīm has been embodied in the new castle built on that site.

³ Of al-Azharī, ob. A.H. 270.

⁴ C. Rathjens and S. D. Goitein, *Jewish domestic architecture in San'a, Yemen*, Jerusalem, 1957, 73. See also p. 451 *infra*.

⁵ 'Building and builders in Ḥaḍramawt', *Le Muséon*, lxxii, 1949, 284. Perhaps in Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Lofgren, Leiden, 1951-4, II, 181, there is an echo of this sense of *qaṣr*.

⁶ 'The meaning of חֶרְבוֹת', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xx, 1908, 637-9.

with the data at present available for ancient Southern Arabia which I quote *in extenso*.

The term *mḥrb* occurs twice in known South Arabian inscriptions. It is not known for certain to what sort of structure or locality either might have belonged, because both were known only after having been removed to Aden.

The earlier known inscription, *CIH*, 106 (BM 55), seems to have originated from Kawkabān in the region of Hamdān, because the name of that locality is mentioned in the inscription which reads,

2. /br'
 3. w/wḥšqrn/mḥrbn
 4. KWKBN/
2. (they) laid the foundation of
 3. and completed the *mḥrāb*
 4. Kawkabān.

The reading of the word *mḥrbn* is established beyond doubt. D. H. Müller, equating *mḥrbn* with *mḥrmin*, on the basis of the existence of a consonantal change, translated the word as "sanctuary". The editor of the *Corpus* preferred the translation "fortification" or "tower", pointing out that according to Hamdānī's *Jazīrah*¹ Kawkabān is described as a *qaṣr* "castellum", and as a *ḥiṣn* "arx". The editor therefore derives it from the root *ḥaraba* "to fight", stating that the interpretation of the term as "fortress" suits the fortified Kawkabān well. This interpretation, in a way, seems to find support in the *Tāj* (cf. quotation *supra*).

The other inscription in which *mḥrb* occurs is in the Kaiki Muncherjee collection. The reading of *mḥrbhw* (R, 4108, 3) is partly restored. This inscription adds nothing to what *CIH*, 106, tells us. The fact that the second inscription was commissioned by someone of the rank of *muṭṭawī* of the king, *mqtwy* being a restored reading, may not be a sure indication of the size of the *mḥrb* and of whether it was a fortification or something of a more private character.

Another term *ṭhrbt* occurs in a number of inscriptions.² Mordtmann and Mittwoch here rejected the implication originally made in *CIH*, 357, 12, that the word has anything to do with war.³ They conclude their discussion by

¹ *Ṣifāt jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884-91, I, 107, 115.

² cf. J. H. Mordtmann and E. Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften*, Hamburg, 1931, 221-3.

³ cf. R, 4632, where M. Hofner renders it 'Kampfszene'. Mahmūd a-Ḡhūl has supplied me with the following additional material on *ṭhrb*.

CIH, 537, 10-12, reads:

10. /ḥmṭhw/bḥr
11. 'yt/hr'y/ḥm
12. w/bḥrbn

Mordtmann and Mittwoch translate: 'and in gratitude to him for the vision which he showed them in?'. With this inscription they compare two more in which offerings of thanksgivings for visions are made. In one case the vision was shown or revealed in *bN'ṬN/w'LM*, two temples of *ṬTR*; in the other *bmḥrmin/g'WM*, in the temple of 'Awwam'. On all of this they comment: 'In all three cases it has to do with *Incubationsorakel*, vision during retreat'. One more inscription mentions revelation of a vision to be compared with these, *RES*, 3323, 5, which reads: *hgn/*

saying, "The word (as Ryckmans also believes) ought hardly to have anything to do with war, but rather denotes a cult performance (ritual) or some object associated with the cult. One is reminded of the Islamic *mihrāb*."

Having adduced the relevant sources to show that the word *mihrāb* was known to pre-Islāmic Arabia, and that it has not actually been proved to have

khr'yhw/bnīhw, to be translated, 'In accordance with what he showed him in his slumber'. With *snī* compare Arabic *snah* 'slumber', as in Qur'ān II, 255, *lā ta'khuḍḥu sinat-un wa-lā nawm-un*.

So from these inscriptions we perceive that visions were revealed in temples during sleep, and in *thrb*. I do not think that *thrbn* in *OIH*, 357, 12, should be equated either with a temple or with slumber, but that it is another aspect or circumstance associated with the ritual or manner of seeing visions.

With this form of *Incubationsorakel* one can compare two practices in Islām; the *ṣalāt al-istiḥārāh* and *al-istikāf fī l-masjid*. In the former a person seeking God's help through a revelation of His will to indicate a correct decision he should make, would, according to 'unorthodox' practices, perform a special prayer, and then go to sleep in full ritual purity of person and place—which would sometimes be in the mosque itself, hoping a vision would reveal to him, while slumbering, what he sought to know. (Cf. *EI*, art. 'Istikhārāh'.) In *istikāf* the worshipper retires for the last ten days of Ramaḍān into the premises of the mosque, laying on himself rigorous rules of abstinence. The retreat is closely related to the watching of Lailat al-Qadr which is supposed to fall sometimes during these last ten days of that month. It is possible to equate *thrbn* as a practice with *istikāf*. Linguistic support can be found in the statement that the *mihrāb al-masjid* is so called because the Imām is alone in it, and that the *mihrāb* is the place where the king is alone (cf. *Tāj*, *supra*). This sense of retreat or isolation compares exactly with *mihrāb* in Qur'ān III, 37, 39, and XIX, 11. I take *thrbn* here, if it is understood as an act, as the verbal noun of form V. As such it could be denominative, in the sense of performing something in, or to do with, a *mihrāb*. In this connexion it may be recalled that Arabic *mihrāb* can apply to a tent (Lane), and that the Prophet performed his *istikāf* in a tent within the mosque. If, however, *thrbn* is to be taken as denoting a place, then it is possibly a *ṭifāl* like Arabic *timḥāl* as Professor Beeston suggests, cf. SA *ṭqr* 'dressed stones', possibly for *ṭinqar* (root *nqr*). As a substantive *thrb* could possibly have meant 'place of retirement', in this case either a cell in the temple, or, quite probably, a tent or some other *ad hoc* building. Another form *thrbt* seems probably to have been some sort of structure. GL, 738 (*RES*, 4632) was discovered built into the wall of an irrigation kiosk. Over it was a sculpture representing a man with an axe in his right hand and a shield in his left, with two alert dogs on both sides. The text reads:

1. MRTDM/wbñh/RTDM/bny
2. (ḡ)YHRHB/šmw/thrbt
3. (n)/ḥsfyhm/

Maria Hofner translates:

1. MRTDM and his son RTDM, of the clan
2. ḡ-YHRHB, have erected this fighting scene
3. for their safety

Dr. Höfner holds that the word *thrbt* is explained by the relief sculpture and that the dogs represent enemies, but I suggest that if the irrigation kiosk into which the inscription was built is a structure of antiquity, and if the inscription is a part of the original structure, the *thrbt* refers to the kiosk itself. The word would then bear the sense of 'chamber' or 'kiosk', possibly for observation. This may be further corroborated by *RES*, 3512, an inscription unfortunately badly damaged. It is on a libation altar in the British Museum, and it seems to have been offered as an act of thanksgiving for the building of a *thrb*. Line 3 reads: /ḡm'dm/bmwqr/ ḡthrbñ/bñm/ 'of fresh fruits (or dates) for the offering (or perhaps the meal, feast) for the kiosk of stone'. (*m'dm*, cf. Arabic *ma'd* 'tender vegetables, fresh fruits or dates'; *mwqr*, cf. Arabic *wakrah*, *wakīrah* 'food, a meal, given or made on the occasion of finishing a building', verb *wakara*; *ñm*, cf. Arabic *salimah*, pls. *silām* and *salīm*, 'a stone', in the dialect of Ḥimyar. As for the interchange between *s* and *ḡ* it is sufficient to indicate that this inscription is in Ḥadrami, a dialect which is known for the changing of *s* into *ḡ*.) (M.G.)

any direct association with the cult, it is appropriate to introduce new evidence as to the sense of *miḥrāb* which seems to throw a rather different light on its original meaning.

The Ḥaḍramī mosque

In the course of conversation with my invaluable Ḥaḍramī informant, Shaiḫ ‘Abdullāh Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl, certain strange terms he employed for the parts of a mosque attracted my attention. In answer to my further inquiries he sketched out roughly for me fig. 1, scribbling the words *ḡurat masjid* over it. Though perhaps no single mosque is intended, Raḥaiyam should have a very sound conceptual knowledge of a mosque plan for he has spent most of his life in and about mosques in Tarīm and elsewhere. I have never met anyone so full of religious lore as this shaiḫ.

At the top end of the plan is a covered hall, varying in size according to need, entirely closed in, but provided, of course, with roof, doors, and windows. This is called the *ḥammām* or *kanīn*, or *al-makān al-kanīn*, derived from the root *yakunn al-insān*, or *yiktann*, in the sense of ‘to cover’.¹ The term *ḥammām* obviously comes from the sense of heating for during the winter it can be bitterly cold in Ḥaḍramawt in the early morning and after dark, so much so, in fact, that one sometimes sees piles of palm-logs near a mosque used to heat the water for the ablution before the prayer. If *ḥammām* may not yet be discovered in the earlier sources such as al-Ḥamdānī’s *Jazīrah*, it is at any rate found in *al-Jawhar al-shaffāf*² composed before the year 855/1451 where *ḥammāms* are mentioned at al-Shihḥ with this special sense. *Al-Mashra’ al-rawī*³ alludes to the foundation of a *ḥammām* in a Tarīm mosque about 801/1398–9 in 917/1511–12. To the extent that *ḥammām* with this sense is not recorded by Lane, it does not seem to be known to the classical lexicons.

In front of the *ḥammām* is a covered area, a sort of portico known as the

¹ Mahmūd al-Qḥl has drawn my attention to the following passage from the *Taj al-artis*, older edit., x, p. 323:

والكنة بالضم جناح يخرج من حائط وشبهه أو هي سقيفة تشرع فوق باب الدار أو مظلة تكون هناك عن أبي عمرو أو مخدع أو راف يتشرع في البيت أو كالصفة بين يدي البيت عن أبي عمرو.

² Photocopy in SOAS, part II, tale no. 407.

³ Muh. b. Abī Bakr al-Shillī, *al-Mashra’ al-rawī*, Cairo, A.H. 1319, I, 1–1. *Al-Mashra’ al-rawī*, op. cit., I, 136–7, discusses the construction of the Masjid Āl Bā ‘Alawī formerly known as the Masjid Banī Ahmad at Tarīm by the famous Saiyid Muhammad b. ‘Alī Khālī Qasam. It was built of good clay from Bait Jubair, the unbaked clay brick (*līb*) transported to Tarīm on the engine known as *al-jarādīm*, ‘which is an engine set on wheels (*a jāl*), drawn by oxen and mules, it also being called *al-arābah*’. It was rebuilt by ‘Umar al-Mihdār in 801/1398–9, and a minaret added in local style, not like those of the Holy Cities which are after Turkish style. Then he built for it a *maḥall kanīn*, ‘for prayer in the winter days’ adjacent to it on the east side, ‘and it was made a *raqf* as a mosque known to them as a *ḥammām*’. On account of its being a *kanīn*, cisterns (*birāk*) were made near by it in which water is heated; they call it a *ḥammām* because the *ḥammām* is derived from *ḥamīm*, i.e. ‘hot water’, for it is not the Persian (*‘ajamī*) *ḥammām* concerning prayer in which the prohibition has come down to us.’ The author then cites two Traditions on this subject. This passage is not very explicit as to the location of the *kanīn* but it looks as if it was built on the side opposite the *qiblah*, perhaps added to the front of the mosque.

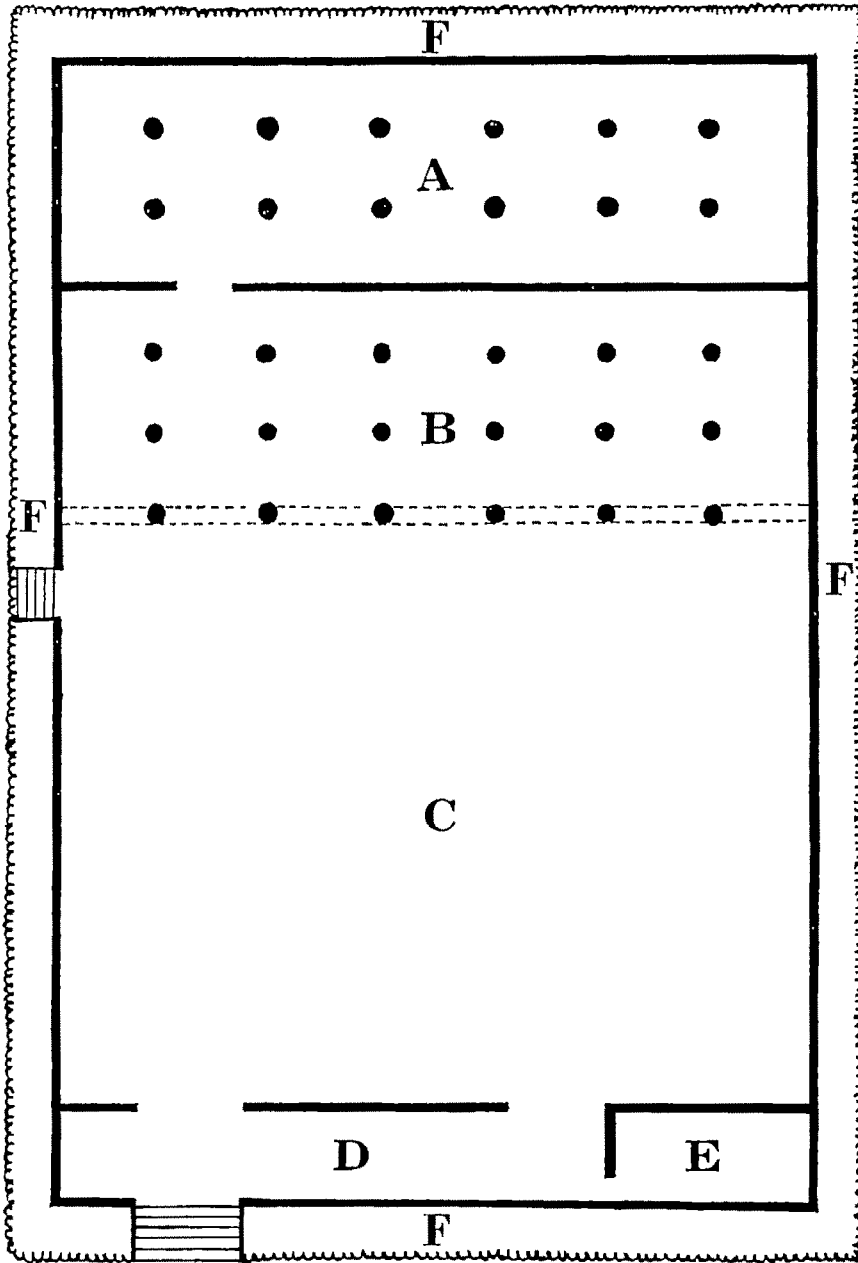


FIG. 1.—The Ḥadramī mosque. A, the *hammām* or *al-makān al-kanīn*, the covered hall; B, the *mahārīb*, opening on to the court of the mosque; C, the *dāhī* or *ṣaḥn*, the open court of the mosque; D, the *maḥāz* or passage; E, the *ṣawābī*, cisterns for ablutions; F, the *‘usbi* or stone platform upon which the mosque is constructed.

N.B.—The minaret or minarets are not shown, but as the minaret is usually at the north-east corner nowadays it would be sited somewhere in the region of the area marked E. The *qiblah* would probably lie somewhere above the letter A. Ḥadramī mosques face only a little north of west, and for this reason the west is known as *al-qiblī*.

maḥārīb, open on its other side to a court. A single *maḥārīb* was stated by Raḥaiyam to be a *ṣaff ḥaqq al-sawārī*, a row of columns, along with the spaces in between each column, but it seems to be applied to the whole of this portion of the mosque. That this sense is not recent is confirmed by the hagiology of the *Āl Khaṭīb Mashāyikh*,¹ a tenth/sixteenth century work which speaks of *al-ʿūd al-manṣūb fī ākḥir ṣaff al-maḥārīb* 'the beam set upon the last row of columns'. That the word *miḥrāb* may be applied to whatever portion of the mosque that has rows of columns I deduce from *al-Jawhar al-ṣaffāf*: where the mosque has *al-miḥrāb al-ṣarqī wa'l-miḥrāb al-qibṭī* 'the eastern and western *miḥrābs*'. I think that this must be understood as covered colonnades on the east and west sides of the mosque court. The Ḥaḍramī mosque not infrequently has such pillared colonnades on all four sides of the court as I recall from the *jāmi'* mosque in Tarīm which has the interesting name of Maḍyan, presumably meaning 'the place of *ḍīn*'. To certain doors into this mosque on the east side Raḥaiyam gave the name of *miṣḡar* (pl. *maṣāḡir*). A photograph of such a type of mosque can be seen in D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissman's *Hadramaut*,² the broad face of which, from my recollections of al-Ghurfaḥ must lie towards the *qiblah*.

In front of the *maḥārīb* lies an open court, *ṣaḥn*, but it is called a *dāḥī* in Ḥaḍramawt, i.e. a place exposed to the sun, opposed to the covered *kanīn*. The hagiologies of the *Āl Bā ʿAbbād Mashāyikh*³ allude to the *dāḥī masjid Shibām* 'the courtyard of the *Shibām* mosque'.

A passage in front of the open court is called *al-majāz*, leading to the *jawābī* (S. *jābiyah*) or ablution place which, I recall, is considered unclean and hardly part of the mosque proper; it is *maḥall al-wuḍūʿ*. *Al-Iktūl al-waqqād*⁴ speaks of the *majāz jābiyat masjid al-Kharoqah* at *Shibām* about the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century, so this is not a recent term either.

The minaret (*manārah*) is generally though not invariably at the north-east corner (*al-rukn al-ṣarqī al-najdī*), as in fact can be seen from the photograph of al-Ghurfaḥ mosque in *Hadramaut*, but Raḥaiyam stated that minarets used, first of all, to be on the mid north side of mosques. Those who were the first to plan the minaret at the north-east corner of the *jāmi'* all very soon died. In this convention so sanctified by custom, there is likely to be some underlying significance but it seems to have been forgotten.

On the western side of *jawāmi'* or mosques of assembly, and the *jabbānah* which is the mosque at a burial place,⁵ there is usually a small door for the *ṣalāt al-ʿid* and for the prayer over the dead. There is usually also a door for the *khaṭīb* to enter without passing through the congregation. (It is interesting to remark that the prayer for rain (*al-istisqāʿ*) is held in the *maṣyāl* or flood-bed,

¹ 'Materials for South Arabian history', *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, 305.

² op. cit., tale no. 328.

³ *Hadramaut*, Leiden, 1832, opp. p. 192.

⁴ *Al-Iktūl al-waqqād*, cf. 'Materials for South Arabian history', II, *ESOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 589. I was able to examine copies of this work in Ḥurādah and in Saiḡūr in 1954.

⁵ Discussed in 'The cemeteries of Tarīm', *Le Muséon*, LXII, 1949, 151.

everywhere. In Tarīm by custom it is held in the watercourse which passes through its three cemeteries.)

The mosque, like an ordinary house, is built on a foundation platform of stones several feet above ordinary ground level; on one side, sometimes on all sides, this projects beyond the walls to form a sort of bank known in Tarīm as *al-‘uṣbī*, explained as *dakkah* or *ruqḍah ṭawīlah*. *Dakkah* is the common word for this step or bank, and indeed I remember hearing it used for the same purpose as far away from Arabia as in a district town south of Kano in Nigeria.¹ For the period 834–7/1430–4 *al-Iktl al-waqqād* speaks of the ‘*uṣbī* of the *jāmi‘*’ at al-*Ghurfaḥ* which, as we have noted, is illustrated in *Hadramawt*. Again in the *Ḥuraidah* copy of *al-Iktl al-waqqād* it is said of a mosque in the year 839/1435, *wa-‘ad nūrat-uh baqīyah wa-‘l-‘uṣbī* ‘its plaster still remains, and its ‘*uṣbī*’. At the tomb of *Shaiḫ* *‘Uthmān* near Aden the manṣab informed me that this same bank was called *al-baḡhalah*.

Mihrāb

The Ḥaḍramī sources so far cited relating to the curious use of *mihrāb* in Ḥaḍramawt are comparatively late, but Imra’u ‘l-Qais refers to the *maḥārīb al-aqwāl*, the *qails* being South Arabian princes as is well known.²

Saiyid ‘Alawī b. Ṭāhir³ relates that the saint *Shaiḫ* Sālim (Bā Fādī) (ob. 581/1185–6) who set up schools in Hajar was wrongfully slain while he was in his *mihrāb* reciting the *sūrahs*. Al-*Sharjī*⁴ speaks of a saint as ‘sitting in the *mihrāb*’ of a school (*madrasah*). Al-*Sharjī*⁵ does, however, use *mihrāb* unequivocally in the sense of *qiblah* or the place where the *qiblah* was. I was surprised to learn recently too that in Aden the Imām actually sits in the niche, when delivering the *khutbah*, for the *minbar* is moved into the niche which is large enough to hold it.

In the Mombasa mosques, in two or three of which I attended an evening *darsah*, the teacher does not sit in the niche, but in front of it, and the rest of those attending the *darsah* are mostly arranged facing him. It is interesting too, that at Malindi in Kenya, offerings (*nadhīrah*) of incense are made at the *qiblah* niche. This so persists that in the ruined *qiblahs* of Gedi which he has excavated, James Kirkman showed me offerings of this sort newly made as a form of *ṣadaqah*. It seems that the word *mihrāb* is hardly known here, and indeed it is apparently not really used in spoken Swahili at all or by the Arabic speakers of the coast, though the word being a cult term naturally figures in the Swahili dictionaries. This, I think, is only to be explained by the fact that the Arabic vocabulary of Swahili and of the Muslim cult are directly derived from the Shāfi‘ī Arabs of Ḥaḍramawt and, perhaps to a lesser extent, of the

¹ *Dakkah* is discussed in ‘A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān’, *JRAS*, 1953, p. 129. Al-*Sharjī*, *Ṭabaqāt al-khawāṣṣ*, Cairo, 1903, 77, refers to the *dakkah* of a house.

² W. M. de Slane, *Le Diwan d’ Amro ‘l-Kais*, Paris, 1837, p. 52/33.

³ *‘Uqūd al-almās*, Singapore, 1949–, II, 75.

⁴ op. cit., 108.

⁵ op. cit., 154.

Yemen, who may have commonly used the word *mihrāb* for something not directly identical with the *qiblah*.

There are more than a few references to the *mihrāb* in the early Islāmic period which demonstrate that it was not applied to a niche but to something much larger. At Damascus in the Great Mosque the portion known as the 'Mihrāb of the Companions of the Prophet' may have been an area rather than a wall.¹ Al-Kindī² speaks of the *qiblah* of the mosque as a place where prayer was made, and this might imply that the latter term too meant more than a niche at first. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam³ speaks of a person before 89/707 who *raka'a fi 'l-mihrāb* 'made the prostrations in the *mihrāb*', and Ibn Qalānisi⁴ refers to *mihrāb al-muṣallā* and uses *maḥārīb* in a way which implies that they were not prayer-niches, but a part of the mosque in which numbers of people could stand and pray. Yet again there are early references to *mihrābs* of David and other prophets at Jerusalem giving the impression that they were some sort of chapel.⁵

A tradition on the authority of Suyūṭī is quoted by Lammens,⁶ which has been taken rather uncritically by those who have used it. *Ittaqū ḥādhihi 'l-madhābiḥ, ya'ni 'l-maḥārīb* 'disassociate yourselves from these *madhbaḥs* (lit. places of slaughter), meaning *mihrābs*'. It has previously been suggested by certain scholars that it was forbidden to use the *mihrāb* (which they understand in the sense of a prayer-niche) because it was linked with the Christian cult. However there is a clue to the sense of this Tradition in the *Tāj*,⁷ 'The *madhbaḥs* (lit. places of slaughter, altars) are *maḥārīb*, so called because of the sacrifices (*qarābīn*), and the *madhbaḥs* are the chancels (*maqṣūrah*) in the churches, the plural of *maqṣūrah*, and it is said they are the *maḥārīb* and the *madhābiḥ*'. To understand *mihrāb* in the sense of a *maqṣūrah* or chancel throws a very different light on the prohibition.

The Muslim traditional account of the evolution of the *maqṣūrah* is well known; nor does it seem to me that one need necessarily look for analogies

¹ E. M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelukes*, Paris, 1837, II, appendix, p. 282 seq.; cf. *ibid.*, I, 164, citing a text referring to the Umayyad Mosque mentioning a '*mihrāb avec (fi-hi) trois maḥṣūrah*'. Quatremère quotes several references to *mihrābs* in the Damascus mosque which seem to show that the *maqṣūrah* contained or abutted on to a *mihrāb*. Perhaps the phrase quoted means that the *mihrāb* was so large that there were several *maqṣūrahs* in front of it. For this study the material he quotes is, however, rather late, except in so far as it seems to suggest that the name *mihrāb* may have been particularized from the whole *maqṣūrah* to the *qiblah* in front of it.

² *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. A. R. Guest, London, 1912, p. 62.

³ *The history of the conquest of Egypt*, ed. C. C. Torrey, New Haven, 1922, p. 238.

⁴ Ed. H. F. Amedroz, *History of Damascus*, Leiden, 1908, 9.

⁵ Tabari, *Tārīkh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, etc., Leiden, 1879-1901, I, 2408. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Via et regna* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1873, 112 seq.

⁶ H. Lammens, 'Ziād ibn Abihi', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, IV, 1911-12, 246.

⁷ Here I have rendered *ittaḥū* following my theory that it is not always to be derived from the root *تق*, but often from the root *طق*, and that it means as it would in tribal law in South Arabia to-day, to purify or absolve oneself from. I think it will be conceded that this gives a better sense here.

⁸ *Tāj al-'arūs*, older edition, I, 759.

in the Christian churches of Syria. There seems no doubt that the Prophet prayed at the *qiblah* end of the covered area in the primitive mosque at Medina, that is to say that he must have prayed amongst the columns that supported its roof. Thereby the position of the Imām at the prayer was established. There would be no difficulty in placing some sort of grille or barrier to link these columns together, thus forming a *maqṣūrah*. Even so slight an alteration, so trifling an innovation made by the Caliph would attract the opposition of the meticulous Arabian conservatism which has to be experienced to be realized. So, in this Tradition, I see, not an attack upon the *mihrāb* in its (later) sense as a prayer-niche, but as applied to the *maqṣūrah* introduced by Mu'āwiyah at Damascus. The Tradition is anti-Umayyad in so far as the *maqṣūrah* happened to be an innovation of Mu'āwiyah, surely the most 'democratic' of rulers, but it is really an expression of intense conservatism. Although it is an ancient Arabian word, it is not without relevance that *mihrāb* does not appear in Wensinck's index¹ to Tradition, and from this the deduction can be made that it had no significance for the cult. It may have been only a technical term in the vocabulary of architecture.

Ibn Qais al-Ruqaiyāt,² in a verse addressed to the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, speaks of a ruined castle (*dār*) being deserted 'as the *maḥārīb* of vanished peoples (*ka-mā aqwat maḥārīb dārisi 'l-umamī*)'. This is perhaps a cliché of his style for it occurs a second time in his *Dīwān*.³ The commentary runs, 'The *maḥārīb* are *masājīd* (places of prostration) made of graven stone (*ḥijārah manqūrah*) and raised above ground level (*al-arḍ*), and therefore they endure, and they are the *naṣā'ib*'. The *Tāj*⁴ states that the *naṣā'ib* are stones (*ḥijārah*) set up (*tunṣab*) around the Ka'bah, at which *labbaika* was said (*yuhallu 'alai-hā*), and where sacrifice was made (*yudhbaḥ*). Another definition given is that they are 'stones set up about a watering-trough (*ḥawl ḥawḍ*), the spaces between which are stopped up by kneaded mud brick (*maḍarah ma'jūnah*)'. This kind of structure is common in Arabia. From the commentary it will readily be perceived that *mihrāb* in the sense of *naṣā'ib* comes very close to the Ḥaḍramī usage. A *nusbah*, of course, also means a *sāriyah* or column.

The association of sacrifice with the *mihrāb* is reminiscent of the sacrifice at, or to pillars or stones. This also forms a part of the ancient ritual of the hunt which has survived to the present day in Ḥaḍramawt and which will be described at greater length in a forthcoming study of this subject.

A persistent poetical image is that of the statue in the *mihrāb*, seemingly a cliché of poetic diction universally common to Arabia. Apart from the quotation from the *Tāj* (*supra*), there is al-A'shā's, *dumyat-un fī mihrābi*

¹ A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance de la Tradition musulmane*, Leiden, 1936- .

² N. Rhodokanakis, *Der Dīwān des 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn Kais ar-Ruqaiyāt* (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philos.-hist. Kl., CXLIV), Wien, 1902, 74.

³ *ibid.*, 222.

⁴ *Tāj al-'arūs*, op. cit., I, 486

Tadmura 'a statue (or image) in the *mihrāb* of Tadmur'. 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'ah says,

Dumyat-un 'inda rāhib-in dhi 'jīhād-in.
Ṣawwarū-hā fī jānibi 'l-mihrābi

'An image at (the place of) an industrious monk,
 Which they fashioned (drew) on the side of the *mihrāb*'.¹

I prefer to regard all meanings here as secondary to the basic sense of *mihrāb* as a row of columns with their intervening spaces. From this basic sense one might render *mihrāb* as 'niche', but more likely as the side of the monk's cell, or the side of the chancel, i.e. a wall linking columns, or simply understand the verse as referring to columns with statues set up between them. This type of decoration was a common enough artistic convention in pre-Islāmic Southern Arabia itself as we know from the Hombrechtikon plaque published by Professor Honeyman, the provenance of which seems to be the Ma'rib region.²

That the *dumyah* was an image rather than a picture, can be demonstrated from the verse of 'Adī b. Zaid ³ *ka-duma 'l-'āji fī 'l-maḥārīb*: 'like statues of ivory in the *maḥārīb*'. To revert to Tadmur too, it is of course rich in rows of columns, whether in its arcades or the imposing portico of the Sun Temple itself.

Landberg ⁴ quotes a verse from the *Diwān* of Qais b. al-Khaṭīm which describes the Jews as having brought spices and perfumes to 'un magasin à coupole, tout près du ciel, dans son *mihrāb*, *ilā kubbāt-in ḥuwaina 'l-samā-i bi-mihrābi-hā*'. This I should prefer to render as, 'a tent with its *mihrāb*'. The Bedouin tent can in fact be said to be dome-like, as may conveniently be ascertained from Colonel Dickson's drawings ⁵; the shape of tent that he illustrates may be found as far south as Baiḥān. The *mihrāb* of Qais al-Khaṭīm I should understand to be the open side of the tent with its row of tent poles. One would then think of the articles of merchandise spread out in front of the tent, and hence *ilā* is used to express their position, while the owner of the goods sits in the shade actually inside the tent.

Landberg has also discussed Rhodokanakis's proposal to link *mihrāb* with *ḥarbah* 'a spear'. However I cannot feel that *mihrāb* is connected directly with the Prophet's custom of using a spear as a *sutraḥ*, recorded in Traditions quoted by al-Bukhārī and others. It may be that the spear was used in open country to ascertain times or direction by the sun, for one certainly speaks

¹ Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Ahmad Muh. Shākir, Cairo, 1937-56, II, 507. The phrase 'on the side of' is susceptible of more than one interpretation; cf. W. Wright's edition, 378.

² 'The Hombrechtikon plaque', *Iraq*, XVI, 1, 1954, 23-8. May this plaque perhaps represent a hierodule dancing at some religious ceremony, and a male devotee who has stripped himself naked in his ecstasy?

³ *Al-Kāmil*, op. cit., II, 767; W. Wright's ed., 460.

⁴ *Gloss. dat.*, 394.

⁵ H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London, 1949, 68-9. The cloth projecting above the tent poles might conceivably be compared with a dome (*qubbah*), or vice versa the dome might be likened to the projection of the tent.

to-day of the sun as having risen *qadr rumh* 'a spear's length'. On the other hand in Muḥammad's practice there may be retained the vestige of the cult which sacrificed at columns and standing stones, purified from any significance by Islām. To link *mihrāb* with *ḥarbah* is attractive in a different way, for *saḥm* 'an arrow' is still used to mean 'a column' in Ḥaḍramawt. Certainly the long low Bedouin tent suspended on a series of poles is not so very remote from a row of spears.

While I do not dispute the suggestions made by Maḥmūd al-Ghūl,¹ perhaps the pre-Islāmic *thrbt* (*supra*) is derived from the *taf'ilah* form of the root *ḥrb* and would have the fundamental sense of setting up a *mihrāb* or row of *ḥarbahs*. Subsequently it might be applied to the row of pillars or the structure in which they were used. Professor Beeston suggests, however, that the word might equally well have the form *tihrābah*.² Possibly, too, there may be an etymological relationship with the word *raḥbah* applied to the court of a mosque³ or house.

Mihrāb and qiblah

It remains to suggest a process by which the *mihrāb* became associated with the prayer-niche.

Mihrāb evidently can mean a pillared sitting-place, open at one side, set at some eminence above ordinary ground level. Where it is actually described as lofty, I am inclined to think it equivalent to the type of pillared portico so common in the large Ḥaḍramī houses, set on an upper story, or on the roof, forming one side of a little court. This is a structure with which all visitors to the country must be thoroughly familiar. An example can be seen in the late Sulṭān 'Alī's palace at al-Qatn, though this is perhaps not the most characteristic.⁴

Landberg compares the *mihrāb* with the *liwān* of Damascus, and in Palmyra, a good few years ago now, I sat in just such a *liwān* in a Bedouin house often enough, but it was not pillared. The ancient verse⁵ supports this view,

Ka-'aḡilati 'l-durri 'staḡā'a bi-hā

Mihrāba 'arshi 'azīzi-ha 'l-'ujmu

'She is like the choicest of pearls wherewith

the Persians light up the arch of the throne of the King'.

One is immediately reminded of Ctesiphon.

The ordinary Arabian, however, cannot afford to spend much on building construction, and in place of such luxury as a *mihrāb-liwān*, is content usually to sit in the shade of his house, and spend the evening on his *dakkah*. The *maḥārīb* of the palaces of the ancient Arabian aristocracy may well be in

¹ See p. 442, n. 3.

² See p. 442, n. 3.

³ The *Tāj al-'arūs* refers to 'Alī sitting in the *raḥbat Maṣyid al-Kūfah*, wa-ḥiya *ṣahnu-hu*; cf. Ibn Samūrah, *Tabaqāt al-fuḡahā' al-Yaman*, ed. Fu'ād Saiyid, Cairo, 1957, 36.

⁴ D. van der Meulen, *Aden to the Hadramaut*, London, 1947, illustration no. 61.

⁵ *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall, Oxford, 1921, p. 213; trans., Oxford, 1918, p. 75.

allusion to the belvederes and porticoes with which the roofs of their castles were crowned. So when Ibn Hishām and Abū Nuwās¹ speak of the musk of the *maḥārīb* of Ṣanʿā² the reception roofs and porticoes would be intended. Ibn al-Mujāwir³ quotes Ibn Duraid,

Wa-ʾhtalla min Ghumdān mihrāba ʾl-dumāʾi

‘In Ghumdān (castle) he came to the *mihrāb* of the statues’.

The verse is hardly to be interpreted literally as I have rendered it. The *mihrāb al-dumāʾi* is doubtless the place where the women, all of them, by convention, lovely, are to be found. Their part of the house in palaces of aristocratic

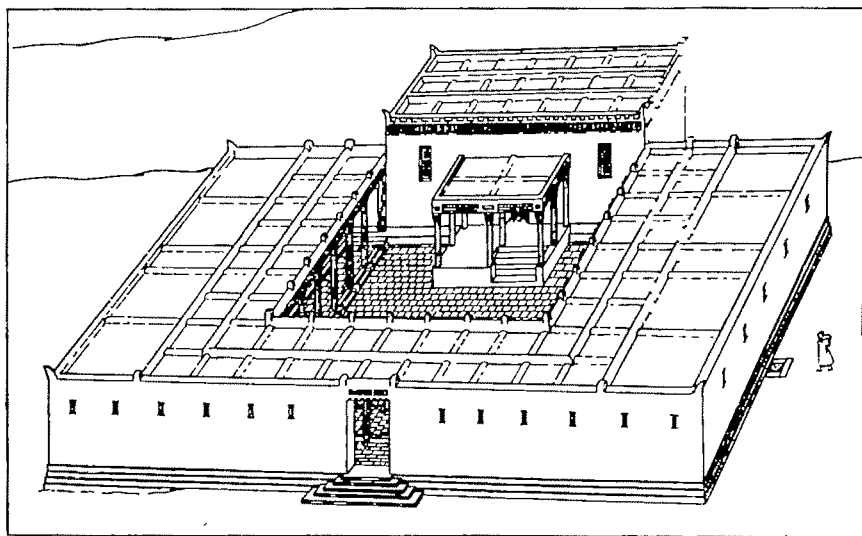


FIG. 2.—The temple at Hugga in the Yemen after Rathjens and von Wissmann. No roof drainage is shown, but probably gutter-spouts (*mizrāb*) should be supplied.

families is very often on the top floor, with access to their own part of the roof which has no doubt its own *mihrābs*. The reference to musk could be an indirect allusion to the women, for it is curious how often *mihrāb* is mentioned with perfumes. It is possible also, if perhaps less likely, that the allusion is to the Yemenite fondness for perfumes and incense. On the roofs and other parts of the house, incense braziers are often seen casually set down.

Rathjens and von Wissmann⁴ show a reconstruction of the Hugga temple in the Upper Yemen (fig. 2). It consists of a court, surrounded on all sides by pillared arcades, with a hall in the same relative position, more or less, as the Ḥaḍramī *ḥammām*. In front of this pre-Islāmic *ḥammām* is a pillared portico raised a little above the court, whence it is approached by a flight of steps. This accords quite well with the description from which ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd is said, in the passage cited from the *Tāj* (*supra*), to have performed the *adhān*.

¹ Quoted in *Gloss. dat.*, 395.

² cf. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, O.U.P., 1955, 32.

³ Ibn al-Mujāwir, *op. cit.*, II, 182.

⁴ 'Vorislamische Altertümer', *Sudarabien-Reise*, Hamburg, 1932, II 65.

It will be perceived that the plan of the Hugga temple, that of the Prophet's mosque at Medina,¹ and the plans of the early Islāmic mosques shown by Sauvaget² are basically identical with that of the traditional Ḥaḍramī mosque, namely a court with a pillared portion for prayer on the *qiblah* side. These may again be compared with the plan of the Great Mosque (*al-Jāmi' al-Kabir*) of Ṣan'ā', known to have been built at the time of the Prophet.³

In summary conclusion it is proposed that the original sense of *mihrāb* is a row of columns, that even before Islām it had come to be applied to structures consisting of rows of columns, invariably, of course, erected upon a plinth. As a feature of castles and palaces it came to be applied tropically to them. It is suggested that during the Umayyad period, while retaining its other senses, it was the name given to the *maqṣūrah* which was situated in the plane immediately in front of the *qiblah* wall, but *mihrāb* had probably already something of the idea of a *maqṣūrah* about it before then. I feel inclined to see in its ultimate development into the term for the *qiblah* niche, a direct derivation from its fundamental significance as a row of pillars, for the plans show pillars in the *qiblah* wall of the Prophet's mosque, but it may quite conceivably have developed the last-named sense from its proximity to the *mihrāb-maqṣūrah*, the position of the Imām.

As a postscript I should like to quote a piece of indirect evidence which seems to indicate that *mihrāb* signifying a *maqṣūrah* was used by the Sudanese Mahdiyyah. The English version of Slatin's memoirs,⁴ alluding to the five daily prayers, states that, 'On all these occasions the Khalifa attends in his *mihrāb* (niche), which has been erected immediately in front of the lines of believers. It is a square-shaped structure, consisting of a series of columns connected by open iron-work, through which he can see all that is going on around him'.

Supplementary note

Maḥmūd al-Ḡhūl has further drawn my attention to a passage in 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā* (Cairo, A.H. 1348), IV, 239; which states that *maḥārīb* are innovations not known to the Prophet. From the text it appears that he understands *mihrāb* as something like a *maqṣūrah*.

¹ Sauvaget, op. cit., pp. 94 (fifteenth century plan), 90.

² op. cit., p. 109.

³ See the plan, based on that of Rathjens and von Wissmann, and supplemented with photographs in Hugh Scott, *In the high Yemen*, London, 1942, p. 127. Ibn Rustah, *Kutāb al-A'lāq al-nafisah*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (BGA), Leiden, 1892, VII, 110, reports that it was built on a pre-Islāmic site, a temple one surmises, and that this *masjid jāmi'* was constructed by order of the Apostle of God, near the walls of Ṣan'ā', opposite Ḡhumdān, of stone and gypsum (*jīss*). In the place of the *mihrāb* was the grave of one of the prophets (*fī ma'adī' al-mihrāb qabr min qubūr al-anbiyā'*).

⁴ Rudolf C. Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan*, trans. by F. R. Wingate, London, 1897, 320. It looks as if 'niche' is a rather unintelligent gloss of the translator, for what Slatin describes is manifestly not a niche, but a species of *maqṣūrah*.

A

AMIRAN-DAREJANIANI
A GEORGIAN ROMANCE AND ITS ENGLISH
RENDERING

By D. M. LANG and G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS

- I. The translator and his text
- II. Outline of the story
- III. Amiran-Darejan and Amiran-Prometheus
- IV. Amiran-Darejan and Amīr Ḥamza
- V. Notes on Mr. Stevenson's version

I

AMONG several fine works of medieval Georgian romance and epic poetry, pride of place belongs to Shot'a Rust'aveli's *Man in the panther's skin*, a work inspired by the ideals of valour, comradeship, and courtly love and combining lofty poetic inspiration with profound insight into the human mind. Secondly we have the Georgian version of the old Iranian love story of Vis and Rāmīn, rendered in prose by Sargis of T'mogvi—a tender, protracted romance, which has been compared with that of Tristan and Isolde. Both have long been available in English. Rust'aveli's epic poem was translated by Marjory Wardrop,¹ the *Visramiani* by her brother Oliver.²

A third important Georgian romance of the 'Golden Age' of Georgian literature is *Amiran-Darejaniani*, or 'The story of Amiran, son of Darejan', a prose work in twelve episodes or chapters attributed to Moses of Khoni (Mose Khoneli), who is supposed to have flourished in the twelfth century. *Amiran-Darejaniani* has a flavour somewhat different from that of the two last-mentioned works. It is a *Ritterroman* pure and simple—an account of endless battles and joustings, with a strong fairy-tale element involving dragons, evil spirits, *devils*, magic men of copper, miraculous elixirs, and other supernatural phenomena. This cycle of tales, valuable as much for the insight it provides into the manners and beliefs of the medieval Orient as for its purely literary merits, now appears for the first time in English translation³—this being the first occasion, in fact, that it has been rendered from the Georgian into any other language. Mr. Stevenson's translation, which is sponsored by

¹ *The man in the panther's skin: a romantic epic by Shot'ha Rust'aveli. A close rendering from the Georgian attempted by Marjory Scott Wardrop* (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., **xxi**), London, 1912.

² *Visramiani: the story of the loves of Vis and Ramin, a romance of ancient Persia. Translated from the Georgian version by Oliver Wardrop* (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., **xxiii**), London, 1914.

³ *Amiran-Darejaniani: a cycle of medieval Georgian tales traditionally ascribed to Mose Khoneli. Translated by R. H. Stevenson.* **xxxiii**, 240 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 42s.

the trustees of the Marjory Wardrop Fund established in Oxford for the encouragement of Georgian studies, has been awaited with interest, as being likely to contribute notably to our knowledge of Georgian literature and medieval romance in general.

Unhappily, an excellent opportunity has been largely missed. The present publication falls short of what had been hoped of it. Although he evidently possesses a competent knowledge of literary Georgian and has been in touch with some first-rate scholars in the field, the translator's efforts are frustrated throughout by his dependence on the most corrupt and antiquated of the three editions of *Amiran-Darejaniani* which exist—namely that brought out in 1896 by the old-world Tiflis littérateur Zak'aria Dehidchinadze (Tchitchinadze, or Čičinadze), who himself relied exclusively on a single nineteenth-century copy of poor quality, abounding in confusions and spelling mistakes. Mr. Stevenson seems well aware of the deficiencies of his model, which, he says, 'bristles with every kind of syntactical solecism, aberrant form, and impossible orthography'. 'Yet it was this unhappy publication', the translator continues, 'that of necessity [*sic*] provided the basis of the translation which follows.'¹

These excuses will scarcely mollify those who are disconcerted by the errors and confusions with which this new English version abounds. No amount of emendation, however ingenious, can ever be as effective as reference to a correct and authentic text. Mr. Stevenson dates his preface from Cambridge. Had he carried his researches as far afield as the Oriental Students' Room of the British Museum or the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, it is safe to say that his conception of the text on which he was working would have been considerably modified. In 1949, a new edition of the whole of *Amiran-Darejaniani*, complete with the apocryphal sequels, was included, together with a glossary, in S. Qubaneishvili's chrestomathy of classical Georgian literature, published by the University of Tiflis.² Although Mr. Stevenson refers in a note to this publication, which has been available in London since 1955, it is clear that he has never seen it, since he erroneously states it to contain 'selections' only.³ In the event, Qubaneishvili's chrestomathy contains a complete and methodical edition of the entire work, based on four specified manuscripts in the Tiflis State Museum, dating from the seventeenth century. This marks a tremendous advance on Dehidchinadze's pioneer effort, many of the incongruities in which are now shown up as scribal or printer's errors, though a number of these are unfortunately still reflected in Mr. Stevenson's rendering. Even without this complete edition, it would certainly have been possible to purge some sections at least of the text simply by reference to Georgian literary textbooks for schools, some of which, edited under the

¹ *ibid.*, p. xiv.

² S. Qubaneishvili, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia*, II, Tiflis, 1949, pp. 1-111, and sequels, pp. 111-39.

³ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, trans. Stevenson, p. xiv, n. 3. The availability of this chrestomathy was notified to Mr. Stevenson while his translation was still in typescript.

supervision of the philologist Professor A. G. Shanidze, contain critically revised extracts, complete with notes and bibliography.¹

Mr. Stevenson gives virtually no information about the surviving manuscripts of *Amiran-Darejaniani*; yet these are by no means rare. The most important ones are in the Soviet Union, namely in the Tiflis State Museum. The printed guide to this collection, and the volumes of the complete catalogue already published, give abundant details of the existing manuscript material, which is not inconsiderable.²

As in the case of Rustaveli's *Man in the panther's skin*, all manuscripts earlier than the seventeenth century have perished or been lost to sight. From the point of view of orthography and archaic turns of phrase, MS A-441 of the Tiflis Museum might naturally be assigned to the sixteenth century; however, it is written on paper the watermark of which belongs to the first half of the seventeenth. Another important manuscript is No. E-2149, also of the seventeenth century, a volume formerly in the library of the Georgian scholar and satirical writer Prince Ioane Bagration, or Ioane Batonishvili (1768-1830).³ Where these copies are defective, the text can be reconstructed from MSS Q-340 and S-393, also of the seventeenth century, but probably somewhat later than the two already mentioned. (MS S-393 formed part of the dowry of Princess Mariam Orbeliani when she married the Prince-Regent of Guria in 1798.) The same Tiflis collection has a number of respectable copies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as No. A-454, which is illustrated with miniatures; also H-929, H-1080, H-2098, H-2316, Q-619, S-1623, and S-3708. Substantial fragments occur in MSS H-1201 and H-1202, and there are sundry later manuscripts of lesser value. The copy from which Dchidchinadze printed the edition on which Mr. Stevenson's translation is based, MS S-1119, dates from the nineteenth century and is described as 'an extremely corrupt and disfigured text'. A number of emendations to the English rendering now before us are suggested in section V, below.

II

It is a matter of dispute to what extent we are to regard Mose Khoneli as an independent author, or simply as a compiler and adaptor of heroic stories already in circulation, which he enclosed within a loose narrative framework

¹ e.g. *Dzveli k'art'uli ena da literatura, k'restomat'ia sashualo sh-ile IX klasiat'vis*, 9th ed., Tiflis, 1947, pp. 51-60; *Dzveli k'art'uli literatura, k'restomat'ia asl-iad skolis VIII klasiat'vis*, 15th ed., Tiflis, 1956, pp. 62-81.

² *Sak'art'velos sakhelmdsp'o muzeumis dzvel khel'nadseri'a satsurbiis gramkolevi*, Tiflis, 1951, pp. 59, 139, 168, 214 (this is a concise, single volume guide); *Sak'art'velos sakhelmdsp'o muzeumis k'art'ul khel'nadseri'a aghdseriloba . . . (H kolek'tsia)—Description des manuscrits géorgiens du Musée d'État de Géorgie . . . (collection H)*, vols. I-VI, Tiflis, 1945-52 (containing description of the MSS in the former Historical and Ethnographic Society's collection); ditto, *A kolek'tsia*, vol. IV, Tiflis, 1954 (being a continuation of the three-volume *Opisanie rukopisey Tserkornogo Muzeya*, compiled by T. Zhordania and M. G. Janashvili, Tiflis, 1902-8). See further Qubaneishvili, *K'restomat'ia*, II, p. 1.

³ *Description des manuscrits géorgiens . . . (collection H)*, IV, 109.

of the type which one associates with the *Thousand and one nights*, the *Katila wa Dimna*, and other oriental collections. The appearance of Mr. Stevenson's translation should facilitate comparison of the themes and motifs, proper names, geographical terms, and so forth occurring in *Amiran-Darejaniani* with those found in other collections of stories. Unfortunately, the publishers have not provided an index. It seems desirable therefore to give a brief outline of the plot of *Amiran-Darejaniani*, with special emphasis on those features which may be of interest to students of comparative folk-lore and mythology.

1. *The story of Abesalom, the Indian king*

While out hunting, King Abesalom of India sets off in vain pursuit of a marvellous antelope 'with golden horns, black eyes and hooves, a white belly, and a red back'. He lights upon a building within which are portraits of the champion and knight-errant Amiran Darejanisdze, his two comrades, and their three retainers, together with a picture of the daughter of the King of the Seas. Nearby on the plain lie bones of men and horses, and piles of shattered armour. King Abesalom is anxious to learn more about these mysterious heroes. On the advice of one of his vazirs, he sends envoys into Persia to inquire whether any of Amiran's old comrades are still alive. In a city 'on the bank of a river that came flowing down from the land of Balkh', they came upon the venerable Savarsamidze, erstwhile companion of Amiran in his exploits. Savarsamidze reluctantly agrees to proceed to Abesalom's court and satisfy his desire for knowledge about Amiran and his mighty deeds.

2. *The story of Badri Iamanisdze; the battle of Badri Iamanisdze and the champion Arzamaniki*¹

Savarsamidze relates to King Abesalom the following story: One day, Amiran, son of Darejan, encounters a man clad in black, riding on a black steed, and mourning for his lord, Badri Iamanisdze [i.e. Badr the Yemeni]. He tells Amiran of Badri's prowess, and gives an account of his expedition to carry off the daughter of the King of the Seas. Badri challenges Shavi Dchabuki ('the Black Knight') and kills him. The party enter the Land of the Beasts and slay lions, a rhinoceros, and a two-headed monster as big as an elephant, belching fire from both mouths. They come across a man with two serpents, and kill a black and a white dragon, three thousand Abyssinians (variant: Arabs) keeping guard over the road, and a host of magical warriors in boats. The expedition crosses the waters and arrives at the city of the King of the Seas. Badri Iamanisdze fights and slays the gigantic Mokle Dchabuki ('the Short Knight'), and the champion Arzamaniki, and wins the daughter of the King of the Seas for his bride. Badri seeks to return to his own land. On the way he is kidnapped by Baqbaq Devi. Nosar Nisreli [i.e. Misreli, 'the Egyptian'] arranges to set out and rescue Badri.

¹ Dchidchinadze and Mr. Stevenson following him make two chapters of this section, but in the MSS it all forms the second episode in the cycle.

3. *The story of Nosar Nisreli*¹

Before setting out on this quest, Nosar slaughters hordes of marauding Tatars. The party encounters three men mounted on lions. Nosar catches a two-headed man, with one red and one black face; with his black mouth he talks Persian, with his red one, some unknown tongue. Nosar kills one of a pair of enormous birds. On arrival outside the *devis*' castle, Nosar is himself kidnapped by Baqbaq and Khazaran Devi. Badri's father, Iaman Dchabuki ('the knight of Yemen') appeals to Amiran Darejanisdze to come to the rescue.

4. *The story of Amiran Darejanisdze*

Amiran sets out against the *devis* in his turn, together with Savarsamisdze and Badri's retainer, the horseman in black. They are joined by the two-headed man and reach one of the *devis*' castles. Amiran liberates Ali Dilami and Indo Dchabuki, retainers of Nosar and Badri, who have also been captured by the *devis*. Amiran and his companions press on and embark on a demon ship which vanishes from under them in the middle of the sea. Amiran holds up his comrades and swims with them safely to land. They meet with the king of the Didos, and kill sundry serpents and dragons. Amiran is lured into a cavern in which dwell a family of one-eyed *devis*, whom he vanquishes. Baqbaq and Khazaran Devi try to kidnap Amiran, but he kills Khazaran. Amiran and his followers capture the *devis*' main stronghold and liberate Badri and Nosar. Baqbaq is slain. Here ends the portion of the cycle in which King Abesalom of India features as the main listener.

5. *The story of Ambri Arabi*

Amiran Darejanisdze while walking in Baghdad hears tell of the renowned *dchabuki* Ambri Arabi. An eyewitness gives an account of Ambri's birth and childhood. A deposed king of Arabia had taken refuge in the Yemen, where a son was born to his wife on the same day that one of his barons, Omar by name, was also blessed with a son, who was called Amar. Very soon Amar gives proof of prodigious strength and valour; he receives the title of Ambri Arabi [corruption of *Amir-i 'Arab*]. With Abutar his tutor, Ambri slays hundreds of brigands. He relieves the Yemeni capital from the besieging hosts of the Khan king and pursues these into Turkestan, where he distinguishes himself in jousting and single combat.

6. *The coming of Indo Dchabuki into the Yemeni land*

The Yemen is invaded and ravaged by Indo Dchabuki ('the Hero of India'). Ambri seeks out Indo and engages him five times in combat and vanquishes him; they are reconciled and become friends. The deposed king of Arabia entrusts his son to Ambri, who undertakes to win him back his kingdom.

¹ Owing to the faulty numbering mentioned in the preceding note, this forms chapter 4 of the English translation. The discrepancy in numbering continues up to chapter 11 of the English translation, which contains chapters 10 and 11 of the text. Chapter 11 in the MSS consists entirely of 'The story of the revenge'.

They attack the Turkish hordes of the Khan king and drive them out. On the strength of this account, Amiran decides to go into Arabia and meet Ambri Arabi, but on the way he meets mourners who tell him that Ambri is dead.

7. *The story of the stars*

The caliph of Baghdad has three sons, but cannot find fitting brides for them. Amiran Darejanisdze agrees to go on an expedition to whichever kingdom can boast three princesses worthy of the caliph's sons. A mysterious grey-haired man named Abū Ṭālib the Wanderer appears, riding on an elephant; he tells of the Land of the Stars—the realm of King Asp'an and his seven daughters, the Star Princesses. Amiran and his followers set off and encounter Abū Ṭālib's brother, Ḥusayn, who relates how the princes of China, Khazaria, Daylam, and the Yemen have already arrived near King Asp'an's city. Their plan is to bear off the Star Princesses, and they are ravaging the king's domains. Amiran arrives at the capital and prolonged joustings and tournaments ensue between the champions of the opposing sides. Finally, King Asp'an gives permission for Amiran's party and the royal princes to storm the citadel where the maidens are kept, and Amiran bears off the three fairest in triumph to his lord, the caliph of Baghdad.

8. *The story of the talismans*

Amiran Darejanisdze has had a series of dreams; in these, a woman has appeared to him and described a certain beautiful maiden whom he is to seek out for his bride. Awaking one morning, he sees the maiden's image painted on a piece of vellum and fastened to the wall. Amiran reveals to the faithful Savarsamisidze his intention of seeking out this maiden wherever she may be. A horseman clad in red directs Amiran to take the road to India. Amiran and his retainers set out, and slaughter hosts of brigands. They are welcomed by a caravan of Basran merchants returning from India, whom they deliver from the Red Knight and the three Ashtarabidze brothers. The knights move on and arrive at a building in which they find another likeness of the maiden of Amiran's dream, whose name is the Lady Khvareshan. They encounter magical beings or 'talismans' in the form of copper men and copper lions, all of which Amiran shatters. The party arrive in the kingdom of Lady Khvareshan and the dowager queen, her mother, and Amiran receives the princess as his bride. After protracted feasting and merry-making, Amiran sallies forth and slays two dragons who stand guard over a garden where magical fruit grow. Amiran's followers are assailed by the Red Knight's brother, Sabur Rabagisdze, but Amiran overcomes him and they become friends.

9. *The story of Sep'edavle Darispanisdze*

The caliph of Baghdad is holding a feast and demands to be diverted with a story. A baron named Omad Amadisdze volunteers. He starts off with an account of his own youthful exploits, which encouraged him to challenge Amiran Darejanisdze himself to a fight. First, however, he sets out to win

himself a reputation for valour. He delivers the *amīr* of Basra from an attack by the king of Arabia, vanquishing all the Arabian champions. Then he journeys into unknown parts, encountering a lady with a knight who deserts her and runs away and another who stabs himself rather than fight with Omad. He falls in with a vassal of Sep'edavle, who tells Omad about his lord's boyhood and early struggles with rebellious noblemen, and his slaying of the giant unicorn. Omad arrives at Darispanshaar, Sep'edavle's capital, and is well received by that ruler. They set off together in quest of the Dchen king's daughter. On the way, they destroy Raziman Devi, who has been oppressing the Lady in Black; in gratitude, she gives them a magical elixir and helps them on their way. The elixir enables them to swim over a river in flood and escape being drugged by magic fruits. The party arrive at the Dchen king's capital and successfully carry off the princess. The king comes in pursuit with a great army, but is worsted, and accepts Sep'edavle as his son-in-law.

Jealous of Sep'edavle's reputation, Amiran sets off for Darispanshaar to challenge him in single combat. The two heroes become friends. They engage in a series of mighty contests, from which Amiran emerges victorious. While returning to Baghdad, Amiran vanquishes and slays the fierce knight Ant'rak'avisdze, in whose camp they find an Indian princess whom Amiran takes as his second bride.

10. *The story of Mze Dchabuki*

Amiran and his followers go hunting. Amiran's hawk brings down a partridge; two lions appear, which he kills. A black man appears and bursts out in lamentation. He tells Amiran that he is Raib the Nubian,¹ a former retainer of the valiant Mze Dchabuki, of whose exploits he is now reminded by seeing Amiran kill the lions. Raib tells his life story—how he was carried off captive into Arabia as a child, and later took service with some brigands. His masters are slain by Mze Dchabuki, to whom he now transfers his allegiance. Mze Dchabuki kills the monstrous Lion-Man. He hears about the radiant daughter of the Khazar King and sets off to win her. The Khazar monarch has vowed to give his daughter in marriage to the finest knight in the universe, and Mze Dchabuki has to measure himself against Ghamar of Ghazna, Amarindo, and other rival suitors. Although Mze Dchabuki emerges triumphant, the Khazar King has his daughter whisked away to the Land of the Sorcerers. Mze Dchabuki and his followers set out in pursuit, and encounter the dying Abad the Abyssinian, who kills his horse rather than give it up. They reach a magic lake. Some men appear and bathe in it, and turn into lions, dragons come up, bathe, and turn into men, other men bathe in it and turn into birds,

¹ Mr. Stevenson, following Dchidohnadze, takes Raib for a Noga: Tatar instead of a Nubian, as in the MSS, and devotes a learned note to the question (p. 189, n. 2). As Nogais, compared with Nubians, have yellowish rather than black faces, Mr. Stevenson renders the phrase 'his body was quite black' (as the text has it) with: 'his face had been blackened'. This rendering gives the impression that Raib was very thorough-going in his mourning.

and so on. Mze Dchabuki's party are attacked by the dragon-men with a large army, and run away. Mze Dchabuki vanquishes the foe single-handed. The party are entertained by an old woman who seeks to betray them, but they fight off the attackers and kill the old woman. Bird-men fly in through the window and knock them senseless with their wings. Mze Dchabuki and his companions find themselves transported in a trice back to the Khazar capital. They set off again. The bird-men reappear, expire, and burst into flames. In a burial ground, all the corpses of the earth sit up and attempt to lure the knights to their doom. Mze Dchabuki kills a fire-belching dragon. Finally, he breaks into the sorcerers' cave and carries off the Khazar princess. Mze Dchabuki is hailed as prince of Khazaria, weds the princess, and succeeds to the throne. He is at length treacherously murdered by agents sent from Ghazna, in revenge for Mze Dchabuki's earlier killing of the champion Ghamar Ghazneli.

11. *The story of the revenge*

Hearing from Raib the Nubian this story of Mze Dchabuki's prowess and sad end, Amiran Darejanisdze indignantly vows to avenge him. He sends for help to his friend Sep'edavle Darispanisdze, and advances on Ghazna with the armies of Baghdad and Khazaria. They lose many soldiers in guerrilla warfare on the way. The champions of Ghazna bide their time and avoid open combat. At length Amiran and Sep'edavle challenge the champions of Ghazna to meet them, but the latter attempt to slay them by treachery. Finally Amiran and his allies burst into the city, burn it down, and slay the inhabitants in revenge for the blood of Mze Dchabuki.

12. *The story of the expedition to Balkh*

Amiran Darejanisdze receives an appeal from the queen of Balkh: her consort has been slain by the tyrant Balkham Qamisdze, who now demands the princess of Balkh for his wife. Amiran and his comrades set off with five hundred warriors. They set upon Balkham's advance guard, though Balkham himself has not yet arrived on the scene. Amiran's horse is killed, his scimitar broken; so he wrenches off his dead horse's thigh-bone and lays about him effectively with this. Amiran enters Balkh in triumph, and the queen grants him her daughter as his (third) wife. Balkham Qamisdze arrives before the city. Amiran engages him in single combat and kills him. Later on Amiran learns of Ghamaz Devi, the drinker of blood, who rides into the city by night on a dragon and slays everyone he meets. Amiran destroys Ghamaz and his dragon, delivers Balkh from this scourge, and reigns over the land for many years in splendour and felicity.

The best MSS break off at this point, without attempting to round off the narrative framework. The fact that all the stories purport to be related by Savarsamisdze to King Abesalom of India has long since been lost sight of.

However, at the close of Mr. Stevenson's rendering (no doubt following Dehidchinadze¹), Abesalom dismisses Savarsamisdze with honour and sends him home with countless gifts. Alone among the older copies, MS Q-340 of the Tiflis Museum has a somewhat similar conclusion:

'... Finished is the story of Amiran Darejani, but Thy life is eternal in majesty.

Here now has come to an end this book, as narrated by Savarsamisdze, when he described to Abesalom, king of kings, and lord of India, the tale of Amiran Darejanisdze and his twelve knights. And the king's heart was filled both with great joy and with regret; and he paid honour to Savarsamisdze and opened to him the door of his treasure house, and loaded abundance of magnificent gems and pearls, precious brocade, embroidered fabrics, and every kind of choice and rare garment on to an elephant. And he seated Savarsamisdze himself in a howdah of rubies and set it upon the elephant. As he sent him on his way towards Baghdad, he said to him, "Had you remained here, you would have been to me as a father, and I as your son; the kingdom itself was yours to possess. And now whenever you so desire, go on your way in peace". The king accompanied him for one league upon his path, and let him depart in peace.'

This attempt to round off the narrative seems due to the work of seventeenth century copyists.

The English rendering has an additional postscript: "*Here ends the book of stories told by Mose Khoneli in the time of Queen Tamar: tales of heroes and warriors—mark them well, all you who can read!*" It is not made clear who is the author of this *envoi*, apparently unknown to the manuscripts.

III

As Mr. Stevenson justly remarks, 'few heroes of story-telling can have had a history longer or more involved than that of Amiran'.² Over the centuries, the adventures of the knightly hero Amiran Darejanisdze became mingled in the Georgian popular mind with stories about a quite different 'Promethean' Amiran, a 'primeval Caucasian titan', sometimes portrayed as godson of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In certain of these tales, Our Saviour fetters Amiran to the mountain crag as punishment for the impiety which provoked him to a trial of strength with Him.

To convey some idea of the form assumed by this story in Georgian folk-lore, we give a version transcribed in the province of Kakhet'i in 1937, and now translated from the original text as published by Professor Mikheil Chik'ovani.³

¹ Dehidchinadze's edition of 1896 has not been available to us.

² *Amiran-Darejaniani*, introduction, p. xiv. A list of references to the literature is given in the notes to pp. xv-xvi.

³ *Mijachvili Amirani* [*Amiran bound*], Tiflis, 1947, pp. 300, 498. This important book was kindly made available by the author himself.

Amiran bound

Once there lived a sorcerer. This sorcerer was a very mighty man. No one in the whole wide world was a match for him. At the same time, that sorcerer was a great lord over the earth. To this sorcerer a son was born, and they called him Amiran. The sorcerer was delighted to have a son; and he came out into the highway and started shouting with a loud voice: 'Look what a strong man I am! My son too will be a person to be reckoned with!' He often used to pick up rocks weighing four or five tons,¹ and toss them about like balls in all directions. 'Who dares to vie with me and my son, and who will challenge us in our demesne?' said he. They reported to that sorcerer: 'One man there is, yet mightier than you—his name is Christ. In twelve days' time, He will come out and contend with you. He has forty men with Him to afford Him aid'.

The sorcerer was highly indignant at this news. To intimidate Christ, he started tossing still more massive boulders about, and shouting ever louder and more furiously. He wanted to strike fear into Christ by his ferociously loud voice.

Thereupon Christ arrived on the scene. Christ said to the sorcerer: 'You and your son must relinquish sovereignty over the earth'. The sorcerer replied, 'Whichever of us shall be the stronger shall be lord of lords'. Christ agreed to this. The sorcerer picked up a rock of huge size and hurled it up aloft like a ball. Two hours later the rock fell down again and came to rest half buried in the ground. Christ sent the same rock flying up in the air, and said to the sorcerer, 'Tomorrow at this same hour it will come falling down again, and then you can see for yourself'. And indeed, the next day it fell down once more and buried itself almost completely in the ground.

The sorcerer realized that he could never get the better of this Jesus Christ. So he said to Christ, 'I have a son, Amiran. Now let him and yourself strive together!' The sorcerer fetched his son along. Amiran approached Christ with much bustle and uproar, and said to Christ, 'Now then, you want to have a tussle with me?' He grasped a crag almost the size of a mountain and hurled it forty *versts* off. Christ picked up that same crag and proclaimed, 'It will fall down and be lost behind the nine hills'. The rock shot away, and was lost at the back of the nine hills and buried itself in the ground. So deep did it bury itself that it could scarcely be seen at all. Christ said to Amiran, 'Now if you are such a mighty man, just heave this stone out!'

Amiran fell upon the rock and struggled with might and main, but could not even shake it. Amiran could find no way at all out of his plight. Christ ordered that Amiran should be chained on to that very same rock. Amiran was chained on to that rock, and from above, the mountain was piled up over him.

¹ Lit.: 'two hundred to three hundred *pood* rocks'.

Christ gave him one loaf of bread every day, and a little dog for company. That little dog licks and licks at the chain, and by his licking he keeps on wearing the chain away, to such an extent that with a few licks more, Amiran will burst it apart and free himself. But on the Thursday morning before Easter the blacksmiths arise and strike away with their hammers, and so the chain is made solid again. Oh, if Amiran ever manages to burst the chain apart! What a terrible fate would then befall the blacksmiths—he will knock off the heads of every one of them.

This tale, and others like it, have no direct connexion with the knightly romance of Amiran Darejanisdze. However, there also exists in Georgian folk literature a whole group of stories which clearly stand in close relationship to the literary composition ascribed to Moses of Khoni. Eadri and Usib, in the courtly work Amiran's fellow knight and guide respectively, turn up again in the folktales, this time as the hero's foster brothers or kinsmen. Baqbaq Devi and other magic monsters occurring in *Amiran-Darejaniani* also make their appearance in the popular stories and ballads, with various embellishments.

In studying the various groups of Amiran stories, one should be careful not to follow blindly in the path of certain Georgian patriots, who conceive of both Amiran-Prometheus and Amiran-Darejan as antique demigods of the Georgian nation and its ancestors. Efforts have even been made to explain some of the motifs depicted on jewellery and metal ware recovered from excavations in T'rialet'i and at Samt'avro and Step'ančsminda in terms of the Amiran cycle. The hunting scene shown on the Samt'avro bronze belt (ascribed to the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.) is interpreted as an episode from the hunt of Amiran, Badri, and Usib.¹

Another Georgian writer has thought of the 'Prometheus' Amiran as the tribal god of the 'Amarantoi', who were supposed to dwell in the Amarantine mountains which feature in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. More than one Western scholar has tried to identify him with the Ahriman of Zoroastrian demonology. His fellow knight Badri becomes a lunar deity, or is identified with the Greek Pandora. Usib the guide is compared with Perseus, or has his name derived from Assyrian *ashipu* 'magician'. These conjectures, which have been set out conscientiously though a trifle indiscriminately by Mr. Stevenson,² present many pitfalls for the unwary.

Underlying many of these theories is the assumption that because it was the Caucasus to which the gods of the Greek Pantheon chained the enterprising Prometheus, therefore the Prometheus story itself must necessarily be a product of the national mythology of the Caucasian peoples. The Georgians, it is held, gave the Amiran-Prometheus story to the Greeks, while cherishing it themselves and handing it down orally over the ages by the medium of the village story-teller. Both the Greek Prometheus myth and the Amiran stories

¹ Chik'ovani, *Amiran bound*, pp. 57-78, 437.

² *Amiran-Darejaniani*, introduction, pp. xiv-xv, xxi-xxii

as collected in the Georgian countryside over the last century are supposed to derive from some ancient, specifically Caucasian common prototype.

Now this assumption is too facile to be readily acceptable. First of all, it is hardly safe to deny that the Georgians, whose Christian culture is so largely founded on Greco-Byzantine civilization, had the opportunity to read Greek books, through which the Prometheus myth could have become known to them.

Nor is it always safe to attribute great antiquity to tales spun by the obliging village story-teller, who is not always so unsophisticated as he may seem. Thus, the late Adolf Dirr relates how he was once seeking for authentic material with which to illustrate his researches on the Tush or Batsbian language spoken in remote Tushet'i by a clan of Caucasian highlanders long under Georgian cultural influence. A venerable man volunteered to tell him folktales. 'I wrote and wrote, but everthing seemed so familiar to me. But when finally he told me word for word the story of William Tell, I could not stomach it any longer and told him straight out that I knew all this already and that it was not genuine stuff at all. None the less, the man insisted that it was a tale which he had heard from venerable elders in his youth. It was only later that he remembered—I have no doubt that he was quite honest about this—that he had read the story in a Georgian book in the days when he went to school in T'elavi!' ¹

Rather less discriminating than the late Adolf Dirr, a Slavist living in America has quite lately regaled us with a supposedly independent account, asserted to have been preserved in Ossetic oral tradition, of the battle between Mstislav, Prince of Tmutorakan', and the chief of the Kasogi or Circassians, which was fought in A.D. 1022. Unfortunately, it has since been shown that the original narrator of this account, the white-bearded Khulyx, 'more learned than he let on', had confected his story from printed sources already existing, no doubt by dint of browsing in the Public Library.²

To take another instance germane to our theme, the Russian folktales concerning Bova Korolevich, in which there feature the Khan of the Volga Bulgars and the king of Isfahan, bear all the marks of Slavonic popular inspiration. And yet we know perfectly well that this is nothing but an echo of the Anglo-Norman romance of Sir Beves of Hamtoun, which migrated to Italy and was later transmitted via the Balkans into White Russia, to become popular in Russia itself no earlier than the seventeenth century.³

To revert now to the problems connected with Greek mythology and its relationship to Caucasian folk-lore, it is instructive to consider for a moment the story of Polyphemus, which is quite well known in the Caucasus ⁴; *Amiran-Darejaniani* itself contains an echo of it in Amiran's blinding of the one-eyed

¹ A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, Jena, 1922, pp. ix-x.

² See W. B. Henning, 'A spurious folktale', *BSOAS*, XXI, 2, 1958, 315-18.

³ A. N. Veselovsky, *Iz istorii romana i povesti*, St. Petersburg, 1888, 242-6.

⁴ Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, 248-54.

devi in the cavern.¹ Many years ago, it was found that the story of Polyphemus has a counterpart in the medieval Turkish cycle of *Dede Korkut*, and the first investigator of the question 'concluded that the Turkish tale represented the original form of the myth, and that the story in the *Odyssey* was an excerpt from this, obtained perhaps from some ancient proto-Oghuzian tribe'.² Folktale variants of the Polyphemus legend have been collected from oral tradition in many countries, from Scotland to Turkestan. Recently, Professor D. Page has tried to show that the Homeric story cannot be the source of the folktales, and that these are descended from an earlier version, existing in more than one form, from which the Homeric tale also was derived, though with additions from other sources.³ However, it would seem that Professor Page overstates his case, and that there is still much to be said for A. van Gennep's common-sense view that it is impossible to leap over the centuries from the modern and medieval folktales right back to pre-Homeric times, and that probably all the modern versions have their ultimate source in the *Odyssey*.⁴

Similar caution should be exercised in regard to the Amiran-Prometheus tales. It is conceivable that the Georgians of old had some indigenous tradition about a titan chained by the gods to those lofty peaks of the Caucasus—a tradition which Greek colonists or travellers could have assimilated locally and embodied in the corpus of classical mythology. But to state as an article of faith that the modern Amiran stories are lineally descended from the pre-Hellenistic mythology of the Georgian nation is extremely rash. One should therefore treat with grave suspicion the attempt which has been made to 'reconstruct' from modern oral materials a 'primeval' Amiran saga, which we are invited to accept as a monument of the ancient national literature of the Georgian people. In this confection, as put together by Professor Shalva Nutsubidze, elements from the Amiran-Prometheus tales are intermingled with popular reminiscences of Mose Khoneli's cycle of courtly tales.⁵ It is evidently Nutsubidze's arrangement which has served as a model for the delightful English rendering of the Amiran saga in prose and verse by Venera Urushadze.⁶ As literature, this is a charming piece of writing; but we should beware of taking it as anything but a product of the romantic imagination.

That Mose Khoneli's courtly compilation has its roots firmly planted in earlier Georgian popular tradition has become a matter of national prestige with some Georgian writers. Thus, that excellent collector of Georgian popular literature, Professor Mikheil Chik'ovani, devotes a whole chapter of his book to

¹ In Mr. Stevenson's translation, pp. 35-6.

² C. S. Mundy, 'Polyphemus and Tepegöz', *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1953, 279.

³ See D. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955.

⁴ Mundy, *op. cit.*, 280.

⁵ Shalva Nutsubidze, *Amirani, mit'ologičeskii poema*, Tiflis, 1945; idem, *Amirani, gruzinskaya mifologičeskaya poema*, Tiflis, 1946. In his latest, somewhat chaotic and repetitive work, *Tvorčestvo Rustaveli*, Tiflis, 1958, pp. 118-42, Professor Nutsubidze continues to defend his earlier hypothesis about Mose Khoneli and *Amiran-Darejaniani*, notably that the work was originally written in verse. However, reiteration does not make his arguments any less unconvincing.

⁶ V. Urushadze, *Anthology of Georgian poetry*, 2nd ed., Tiflis, 1958, pp. 241-7.

'Mose Khoneli's folk-lore sources'.¹ Our inquiries, however, and comparative study of the texts, lead us rather to support the view, put forward with abundant detailed evidence by Korneli Kekelidze, that the popular tales derive from the literary work, and not vice versa.²

The question is the more complicated, since the Amiran stories have spread into many remote corners of the Caucasian range, and are not now confined to Georgia only. Thus, Amiran tales occupy a place in the popular literature of the Ossetes, a people of Iranian stock who dwell in the central Caucasus, both to south and north of the Darial Pass and Mount Kazbek. In the Ossetic dialects, the Amiran stories are exotic and are of secondary importance compared with the indigenous cycle of heroic lays about the Narts, a race of legendary heroes and supermen. The Ossete Amiran material derives ultimately from Mose Khoneli's *Amiran-Darejaniani*, via the Georgian folk versions; it has become mingled with elements from the *Shāh-nāma* and motifs characteristic of the Nart legends. Khoneli tells us nothing of the family and ancestry of Amiran, son of Darejan, but the Ossetes think of the Daredzans as a whole clan.

Professor H. W. Bailey has kindly provided us with notes on the Ossete Amiran stories, from which we take the details given here. In the last century, two Amiran tales were published and translated by Vsevolod Miller.³ They are in the village style dear to anthropologists, and mention the monster bird Pagündzā known from earlier sources.⁴ In a volume entitled *Yugo-Osetinsky fol'klor* (in Ossetic), published in 1940, there are eight Daredzan tales; in the collection *Iron adāmon sfāldystad*, or *Pamyatniki narodnogo tvorchestva Osetin*, part v, published at Orjonikidze in 1941, there are fourteen classed under the heading 'Daredzanty ēpos'. The titles of the stories are:

1. Birth of Daredzanty Amyran
2. Daredzanty Amyran and the Iron Giant
3. Daredzanty Amyran and the Pagündzā
4. Amyran and the hunter
5. Xat'avelty mālikk and Aprasionty mālikk
6. Daredzanty Rostom, how he killed his son
7. Daredzanty Qaraman's ruin
8. Daredzanty Bolatgurd
9. Nārtom Rostom Daredzanty
10. The story of Bezan
11. The story of Amran
12. The story of Rosappā
13. Taranelitā and Turanelitā
14. Daredzanti Arūan

¹ Chik'ovani, *Amiran bound*, pp. 237-62.

² K. S. Kekelidze, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, II, Tiflis, 1924, pp. 62-3.

³ V. F. Miller, *Osetinskie etyudy*, I, Moscow, 1881, pp. 58-71, with a note in the introduction, p. 11. Another story is given in Russian translation only on pp. 145-7.

⁴ W. B. Henning, 'Two Manichaean magical texts', *BSOAS*, XII, 1, 1947, 41-3; R. Bleichsteiner, *Kaukasische Forschungen*, I, Wien, 1919, p. cxiv.

The name of the chief hero varies: Amyran, Amran, Abran, Avran, and in the Western dialect of Digoria, Arūan. The tales occur regularly in Eastern and Southern Iron; only one (no. 14 above) seems to be found in Western Digoron. Several proper names reveal the stories' Georgian origin. Thus on pp. 191 ff. of the above-mentioned collection there features Iamon, father of the three brothers Daredzantā Amyran, Badri (Badyri), and Mysyrbi. Iamon is Iaman Dchabuki, figuring in Khoneli's literary work as the father of Badri Iamaneli, in the Georgian popular tradition, sometimes as father of Amiran, Badri, and Usib.¹ In 'Mysyrbi' is contained the Georgian Nosar. The *-bi* (gen. sing. *-bīyī*) is the common ending of Ossetic names, as Urusbi, Barasbi, and derives from Caucasian-Turkish *bi*, in other Turkish, *beg*. Other personal names in the Daredzanty cycle belong to the world of the *Shāh-nāma*. Though these Ossetic Amiran tales go rather with the popular Georgian ones, and not with the courtly *Amiran-Darejaniani*, there are frequent battles between two champions, as in Khoneli.

In north-western Caucasia, the Kabardians have a legend relating to a vanquished hero chained to the mountain of Uashkha-Makno.² The name of the Kabardian Prometheus is given as Nasren.³ In one version, translated by Adolf Dirr, the Promethean motif seems to be mingled with elements of the Polyphemus and Tantalus myths.⁴

On the fringe of Georgia proper, a distinctive form of the Amiran legend is found in Abkhazia, a Black Sea territory which was in constant touch with Greece in Hellenistic and Byzantine times, and provided Georgia with an important medieval dynasty. The hero of the Abkhazian version is named Abrskil. In some variants, he is pictured as the national champion and patron of Abkhazia, waging war against evil in the interests of his people. In others, he appears as an arrogant and destructive giant. One of the older versions, written down in 1873, depicts him as a friend of the human race who communicated to mankind the secrets of the heavens. When bracken and wild ferns threatened to choke the crops, Abrskil cut them away and checked their growth. Refusing to bow his head before anyone or anything, he cut down the clinging lianas which hang over the woodland paths in sub-tropical Abkhazia, destroyed thorny undergrowth, and cleared the earth for men to cultivate. Abrskil's superhuman prowess and his services to mankind aroused the resentment of the Almighty, who commanded angels to chain him up in a cavern. A black hound gnaws away at the chain, but when the links become as thin as a thread, a maiden who sits on guard notifies an evil witch, who reinforces the chain once more with her magic wand.

According to popular belief, bold humans have ventured from time to time

¹ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, trans. Stevenson, p. 30.

² Kh. S. Bgashba, 'Ob abkhazskom geroicheskom epose', in *Voprosy izucheniya eposa narodov SSSR*, Moscow, 1958, p. 191.

³ *Narty: Kabardinsky epos*, Moscow, 1951, p. 11.

⁴ *Kaukasische Märchen*, p. 242.

with lighted candles into the murky cavern where Abrskil is immured, to call his name and perhaps deliver him from captivity. On one occasion a voice was heard from the darkness: 'You cannot reach me, for as soon as you draw nigh, the forces of evil pull me from you. Turn back! Only tell me first, do bracken and weeds still grow upon the earth? Are there still brambles and thorn bushes? Do wicked men still oppress the weak?'

'Yes', sadly reply the men who have penetrated into the cave.

The chain rattles, and the hero groans: 'Alas, not yet does happiness reign in my native land, no peace is there yet for man upon the earth'.¹

The story of Abrskil, which is singularly close to that of Prometheus, seems free from contamination by Iranian heroic literature or by Georgian courtly romance. If one is to look within the Caucasus for a prototype of the Georgian Amiran-Prometheus tales, it seems unwise to rule the Abrskil legend out of court. On geographical grounds alone, Abkhazia on the Black Sea might seem a likely place to look for an intermediate link between the Greek myth and the Georgian story of Amiran chained to a crag by Jesus Christ.

We have already expressed scepticism as to the great age and indigenous origin of the Georgian Amiran tales. Neither literature nor archaeology seems to provide any record of the name Amiran occurring prior to the existence of Khoneli's literary work, which is usually ascribed to the twelfth century. In this, of course, the hero is regularly called Amiran Darejanisdze in full, the name Amiran by itself coming into use later on, as the stories are transformed in the mouths of village story-tellers.

Now as a genuine Georgian name, the combination Amiran Darejanis-dze (son of Darejan) is open to an objection which seems to have been taken insufficiently into account: in Georgian, Darejan is not a man's name, but a woman's. Except where we are dealing with sons of reigning queens (e.g., Giorgi, son of T'amar, David, son of Rusudan, etc.), one would normally expect a Christian name to be followed by the name of the male rather than the female parent, that is to say, with a patronymic rather than a matronymic. This difficulty is evidently sensed by the Ossetes, who think of 'Daredzanty' as a family name pure and simple.

Among the 'wild etymologies'² thrown out from time to time by the late N. Y. Marr in his articles on *Amiran-Darejaniani* was one relating to the name of the main hero. Marr saw that most of the protagonists in the romance—Nosar Nisreli, Ali Dilami, K'oos K'osidze, Asan Badrisdze, Qamar Qamareli, and the rest, not to mention 'Emir Mumli' (*Amīr al-mu'minīn*), the caliph of Baghdad—bear thinly disguised Arabic or Persian names, often more than a trifle garbled. This encouraged him to suggest that Amiran Darejanis-dze is not a Christian name with patronymic at all, but a corruption of a Persian honorific epithet **Amīr-andar-Jehān*, i.e. 'The *amīr* within the world',

¹ Bgazhba, in *Voprosy izucheniya eposa narodov SSSR*, pp. 189-91; Durr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, pp. 242-8.

² *Amiran-Darejaniani*, trans. Stevenson, introduction, p. xxvi.

signifying an *amār* [unrivalled, without a peer] in the whole world.¹ Indeed, on phonetic grounds, the transition from [*an*]dar-Jehān to 'Darejan' could readily be accounted for in terms of metathesis, by transposition of the -e- and -h- in *Jehān*, giving an intermediate form **Darejhān*-, whence *Darejan*.

On other occasions, Marr developed a similar interpretation of the name of the heroine in Shot'a Rust'aveli's epic, *The man in the panther's skin*: Nestan-Darejan < **Nēst-andar-Jehān*, a Persian epithet which he took to mean, 'There is none [so fair as she] in the world'—in fact, 'une came sans pareil'.² This idea was supported on philological grounds by Marr's son, the Iranist Yury Marr.³ However, little headway was made towards substantiating this theory until 1938, when the Georgian Arabist G. Tseret'eli published a folktale which he had taken down when studying the Arabic dialects of Central Asia, as spoken by communities of Arabs still living near Bukhara and elsewhere. (These communities, so it is thought, are descendants of the original Arab invaders of Central Asia; during their millennial sojourn, they have been considerably affected by Turkish and Iranian cultural influences.) In the story recorded by Tseret'eli, the *divs* help a young man to find and carry off a radiant nymph or *perī* called Nēstar-Jehān (better: Nēst-dar-Jehān), a creature of incomparable beauty, whose presence lights up the country in the depths of the night, as if it were the brilliance of the sun, the moon, or a blazing fire. On further inquiry, Professor Tseret'eli was told that the Tajiks of Bukhara still use the epithet Nēstar-Jehān to denote a woman who is unduly proud of her beauty, but they do not employ it as a proper name.⁴

Simultaneously, Professor K. Chaykin drew attention to the actual historical occurrence of the name Nēst-andar-Jehān, as mentioned in al-Bundārī's history of the Seljuks of Iraq; it was borne by the mother of the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh, whose reign began in 528/1133-4.⁵ This shows, as Professor Chaykin pointed out, that in the first half of the twelfth century, probably about the time of Kroneli and shortly before that of Rust'aveli, there lived a real princess with the very name which Marr had theoretically postulated. Thus Rust'aveli was able to take it ready made from life, either in its Persian form, or else possibly already transformed into a guise more congenial to Georgian ears.⁶

¹ N. Y. Marr, 'Persidskaya natsional'naya tendentsiya v gruzinskem romane "Amirandaredzhaniani"', in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*, pt. 299, June 1895, p. 361.

² N. Y. Marr, 'Gruzinskaya poema "Vityaz" v barsovoy shkure' Shoyz iz Rustava i novaya kul'turno-istoricheskaya problema', pt. 1, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, 6th series, 1917, No. 7, p. 428.

³ 'Po povodu imen Nestandaredzhani i Amirandaredzhani', in Yu. N. Marr, *Stat'i, soobshcheniya i rezyume dokladov*, I, Moscow, Leningrad, 1936, pp. 62-4.

⁴ G. Tseret'eli, "'Nestan-Darejani'" shua Azisi arabul p'olklorshi', *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr de Langues, d'Histoire, et de Culture Matérielle* (Tiflis), III, 1938 1-2.

⁵ *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq par al-Bundārī, d'après Imād ad-dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī*, in M. Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, II, Leyden, 1889, p. 172.

⁶ K. Chaykin, 'Nestan-Darejanis sakhelis ganmartebisat'vis', in *Bul etin de l'Institut Marr de Langues, d'Histoire, et de Culture Matérielle* (Tiflis), III, 1938, 21-3.

If, as we believe, the name Amiran first came into Georgian as part of the combination Amiran-Dārejan[is-dze]; and if, as seems highly likely, this represents a Persian honorific epithet like 'Amīr-andar-Jehān'—then both Amiran-Prometheus and Amiran the knight-errant must be stripped of their undeserved fame as genuine primeval heroes of the Georgian nation.

IV

This brings us to the question posed by Mr. Stevenson: Is the literary work an essentially Georgian production, or is it based on matter originally Persian? ¹ Mr. Stevenson draws attention to a number of parallels with the *Shāh-nāma*, the *Haft paikar*, and other Persian works which are known to have been familiar to the Georgians. However, he considers *Amiran-Darejaniani* 'in all essentials a work native to Georgia', ² and pictures Mose Khoneli as using material already available for the most part in Georgian folk-lore. He does not, that is to say, admit of the folktales deriving from Khoneli's courtly romance, or of the latter being an adaptation of any Persian original.

The most thorough-going protagonist of the view that *Amiran-Darejaniani* is simply a translation from an unknown Persian original was N. Y. Marr, who originally visualized the work as a glorification of the patriotic prowess of the Iranian people. He stressed the fact that it is the Persian-speaking mouth of the two-headed man that Nosar's company understand; that the one-eyed *devi* in the cavern addresses Amiran in Persian; that Amiran and his followers, liegemen of the caliph of Baghdad, are described by the astrologer in the story of the talismans as Persians; that war is waged against Khazars, Chinese, Turks, and others, but we never hear of fighting against Persians; that Amiran with his three wives is a practising polygamist; that the vast majority of personal names are thinly disguised Arabic or Persian ones. ³ This view of Marr's provoked a storm of protest from outraged Georgian intellectuals. And indeed, as Mr. Stevenson points out, these points are not wholly relevant, since there was nothing to stop a Georgian romancer from composing stories about Baghdad and Persia filled with what a Georgian might regard as authentic local colour.

Much more to the point was Marr's subsequent discovery of a statement by the sixteenth-century Georgian polemist and literary historian, Prince Bagrat, to the effect that Khoneli's cycle of stories was a translation of sections from a Muslim work entitled '*Qisai Hamza*'. In his treatise *Discourse on the creed of the godless Ishmaelites* (i.e. Saracens, Arabs), Bagrat writes:

'The Ishmaelites made their appearance. Each one of them was equally bloodthirsty, rapacious, adulterous, turbulent, thieving, and without a penny to his name. The book which the Saracens call *Qisai Hamza* describes

¹ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, introduction, p. xviii.

² *ibid.*, p. xxvii.

³ Marr, 'Persidskaya natsional'naya tendentsiya . . .', *ZMNP*, pt. 299, June 1895, 355-6, 364.

the life of those Ishmaelites. A small part of that book has been translated into our own Georgian tongue by laymen and is called *Darejaniani*. Naturally, the Ishmaelites were nothing like so bold and valorous as that book makes out, but their habitual love of fairy-tales led them to compose this exaggerated account . . .¹

For some reason or other, neither Marr nor anyone else seems to have thought it worthwhile thoroughly to go into the hypothetical relationship between this 'Qisai Hamza' and Mose Khoneli's cycle of stories, despite the fact that there exists a Georgian version of the entire Hamza romance, made from the Persian in comparatively modern times.² It is true that Professor A. Baramidze, in his *Studies in the history of Georgian literature*, devotes some attention to comparison of *Amiran-Darejaniani* with one of the several recensions of the Persian romance of Amīr Ḥamza, concluding that 'these are two diametrically opposed works, both from the viewpoint of contents and ideology, and from that of form and structure'.³ However, another Georgian scholar has since refused to accept as conclusive Baramidze's superficial attempt at comparison, especially in view of the existence in manuscript of several widely differing recensions of the Amīr Ḥamza romance, for the most part very little known.⁴ Mr. Stevenson, on the other hand, is content to let the matter rest where Baramidze left it.⁵ For this reason, a few notes on this hypothetical source of *Amiran-Darejaniani* may not be amiss.

The romance of Amīr Ḥamza, known variously as *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, *Ḥamza-nāma*, *Qisṣa-i Ḥamza*, *Asmār-i Ḥamza*, *Rumūz-i Ḥamza*, and, in Arabic, *Sirat Ḥamza*, has long enjoyed great popularity among the unsophisticated throughout the Islamic world. The knightly feats of arms and romantic and miraculous adventures with which the book is filled commend it to the popular imagination. The fact that the hero is identified with the respectable historical figure of the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle strengthens its appeal to the pious orthodox.

There is no doubt that the Ḥamza romance originated on Persian soil. The circumstance that the centre of action is the court of kings Qubād and Khusrau Anūshīrvān in Ctesiphon is sufficient warranty for this; no Arab writer would spontaneously turn the Prophet's uncle into a henchman of the infidel Sasanian kings. The original Persian author of the romance is unknown,

¹ Marr, 'Iz knigi tsarevicha Bagrata o gruzinskikh perevodakh dukhovnykh sochineniy i geroicheskoy povesti "Daredzhaniani"', *Izvestiya Imp. Akademii Nauk*, x, 2, 1899, 244.

² The fact that the principal, if not the only manuscript of the Georgian rendering, called *The history or story of Saab Qaran Amaramza and Babaa Amar*, happens to be in the Bodleian Library (MS Wardrop c. 3) has apparently caused the work to be overlooked. See D. M. Lang, 'Georgian studies in Oxford', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vi, 1955, 141-2.

³ Baramidze, *Narkveebi*, I, Tiflis, 1932, p. 45. The same view is put forward in A. Baramidze and K. Kekelidze, *K'artuli literaturis istoria*, I, Tiflis, 1954, p. 209.

⁴ D. Kobidze, 'Amiran-Darejanianis sadaurobisat'vis', *Literaturuli dziebi* (Tiflis), II, 1945, 263.

⁵ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, introduction, p. xx: 'And indeed we are now told that *Qisai Hamza* had nothing in common with our cycle'.

conflicting identifications being given in the manuscripts.¹ To judge by the numerous archaic words and turns of phrase, some of which could be paralleled in such works as the *Qābūs-nāma*, and which persist even in the modern lithographs, one might assume that the work existed in some connected form by the eleventh century or thereabouts—in time to be available to a Georgian writer of Mose Khoneli's time. At all events, Ḥamdallāh Mustaufi Qazvinī, writing before 1330, refers to stories about Ḥamza already in circulation: 'Ḥamza was a man famous for his courage, concerning which romances were invented and books composed'.²

Learned men among the Arabs, on the other hand, were disposed at first to regard the Ḥamza romance, as imported from Persia, with suspicion. Writing at the end of the thirteenth century, Ibn Taimīyah says: 'And likewise a body of Turcomans [in Syria] are of the opinion that Ḥamza engaged in mighty feats of war, and they relate stories about these among themselves, whereas learned men are agreed that he fought only at Badr and Uḥud and that he was slain at Uḥud'.³

At an early date, the Ḥamza romance became popular among the Ottoman Turks. About 1400, the stories were collected and embellished in 24 volumes by Ḥamzevi: 'This work was in prose, freely interspersed with verses; and it was by reason of it that the author adopted his makhlas of Hamzevi'.⁴ In common Turkish parlance, incredible stories of the Münchhausen type are referred to proverbially as 'Ḥamza tales'.⁵

The Persian Ḥamza romance attained its apotheosis in sixteenth-century Mogul India under the emperors Humāyūn (1530–56) and Akbar (1556–1605), both of whom were extremely fond of it. The stories were embroidered with additional material, and fifty Persian masters set to work on producing an illustrated copy for Humāyūn's use, which was to be unequalled in magnificence. Work went on in Akbar's reign, for the emperor 'was very fond of the story which contained three hundred and sixty tales, so much so that in the female apartments he used to recite them like a story-teller'. One thousand four hundred scenes from the enlarged corpus of Ḥamza stories were provided with illustrations, of which more than a hundred survive to-day in several European collections.⁶ The work was also translated into Urdu and other Indian vernacular idioms.

¹ Hermann Ethé, 'Neupersische Literatur', in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, 2, Strassburg, 1896, 319.

² *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed. in facsimile by E. G. Browne (Gibb Memorial Series, XIV, 1), 1910, p. 211.

³ *Minhāj al-sunnah*, IV, Būlāq, 1322/1904–5, p. 12.

⁴ E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, I, London, 1900, pp. 255–6. Cf. Kopruluzaade, *Turkiyat mecmu'asi*, I, Istanbul, 1925, pp. 9–10; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmānī mu'ellifleri*, II, I, Istanbul, 1333/1914, p. 74.

⁵ F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 13. See Flügel, Vienna Cat., II, 29–30, for MS of Turkish version.

⁶ H. Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Hamza-Romanes im Oesterreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in anderen Sammlungen*, Zurich, Wien, Leipzig, 1925;

Meanwhile, the Ḥamza romance had long since been translated into Arabic, in which guise it passed to South East Asia, where it was translated into Malay and Javanese.¹

The adventures of Amīr Ḥamza retain their vogue to this day throughout the Islamic world. A printing firm in Aleppo produces cheap lithographed editions which may be bought from bookstalls near the Great Mosque in Damascus; story-tellers in the cafes of the Arab world recite the tales for the delectation of customers. In modern Persia, as a French orientalist sardonically puts it, the Ḥamza romance 'jouit, dans les cafés de Téhéran, parmi les gens de la basse classe, d'une vogue aussi grande que les Mille et une Nuits au Caire; des individus qui savent ces insanités par cœur arpentent, en les déclamant, la salle du café, tandis que les assistants fument la pipe'.²

An edition of one of the more lengthy Persian versions, of which Ethé distinguishes four main groups, was published in seven parts at Tehran.³ The British Museum also possesses four Indian lithographed editions of a briefer recension.⁴ The manuscripts are legion; many of them are listed by van Ronkel, Ethé, and Glück in works already cited. They are well represented in the British Museum,⁵ the India Office Library,⁶ and the Bodleian Library,⁷ as well as in Indian collections such as the Būhār and Bankipore libraries.⁸ Of five Ḥamza manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one is a copious recension in five volumes, while two others, apparently of higher literary quality, seem to derive from the version dear to the emperor Akbar.⁹

For all its wide diffusion, the Ḥamza romance has been little studied and is held in low esteem by scholars. To quote Blochet once more, 'On trouve dans le Roman de Hamza, dans une prose très médiocre, entrecoupée de mauvaises pièces de vers, le récit, revêtu d'un style vulgaire et populacier, des aventures incroyables de Hamza, fils d' 'Abd el-Mouttalib, oncle du prophète Mohammed, dont la légende a fait un personnage purement imaginaire; son histoire fabuleuse est mêlée, dans un syncrétisme incohérent, à la légende abâtardie et déformée des héros de la geste épique de l'Iran'. However, it is not with the

C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian drawings: twelve Mogul paintings of the school of Humāyūn (16th century) illustrating the Romance of Amīr Hamzah*, London, 1921; Emmy Wellesz, *Akbar's religious thought reflected in Mogul painting*, London, 1952, pp. 32, 37-9.

¹ S. van Ronkel, *De Roman van Amīr Hamza*, Leyden, 1895.

² E. Blochet, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, IV, Paris, 1934, pp. 67-8.

³ *Kitāb-i Rumūz-i Ḥamza*, Tehran, 1274-6/1857-9. Another edition was later published at Tabriz.

⁴ *Dastān-i Amīr Hamza-i Šāhib-qirān*, Bombay, 1312/1895; also Lucknow, 1900; Peshawar, 1930 (2nd ed., 1933). The BM also has an edition of the Arabic version: *Qissat al-Amīr Ḥamzah*, 4 vols., Beirut, 1904-5.

⁵ Rieu, *Cat. of Persian MSS in the BM*, II, pp. 760-2.

⁶ Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS in the Library of the India Office*, I, Oxford, 1903, cols. 519-20.

⁷ Bodleian Library: *Cat. of Persian MSS*, Pt. I, by Sachau and Ethé, 1889, No. 473; Pt. III, by A. F. L. Beeston, 1964, No. 2532.

⁸ Būhār Library: *Cat. of the Persian MSS*, Calcutta, 1921, Nos. 432-3; Bankipore Public Library: *Cat. of the Arabic and Persian MSS*, VIII, Patna, 1925, No. 738.

⁹ Blochet, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, IV, 69-70.

work's intrinsic merit, but with its possible influence on Georgian medieval literature that we are at the moment concerned.

Both Ḥamza ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and 'Amr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī (pictured in the romance as Ḥamza's boon companion) are, of course, well-known historical figures, who feature in the standard biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad. After at first opposing the cause of Islam, Ḥamza later supported the new faith with all his might, until he was slain at the battle of Uḥud. Hind bint 'Utba cut out the dead Ḥamza's liver and chewed at it, but she was unable to swallow it and threw it away. Many elegies were composed in Ḥamza's memory :

' Our knight and protector when armed men appeared,
O Ḥamza, I will not forget you while time lasts,
The refuge of orphans and guests and the widow who looks shyly away,
And from the fate that brings war after war with growing evil.
O knight, O protector, O Ḥamza, you were our great defender
From blows of fate when they were crushing.
You reminded me of the lion of the apostle, that protector of ours
Who will always be mentioned when noble chiefs are counted
High above the leaders, generous, white, shining . . . ' ¹

Muḥammad himself sorrowed greatly at Ḥamza's death.

' When the apostle stood over Ḥamza's body he said, " I have never been so hurt before. Never have I been more angry ". Then he said : " Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza was written among the people of the seven heavens : ' Ḥamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle ' " . ' ²

To orthodox Muslims, therefore, the historical Amīr Ḥamza of Mecca presented a highly suitable hero for tales of chivalry and courage. However, when the Persians set to work on elaborating the romance, they wove in many exotic episodes, set in Ceylon, China, Central Asia, Rūm, and the land of the Franks—places in which Ḥamza certainly never set foot. There are indications that in this process elements were borrowed from the legendary life story of a far less reputable Ḥamza, namely Ḥamza the Kharijite of Sīstān, a vigorous rebel leader of eastern Iran, who launched a series of campaigns against the authority of the caliphate in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors. These revolts are mentioned by several of the Arabic chroniclers who deal with the period ³ ; it is worth noting that the relevant passage concerning Ḥamza

¹ Ibn Ishāq, *The life of Muḥammad*, trans. A. Guillaume, Oxford, 1955, 385-6, 417.

² *ibid.*, 756.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur* . . . , ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1871, vi, 101, 103-4 ; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, 3rd series, pp. 638, 650 ; Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. Barbier de Menard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1864, viii, 42. See further B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1952, pp. 53, 55, 169 ; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, ' Le vicende del ḥarigismo in epoca abbaside ', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xxiv, 1949, 41 ; N. V. Pigulevskaya and others, *Istoriya Irana s drevneyshikh vremen do konca 18 veka*, Leningrad, 1958, 110-11.

the Kharijite in Ibn al-Athīr closely resembles, if it does not derive from the account given by the Persian historian Gardīzī, who wrote in about A.D. 1048-9.¹

Ḥamza the Kharijite's name is given variously as Ḥamza ibn Atrak or ibn Āzarak, or ibn 'Abdallāh, and he apparently claimed descent from Zav, son of Ṭahmāsb. His first uprising was launched in 181/797-8, shortly after 'Alī ibn 'Isa ibn Māhān had become viceroy of Khurāsān and come to Balkh. Ḥamza defeated the governor of Herat, but was eventually worsted by an army commanded by one of the viceroy's sons. Severe reprisals were undertaken by the caliph's forces against the schismatics of Sistān, even the so-called 'passive' (*qa'ad*) Kharijites who took no part in the fighting. A favourite method of execution was to bend together two stout branches of a tree, tie a man's legs, one to each branch, and then let go, so that the victim was torn asunder. Ḥamza himself was not to be outdone in ferocity. On one occasion he fell upon a certain village and massacred thirty lads in a school, together with their teacher. Civil war continued intermittently over a wide area until Ḥamza's death in 213/828-9. In spite of his heretical proclivities and bloodthirsty character, Ḥamza the Kharijite won popularity by exploiting local grievances against the exactions of the caliph's agents. He encouraged the people to refuse payment of taxes to governors sent from Baghdad, and himself seized the property of local officials and rich men. Historically, his campaigns are important as a symptom of the weakening of the caliphate's grip over eastern Iran and Afghanistan; they prepared the way for the rise of the Ṣaffārid Ya'qūb ibn Laith half a century later.

For present purposes, the significant thing about Ḥamza the Kharijite is that his exploits, like those of his homonym, the Prophet's uncle, became the subject of a body of fantastic legends. These are enshrined in the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Sistān*, a history begun in 445/1053-4, and continued in 725/1325.² This work gives what purports to be Ḥamza the Kharijite's personal correspondence with Harūn al-Rashīd. It makes Ḥamza undertake expeditions to Sind, Hind, and Sarandīb (i.e., India and Ceylon); to Chīn and Māchīn, by which we are to understand North and South China; then via Turkestan to Rūm (Asia Minor, Byzantium), and eventually back to Sistān by way of the Persian Gulf. These are, of course, some of the places in which the legendary Amīr Ḥamza, the Prophet's uncle, is also supposed to have distinguished himself. The historical Ḥamza the Kharijite actually operated in an area which abutted on Turkestan, Sind, and the Persian Gulf; so to conceive of him pressing on still further afield into Central Asia and the Far East requires less credulity than would be needed in the case of Ḥamza ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who apparently never left the confines of Arabia.

The similarities between the Amīr Ḥamza romance and the legendary

¹ Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran, 1333/1954, pp. 103-8.

² Edit. by Maḥk al-Shu'arā Taqī Bahār, Tehran, 1314/1935, pp. 32, 155-80. See C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, Sect. II, fasc. 2, London, 1936, 364.

history of Ḥamza the Kharijite, as contained in the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, have not escaped Persian scholars.¹ It remains to be established whether the chronicler of Sīstān filled out his story by drawing upon an already existing version of the Amīr Ḥamza romance; or whether, on the other hand, Ḥamza the Kharijite was himself made the subject of popular tales of adventure, which were later transferred to the more respectable figure of Ḥamza, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad.

There is no space here for a full résumé of the Persian Amīr Ḥamza romance, for which reference may be made to the writings of Glück and van Ronkel, already cited. We confine ourselves to isolating certain elements which show a definite affinity with the Georgian *Amiran-Darejaniani*.

We take first the circumstances of Amīr Ḥamza's birth. The Persians, regardless of anachronism, sought at all costs to link Ḥamza's career with that of the sage Buzurjmīhr, the legendary minister of the Sasanian monarch Khusrau Anūshīrvān. To this end, the romancer makes Buzurjmīhr tell Khusrau's father, King Qubād, that an enemy will arise against his son from among the Arabs in Mecca the Blessed. 'At this moment, he (the enemy) is within his father's loins. Tonight he will have entered into his mother's womb.'² Like Herod of old, King Qubād sends Buzurjmīhr off with an expedition to Mecca, with orders to rip open the bellies of pregnant women and exterminate all new-born babes.

Arriving in Mecca, however, Buzurjmīhr becomes very friendly with the pious and hospitable chief citizen 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who is the custodian of the Ka'ba. Now the latter's wife has lately conceived, and while Buzurjmīhr is still in Mecca, she gives birth to a son. Instead of carrying out his original fell intent and slaying the infant on the spot, Buzurjmīhr takes the child, kisses it, and christens it Amīr Ḥamza, saying: 'This babe is the lord of the happy conjunction (*Ṣāḥib-qirān*) of the Seven Climes. From all the kings of the world he will exact tribute. He will put the earrings of servitude in their ears. And some monarchs he will haul from their throne down into their coffin. And he will be the servant of Muḥammad the Prophet, on whom be blessing. And right up to the uttermost ends of the earth, he will cleanse the world from spells (*ṭilismāt*)'. Then Buzurjmīhr adopted Ḥamza as his godson and bestowed rich presents on him.

On that same evening, the wife of one of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's retainers, Umayya al-Damrī the messenger, has also given birth to a son. The proud father brings his offspring to his lord just when Buzurjmīhr has been uttering blessings on the new-born Ḥamza. The Persian sage takes Umayya's babe into his arms, declaring that this child too has a useful part to play, as the lamp of the followers of Ḥamza and the harbinger of Muḥammad the Prophet.³

¹ Malik al-Shu'arā Taqī Bahār, *Sabk-shināsi*, I, Tehran, 1321/1942, pp. 284-5.

² *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza-i Ṣāḥib-qirān*, lithograph, p. 12.

³ *Dāstān*, lithograph, pp. 12-14.

Ḥamza and the son of Umayya, whose name is 'Amr, grow up together and become bosom friends. According to one version of the romance, Ḥamza is suckled by the Queen of the Jinns of Mount Qāf (the Caucasus), whose milk imparts to him exceptional vigour; 'Amr on the other hand excels in cleverness and guile. All recensions dwell on Ḥamza's youthful feats of strength. He thinks nothing of pulling up fully grown date palms by the roots, to the gardeners' great indignation. No bow is strong enough for him, until the bowyer supplies him with that of Ishāq the Prophet, which suits him perfectly. A mysterious horseman gives him the sword, lance, and armour of Afrīdūn. According to one version, he acquires the steed of Ismā'il; in another, he mounts and breaks the back of a horse destined for the King of the Seven Climes, which has been stolen for him by 'Amr.¹

The story of the birth and early feats of Amīr Ḥamza and 'Amr ibn Umayya finds its pale reflection in the Georgian *Amiran-Darejaniani*, at the opening of the story of Ambri Arabi. Even Professor Baramidze admits that 'Ambri Arabi' is simply a corruption of 'Amīr-i 'Arab[i]'²; this is one of the titles given to Amīr Ḥamza in some of the Persian manuscripts.³ This corruption is, of course, produced by loss of one diacritical point in Persian script.

Compared with the Persian Ḥamza tales, the Georgian version of Ambri Arabi's birth is truncated and garbled. But the essential elements of resemblance are unmistakable. In the Ḥamza romance, the chief citizen of Mecca and his retainer are both blessed with male offspring on the same day, Umayya's son being given the name of 'Amr. In the Georgian, we read that while an Arabian king and one of his chief knights, Omar by name, were living in the Yemeni capital, 'a son was born to the Arabian king, and on the same day one was born also to his baron Omar, who gave him the name of Amar'.⁴ Note that in both cases the two children are born on the same day; also the similarity between the names Amar and 'Amr on the one hand, and Omar and Umayya on the other.

The Georgian work gives the dominant role to Amar, the son of Baron Omar, and not to the Arabian king's son. When Amar has grown to young manhood, the Yemeni king gives him the title of 'Ambri Arabi', or the *amīr* of the Arabs, which properly belongs to Ḥamza himself.⁵ Amar's childhood exploits and feats of arms—he kills lions and panthers as if they were mere cats—are of exactly the same type as those performed by the youthful Amīr Ḥamza. The Georgian version even has a sage who makes his appearance with an astrolabe to proclaim, much as Buzurjmihr had done of Ḥamza, that

¹ *Dāstān*, lithograph, pp. 14–20; Gluck, *Die indischen Miniaturen*, p. 26.

² A. Baramidze, "“Amiran-Darejaniani” originalobis sakit'khiat vis', *Sak'art'velos SSR Meismerebat'a Akademii Moambe*, IV, 6, 1943, 598; quoted by M. Chik'ovani, 'Amiraniani', *Literaturuli dziebani* (Tiflis), II, 1945, 91.

³ Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS in the Library of the India Office*, I, col. 520.

⁴ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, trans. Stevenson, p. 40.

⁵ Qubaneishvili's edition, p. 21. Mr. Stevenson's rendering, p. 41, is inadequate here.

'No knight upon the earth will be able to stand against this boy'.¹ Again, there is in the Georgian, as in the *Ḥamza* romance, an episode where a marvellous horse is obtained for the hero's use.

In *Amiran-Darejaniani*, Ambri Arabi's subsequent martial exploits are described in the same exaggerated terms as those of Amīr Ḥamza in the Persian romances. Thus, Ambri and his tutor between them put to flight an army of two hundred thousand Turks who have come to besiege the Yemeni capital. It is surprising that Professor Baramidze, who is the first to recognize hyperbole as one of the characteristics of the Georgian cycle, declines none the less to draw the obvious parallels with the Amīr Ḥamza romance and other Persian compositions of similar type.

One of the most recent scholars to concern himself with the *Ḥamza* stories, Monsieur Charles Virolleaud, makes the following general remarks concerning them :

'Il y a dans ces 800 pages un grand nombre de combats ; il y en a, au moins, autant que de pages, et chaque page en vaut bien trois ou quatre d'un de nos livres ; combats singuliers ou choc d'armées qui s'affrontent en des pays très divers, depuis la Chine jusqu'au Maghreb, le tout mêlé ou entremêlé d'intrigues de toutes espèces, de prodiges ou de sortilèges, de ces sortilèges qu'on appelle, en persan comme en arabe, *telesmāt*, vocable d'origine grecque, de la même origine que notre mot " talisman " '.*

On a smaller scale, this description would be an apt one for *Amiran-Darejaniani* as a whole. The heroes of Khoneli's work fully share Amīr Ḥamza's mania for jousting and single combat. Whenever Amiran hears of the prowess of some rival champion, he must needs rush off and challenge him to fight. As in the Persian romances, these expeditions of Amiran and his associates are enlivened by the intervention of magical devices and spells, called in Georgian, as in Persian, *t'ilisma-ni*. Indeed, *Amiran-Darejaniani* contains an entire adventure called 'The story of the talismans', in which feature magic men of copper who are destroyed by Amiran. It will be recalled that one of Buzurjmihr's predictions about Amīr Ḥamza was that he would rid the world of spells (*t'ilismāt*).

Among other similarities between *Amiran-Darejaniani* and the romance of Amīr Ḥamza, we may note that Amiran serves the caliph of Baghdad, Ḥamza the Sasanian monarch at Ctesiphon. Both heroes win king's daughters to be their brides. Amiran's main field of operations—Khazaria, Turkestan, Balkh—is one of many in which Ḥamza also distinguishes himself. While *Amiran-Darejaniani* is not, strictly speaking, a translation from the *Ḥamza* romance, we may conclude that it bears unmistakable signs of affinity with it.

¹ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, trans. Stevenson, p. 41. A comparable prediction was made by an astrologer from Herat on the occasion of the birth of Ḥamza ibn Āzarak the Kharijite : see *Tārīkh-i Baihaq*, ed. Bahmanyār, Tehran, 1317/1938, p. 267.

* C. Virolleaud, 'Le roman iranien de l'émir Hamza', *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, avril-juin 1948, 227.

This is not the only Islamic model with which Khoneli was evidently familiar. Mr. Stevenson has himself drawn a number of parallels between the Georgian tales and the *Shāh-nāma*, as well as with such later works as the *Haft paikar*. A few more clues as to Khoneli's cultural background may be gleaned by reference to the *Thousand and one nights*.¹ Here we have three examples of love inspired by a maiden's portrait, to be compared with Amiran Darejanisdze's dream and the likeness of the Lady Khvareshan fastened to his bedroom wall; an instance where a prince gets lost while hunting a gazelle, which may be compared with King Abesalom's hunt at the opening of the Georgian cycle; and an encounter with a bronze horseman, whose chest is adorned with tablets of talismanic powers, and who may be compared with the copper men in the story of the talismans. In the *Thousand and one nights*, there are several characters bearing the name Badr, and more than one Qamar—to be compared with Badri Iamaneli and Qamar Qamareli in the Georgian cycle.

Compared with the weight of Arabic and Persian literary influences, specifically Caucasian elements, such as the episode of the Dido king, play an insignificant part. The most that can be said of Mose Khoneli as an original writer is that he was adroit enough to concoct from imported, primarily Iranian ingredients a series of tales which his compatriots have been proud to acclaim as an expression of their own heroic past—tales which embody ideals of chivalry which the Georgians held in common both with their Muslim neighbours and with the Frankish paladins of that martial age.

V

As promised at the conclusion of section I, above, we give now a number of suggested emendations to Mr. Stevenson's English rendering of *Amiran-Darejaniani*. Faithful as he has been to the letter of Z. Dchidchinadze's corrupt and disfigured text, it is inevitable that collation with a less imperfect edition should reveal a number of instances where Mr. Stevenson has failed to convey the sense of his model with complete accuracy.

The most serious fault which has been noticed is the omission in the 'Story of Badri Iamanisdze' of a whole page of the text, in which are described Badri's arrival at the city of the King of the Seas and his first single combat (Qubaneishvili's edition, pp. 11–12). Mr. Stevenson indicates (p. 18, n. 3) his awareness of the lack of this passage in Dchidchinadze's edition, but fails to supply it from any other source. The passage in question, which should be inserted after p. 18, l. 13 of Mr. Stevenson's translation, runs as follows:

'We travelled on for three days more and arrived at the city gates; and we saw it to be a great and handsome city. We halted at the city gates. Emissaries

¹ Search for these was facilitated by Nikita Eliasséeff's book, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits. essai de classification*, Beirut, 1949, to which attention was kindly drawn by Professor D. S. Rice.

from the King of the Seas came to announce : " Welcome to you, Badri Iamanisdze ; I have heard of your valour, and am glad to see you ".

A tent was brought and erected for us. Everything we required was supplied for our use, and we rested on that day. On the morrow and the day following, the burgesses came to call on us ; and they were pleased at the sight of our leader, who was without an equal for good looks and heroism. We thought : " Indeed there are no more hardships upon the road ".

The King of the Seas sent a man along with this message : " Badri my son, you have undergone great perils upon the seas and the high roads, and you have taken part in great battles, such as no one has ever fought before. This is the kind of valiant knight whom I desire to have as a son-in-law ! Now put your valour to the supreme test. I have three champions of my own ; do you engage them in combat, and if you vanquish them, then you are my son-in-law ".

Badri Iamanisdze gave answer : " It is in search of knightly feats of arms that I have sallied forth from my home. Now even if you had a thousand champions against whom I must match myself before being granted your daughter in marriage, that would be the way I intend to win my bride ".

Usib went off into the city. He returned and reported as follows : " I have found out what manner of men they be. One of them is called Abashi (i.e. the Abyssinian), the second, the Short Knight (*mokle dchabuki*) because of his vast size, and the third I know nothing about, except that people speak highly of him ; and they say, ' No man could possibly take on those three in battle ' ".

The King of the Seas sent a gift of apparel and proclaimed : " Tomorrow is fixed for your combat with Abashi ". Badri Iamanisdze was delighted at the news. Now above the city there was a lofty castle. In the morning the king came forth and took his seat. His daughter and his consort took their places by his side, and his grandees took theirs likewise. Everybody drew near to watch, some of them on the ramparts, some in the streets, others made grandstands from doors which they detached, and climbed upon them to get a good view. Out came Abashi ; and the trumpeters and drummers entered the arena and marched round blowing and beating away loudly at their instruments. Badri Iamanisdze put on his armour and came out for the fray. They hurled themselves at one another, and a mighty battle ensued from morning until the ninth hour. Then Indo Dchabuki cried out to him : " This is the first sight they have had of your noble self ; and by your life, they have never seen your peer ".

Then Badri Iamanisdze brought out his steed, whirled round, and charged down on his adversary. He smote him on the helmet with his sword, split him asunder right down to his breast, and slew him. All the spectators shouted aloud and cried out in praise of Badri Iamanisdze.

When the king saw that Abashi was killed, he arose, slapped his knee with his hand, and returned to his palace ; and he sent to Badri a garment of honour and congratulated him on his victory. Everybody said : " There does

not exist on the surface of the whole earth a champion to match Badri Iamanisdze ”.

Some days went by, and one evening the King of the Sae sat down to make merry ; and he sent Badri a garment of honour, wine and fruit, and announced : “ You have acquitted yourself valiantly and I am well pleased. And now it is time for you to do battle with the Short Knight ”. This message delighted Badri Iamanisdze, and he made answer : “ I shall make haste to do so ; in fact, I will take two of them on together if you like ”.

As a matter of principle, Mr. Stevenson states, he has eschewed any attempt to produce a smooth-running version that ‘ does not read like a translation ’¹ ; at the expense of irking some of his readers, he has aimed at the greatest possible literalness, even to the extent of enclosing in square brackets countless single words or short phrases where the more laconic or elliptical Georgian constructions seem to require some expansion in English, or where he is trying to emend supposed corruptions in the text. A great number of emendations are also explained in notes. Unfortunately, most of these corrections are made necessary simply by the poor quality of Dchidchinadze’s edition of 1896, and have no relevance to the manuscripts of *Amiran-Darejaniani* or to Qubaneishvili’s more systematic edition. A few suggested improvements to Mr. Stevenson’s rendering are put forward in the following notes.

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

- p. 13, l. 16, and n. 2. ‘ Reading *me rasame* for *marasame*. ’
p. 16, l. 29. Abyssinians.
p. 18, l. 13. And we made for the city.
p. 21. ‘ The Third Chapter ’ begins.
p. 22, l. 16, and n. 3. iron breastplate (*kineni* emended to *rkineni*).
p. 24, l. 15. a thousand (*at’save* emended to *at’assave*).
p. 27, n. 2. ‘ In the text *datqvenva*, “ plunder ”, has been corrupted into *datqveva*, “ take captive ”.’
p. 28, l. 19, and n. 2. ‘ In the text an inapposite heading, “ The capture of Nosar Nisreli ”, occurs here.’
p. 29, ll. 11–12. The [next] day we went on—and [when we came to make our halt] the Two-Faced Man said
p. 30, l. 10, and n. 4. Usib said, ‘ He is to blame for all our misfortunes ! ’ (‘ Reading *ai* for *ar*.’)

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qubaneishvili

- p. 9, l. 2. *mo-rasne-gakhseneb* (sense is the same).
p. 10, l. 36. Arabs (*Arabi*).
p. 11, l. 22. ‘ We have nearly arrived at the city ’ (said Usib).
p. 13, l. 1. ‘ The battle of Badri Iamanisdze and the champion Arzamaniki ’ forms part of chap. 2.
p. 13, l. 29. *polotikni rkinani* (sense is the same).
p. 14, l. 22. *at’as* (sense is the same).
p. 15, l. 19. *catqvenva* (*catqvenva* = ‘ to ravage ’).
p. 15, l. 44. [No such heading in text.]
p. 16, l. 18. On the third day, that same man said
p. 16, l. 35. Again Usib said, ‘ Did not I tell you (*ara vt’k’uso*) that he has been at the bottom of all our troubles ? ’

¹ *Amiran-Darejaniani*, introduction, p. xxxiii.

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

- p. 30, ll. 20–1. quit yourself as [the fame of] your prowess leads [us] to expect !
- p. 31, ll. 18–20, and n. 2. '... even though I was not able to serve him [to much purpose]. And now, since you are going to look for him, I am your man ...' ('Reading *damicems* for *meo damic.*')
- p. 33, ll. 11–12, and n. 3. 'You are light indeed ! Pray who are you ?' (Note : 'Unless the point of this episode is to illustrate Amiran's strength ... we must assume that its purpose is to inform us that the man in red had wasted away in his miserable condition.')
- p. 35, l. 20, and n. 3. 'An ill day ...' ('Reading *vaglakh* for *ra glakh.*')
- p. 35, ll. 27–30. A little boy, the Devi's son, came up The Devi said, 'I know well that you are going to kill this boy—but put him down by me, and I will kill him myself'. [This makes complete nonsense of the episode.—D. M. L.]
- p. 35, l. 37. [Phrase omitted after : '... do not kill me !'—D. M. L.]
- p. 37, ll. 20–1, and n. 2. shattered the gates of the castle ('This statement about the gates is probably formulaic')
- p. 37, ll. 23–4, and n. 3. When he had slaughtered all [the Devis] ('Inconsistent with the further slaughter which follows.')
- p. 38, ll. 21 ff. [Chapter ending omitted.—D. M. L.]
- p. 40, l. 7, and n. 1. the Arabs are [the finest] *dchabukis* upon the face of all the earth. ('The negative in the text is to be disregarded.')
- p. 41, l. 20, and n. 5. a chestnut ambler (*t'okhariki*), [with notes on 'Tokharian' horses].

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qubaneishvili

- p. 16, ll. 41–2. act with all the courage with which God shall inspire you !
- p. 17, ll. 15–16. 'Although I failed to help him then, now that you are going to look for him I am your man (*damio guli t'k'uent'ana*).'
- p. 18, l. 3. 'Bless my soul, what a tiny fellow (*cota*) you are ! What manner of man may you be ?' (i.e. usual approach of genial giant to person of ordinary or smallish size).
- p. 19, l. 2. 'It was unlucky for you when (*gana ra glakh*)'
- p. 19, ll. 5–6. A little boy came up ... and said [to the one-eyed Devi] : 'Daddy, I know that you are going to kill this fellow ; but just put him down by me, and I will finish him off myself'.
- p. 19, l. 11. '*ik' cheshmem nest-o.*' [As explained by N. Y. Marr, *ZMNP*, pt. 299, 1895, p. 364, this is a Persian phrase : *yek chashmam nist* 'I have not got one eye [left]', Amiran having gouged out the Devi's single eye with his dagger.]
- p. 19, l. 42. [This phrase not in text.]
- p. 19, ll. 43–4. Darejanisdze slaughtered many men
- p. 20, ll. 18–19. This is the end of the section concerning the king of India, Badri Iamanisdze, Nosar Nisreli, and Amiran Darejanisdze ; and to Thee belong majesty and might for ever and ever, Amen.
- p. 20, ll. 43–4. There are no (negative : *ara arian*) heroes on the face of all the earth to match the Arabs.
- p. 21, l. 27. a thoroughbred horse (*zerdagi ot'khristi*).

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

- p. 41, ll. 23-4. presented it to Ambri Arabi—him who had been called 'Amar' since childhood
- p. 44, ll. 11-12. We went off, and soon Ambri Arabi overtook us, [whereupon we told him that] in the battle they had killed twelve hundred of our men.
- p. 49, ll. 8-9. 'Now if the three of you all come out together I shall be the better pleased.'
- p. 53, l. 1. Now it came to pass that one Indo Dchabuki
- p. 67, ll. 32-3. 'Here I am entering the hall of [one who is to me as] my father!' [Phrase in square brackets needlessly introduced.—D. M. L.]
- p. 69, l. 34, and n. 1. turned grey ('Reading *mkhoe* for *mkhec*.')
- p. 70, ll. 35-6. there too dwell the Seven Stars, his daughters
- p. 72, ll. 7-8, and n. 1. 'If you say that once more you will never have another chance to advise me!' ('By reason of having been put to death.')
- p. 73, ll. 36-8, and n. 1. 'I can see that you are good dchabukis, and such lions that no one, by Heaven, would have any chance of vanquishing you!' ('The interpretation of this statement is doubtful.')
- p. 74, ll. 6-12, and n. 2. Within the city . . . are one and all lion-dchabukis. ('This sentence and the one preceding have been transposed from the beginning of the speech.')
- p. 74, ll. 16-17. Swimon, son of the Chinese king.
- p. 74, l. 27. Losor Losominisdze
- p. 75, ll. 24-5. . . . battles; among themselves, with those in the city—and with you too!

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qujareishvili

- p. 21, l. 29. gave to Amar the name of Ambri Arabi
- p. 22, ll. 34-5. We went out and heard a report that in the battle which ensued when Ambri Arabi was chasing after to rescue Abuter, three hundred men were slain.
- p. 25, ll. 13-14. 'And if all three of you will not come out together, the challenge is off.'
- p. 27, ll. 1-2. Later on, there came a time when the land of the Yemenis was overcome by misfortune, and countries far and near were lost to their realm; at that time there existed a certain Indo Dchabuki
- p. 34, ll. 11-12. 'I enter your hall as if it were my own father's!'
- p. 35, l. 22. *mkh-cšēreuli* (sense is the same).
- p. 35, ll. 44-5. there too dwell his seven daughters, who are named after seven of the stars
- p. 36, l. 31. 'It is no use arguing with me, as I have quite made up my mind.'
- p. 37, ll. 25-6. 'I see in you fine men and knights mighty as lions; and anyone who tackles you, by God, will come to grief.'
- p. 37, ll. 30-2. 'There are stationed there four thousand caparisoned horsemen, whose number never diminishes. And in command of those forces are distinguished generals, knights mighty as lions, as well as ten other individual champions'
- p. 37, l. 39. Siman, son of the king of Sind.
- p. 37, l. 46. Losar Losimanisdze [Some other proper names also spelt differently in the MSS.]
- p. 33, ll. 19-20. . . . battles launched from within the land by those knights already mentioned, and now also by you from outside.

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qubaneishvili

- p. 78, l. 16, and n. 1. The burgesses took their places. ('Reading *mok'alak'eni* for *mis k'alak'sa erni*.)
- p. 79, l. 39–p. 80, l. 2. 'I know what you have done already for [three of] your champions, and I am ready to do my part [in the matter of the fourth]!'
- p. 84, l. 32. [Phrase omitted after: '... from my hands alive!'—D. M. L.]
- p. 93, l. 26. ... do not go any farther.
- p. 93, ll. 30–1, and n. 5. 'You have done a deed ...' ('Reading *gik'mnies* for *mik'mnies*.)
- p. 97, ll. 1–4. 'Since God has not withheld His mercy from you, your deliverance rests in His hands: with the aid of God the Creator, I will not suffer you to be harmed by your enemies.'
- p. 98, n. 1. 'In the text the statement about the caravaneers and the gifts occurs after the immediately following passage on the clarioneers and taborers.'
- p. 99, l. 14, and n. 1. ... leading our host. ('Reading *sheviquanet* for *shevigenet*.)
- p. 102, l. 26. a certain maiden ...
- p. 105, ll. 20–4, and n. 3. 'Hail, King of this land, you who by the force of your prowess have won for yourself the whole earth! No one has ever so much as thought of coming over this road, nor—its own rulers aside—has any alien ever trampled this land under foot ...' ('Presumably we are to understand that the reigning dynasty was of foreign origin.') [This presumption not supported when text is translated correctly.—D. M. L.]
- p. 108, ll. 29–30, and n. 2. you too must approve, and call upon her to do so. ('Reading *aqvriot* for *maqqvriot*.)
- p. 110, l. 35–p. 111, l. 1, and n. 6. ... during the first banquet they
- p. 39, l. 29. All the townspeople (*goveli k'alak'i*) came out to watch.
- p. 40, ll. 8–9. 'I know what sort of a performance your champions have put up on your behalf!' [i.e. a very feeble one.]
- p. 42, l. 9. He plucked the arrow from his breast.
- p. 45, l. 31. ... do not take that road.
- p. 45, l. 35. [Text has: ... *egre iqa-o*. Sense is the same.]
- p. 47, ll. 7–9. 'Seeing that our arrival has cheered you to such an extent, you may furthermore rest assured of this: namely that until we are wiped out ourselves, no harm shall befall you either.'
- p. 47, ll. 39–42. [The MSS have these sentences in the right sequence, as rearranged by Mr. Stevenson.]
- p. 48, ll. 13–14. ... we brought up the caravan behind us (*sheviquanet k'aravani ukana*) and both sides took up battle stations.
- p. 49, l. 38, and n. 1. the maiden Roden (variant: *Raoden*, with a reference to the sequel to *Amiran-Darejaniani*, in Qubaneishvili, *Chrestomathy*, II, 115, where the maiden Raoden also features).
- p. 50, ll. 46–8. 'Live for ever, O King, lord of the whole earth, who by thy valour hast won this entire realm for thyself. No alien potentate has ever accomplished this before, nor has any foreigner ever trampled this land under foot ...'
- p. 52, l. 23. now if you bid me (*maqqvriot*) act accordingly ...
- p. 53, ll. 20–1. ... at that banquet, the winecup was in constant circula-

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

brought in the finest of everything ('Taking the text as it stands, we must suppose this feast to be reckoned the first of a new series: but there is probably some confusion.'))

- p. 111, ll. 9-10. When they had made an end of feasting
- p. 111, ll. 10-11. 'Give orders for a feast in that [other] hall [through there]'
- p. 111, ll. 13-14. By your head, that hall was by far the finest of them all! We felt sure that none could excel it.
- p. 117, l. 16, and n. 2. To be short, they determined upon battle for the following day. ('This formula appears somewhat inappropriately here.')
- p. 117, l. 29, and n. 4. a league high Note: 'Reading *mīlisa* (*mīlī*: Latin *mille*; approximately 5 miles) for *milionisa*.'
- p. 119, ll. 26-9. After that Amiran perceived that Aban Kabanisdze and Kowos Kosidze were struggling with the other dragon. It caught hold of Aban Kabanisdze together with his horse: but, not being big enough to engulf them, it fled after it had seized them.
- p. 120, ll. 17-19. they . . . invested him with the kingship.
- p. 125, ll. 2-3. all in such numbers as we or the other barons might desire.
- p. 125, ll. 23-4. 'What ails you [all]?'
- p. 130, ll. 29-35, and n. 1. [This paragraph garbled in Mr. Stevenson's rendering.—D. M. L.]
- p. 131, ll. 36-8. 'Brother, since you have such tales to tell—by the life of Emir Mumli, you must have been a fine lad and a true dchabuki!'
- p. 132, l. 14. 'Brother, where do you come from?'
- p. 133, ll. 8-9. and I reviled him for his wickedness.

Georgian text, edited by
S. Quid-neishvili

tion, and ever-thing was of the best

- p. 53, l. 26. Then they called in the general public, a banquet was laid on, and we had general merry-making.
- p. 53, ll. 27-8. 'Give orders for the feast to be continued in the bridal suite as well'
- p. 53, ll. 29-30. We exclaimed: 'Compared with this those outer apartments are as nothing'—so much did this bridal suite excel them.
- p. 56, l. 38. They resolved to sally forth on the morrow [i.e. to kill the dragon].
- p. 56, l. 47. a mile high (*milionisa erī'sa*: renders Greek *μῆλον*, a Roman mile = 8 stades = 1,280 yards, as attested in Old Georgian Adysh Gospels, Matthew v, 41: 'And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain'.)
- p. 57, ll. 41-3. Then K'amanisdze and K'aoz K'osidze set upon that other dragon, and it seized Aban K'amanisdze and his horse together. As it was not so huge as the first dragon, it could not swallow them. So after snatching up both horse and rider, it turned to flight.
- p. 58, l. 13. My master went in [as a knight] and came out as a king.
- p. 60, ll. 4-5. and everyone amused himself in whatever fashion he pleased.
- p. 60, l. 15. 'I am feeling somehow depressed.'
- p. 62, l. 44. . . . He went on: 'King of Kings, give ear I sallied forth and caught sight of that man'
- p. 63, ll. 22-3. 'Brother, what have you to be ashamed of, you are a fine fellow and a goodly knight, I swear by the caliph's name!'
- p. 63, l. 32. 'Who are you, brother?'
- p. 64, l. 6. [This inappropriate phrase not in Georgian text.]

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

- p. 133, ll. 23-4. 'Does the land you are going to have no dehabukis for you to fight?'
- p. 134, ll. 10-11, and n. 1. 'Brothers, who are these?' ('Reading *arian* for *khart*'. The passage seems a little confused.)—And they replied, 'They are the chief stud-grooms and their underlings.'
- p. 137, l. 5. Ara Dashvrisdze.
- p. 138, l. 24, and n. 2. in our fair land ('The primary meaning of *uokho* is "strange", "foreign". Perhaps here to be understood as "distant"—?')
- p. 146, l. 28, and n. 4. no harm will come to them anyway. ('It is not clear why.')
- p. 149, l. 25, and n. 1. . . . bring a camel with a litter. ('Reading *moiqvanet* for *moiqidet*.')
- p. 149, n. 2. 'Reading *sheshkmad* for *shesasmelat*.'
- p. 150, ll. 8-9, and n. 2. just as day was breaking. ('The time-discrepancy is obvious.')
- p. 150, ll. 29-30, and n. 4. Omar and I went forward ('Omar's participation in this exploit is probably the result of a copyist's lapse.')
- p. 156, n. 1. 'In the text the accounts of the departures of the Lady in Black and of the narrator are entangled.'
- p. 157, l. 25. [Phrase omitted.—D. M. L.]
- p. 158, l. 36, and n. 2. 'and that will be no less to your taste!' ('Literally, "that will end in the same way!" The fighting will be enjoyed as much as, and be no more dire in its outcome than, a drinking-bout.')
- p. 161, l. 6. 'Idle chatter ill becomes dehabukis.'
- p. 162, l. 25, and n. 1. cleft it through ('The words *orni polotikni* [*r*] *kineni*, which occur here in the text, are disregarded.')

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qubaneishvili

- p. 64, l. 14. 'Are there no knights for you to challenge in the land from whence you come?'
- p. 64, ll. 30-1. 'Brothers, who are you (*vin khart*)?'—And they replied: 'There is the chief stud-groom, and we are his assistants.'
- p. 66, l. 8. Adrashurisdze [probably a Georgianized form of Ardashir].
- p. 66, l. 35. in our land [*uokho abest*].
- p. 70, l. 19. it will not bring them any benefit.
- p. 71, l. 40. . . . equip (*dahkazmenit'-o*) a palanquin and camels.
- p. 71, l. 40. [correct reading is *shesas-melad*, from *shesoma* 'to seat a person': Chubinov, col. 1467.]
- p. 72, l. 2. [This inapposite phrase not in text.]
- p. 72, l. 13. [Text has no mention of Omar's participation here.]
- p. 75, ll. 2-5. [This incident treated quite clearly in the MSS: after Sep'edavle's parting words to the Lady in Black, the narrator adds, 'Thereupon I also took my departure. He gave me, too, countless splendid presents . . .'.]
- p. 75, ll. 33-4. [After 'presented one to Amiran Darejanisdze', text adds: 'and the other half he retained for himself'.]
- p. 76, l. 9. [This odd statement not found in the MSS.]
- p. 77, l. 8. 'That we should flinch would ill become our knightly prowess.'
- p. 77, ll. 39-40. hacked through a double layer of armour plating, split open the helmet.

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

- p. 163, ll. 31-5, and n. 3. Upon us too, the followers of Amiran, they bestowed gifts. Sepedavle gave us camels, mules, and attendants: he had the mules and camels loaded up with countless treasures, and these we took away with us. ('The passage in the text represented by this paragraph is confused.')
- p. 164, ll. 29-32. the size of the host made it a perilous matter to continue along the one we were on, having as we did nothing to aid us other than the valour of those men [sent along with us by Sepedavle].
- p. 168, l. 4, and n. 2. on his wrist. ('Literally, "hand".')
- p. 168, l. 14. his face had been blackened too.
- p. 168, ll. 19-20, and n. 7. thinking he must have gone mad in mourning. ('Interpreting the obscure *abela* to mean "mourner", etc.', with notes on Abelite sect in North Africa.)
- p. 169, l. 20, and n. 2. I am a Nogai. [With a learned note on the Nogai Tatars.]
- p. 170, ll. 15-17. 'A large caravan coming from India and bound for [the land of] the Persians is approaching. . . .'
- p. 171, l. 34, and n. 2. twenty thousand mettlesome ones ('The usual meaning of *mkhrdali* is "timid".')
- p. 172, l. 12, and n. 1. no man of valour ('Reading *mkhne kaui* for *mkheme*.')
- p. 175, l. 10. [Phrase omitted.—D. M. L.]
- p. 175, l. 16, and n. 1. three days. ('Reading the variant *same* [sic] *dje*.')
- p. 178, l. 19. You have succeeded.
- p. 179, ll. 12-13. 'and he also enquired how you did.'
- p. 179, l. 20, and n. 3. Amar ('*Umar*') Iamaneli.
- p. 180, ll. 23-4, and n. 2. 'But this pact that makes three brothers of us must not become known to anyone.' ('No reason for this secrecy emerges.')
- p. 186, ll. 28-30. Then in the morning tents of brocaded velvet were unrolled, and thrones covered with cloth

Georgian text, edited by
Š. Qubanešvili

- p. 78, ll. 23-4. Upon us also the king and queen bestowed countless gifts. He provided us with camels, mules, and slaves. They loaded everything up, and transported it for us on our journey.
- p. 78, ll. 44-5. to advance upon them was terrifying, having regard to the size of their army and the valour of those warriors. But there was nothing for it—so we advanced.
- p. 80, l. 32. on his wrist (*mklausa*: means 'wrist', not 'hand'.)
- p. 80, ll. 41-2. his body also was quite black.
- p. 80, l. 45. We thought he must be some lunatic. [Instead of *kheli abela*, text has *kheli vinne*.]
- p. 81, l. 18. I am a Nubian (*Noba*).
- p. 81, ll. 44-5. 'A large caravan is approaching, bound for India and Persia. . . .'
- p. 82, ll. 32-3. a hundred thousand mares (or she-asses: *khrdali*).
- p. 82, ll. 42-3. no man-at-arms (*mekhrmle*).
- p. 84, ll. 24-5. The hawk brought the teal down with a savage swoop.
- p. 84, l. 29. some time (*khani rame*).
- p. 86, ll. 6-7. God granted you victory.
- p. 86, l. 27. 'and you can interrogate him yourself.'
- p. 86, l. 32. Amir Iamaneli [i.e., the *amir* of the Yemen].
- p. 87, l. 11. 'And so in truth no one will detect that we are not in fact three brothers.'
- p. 90, ll. 5-6. In the morning, tents of brocaded velvet were unrolled and erected. Seats of cloth of gold were

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

of gold were set upon golden supports.

p. 189, ll. 6-8. 'By Heaven, I should indeed have liked to vanquish you—but God favoured you and gave you such power that you could easily have killed me: and yet you did not!'

p. 189, ll. 15-19. 'Just how it came about I do not know—but somehow or other it did, during the festivities commanded by the king. Because they believed that the maiden's mother did not want to have her daughter given away in marriage, and was grieving over the prospect . . .'

p. 198, l. 4, and n. 1. 'I should not . . .'
(The negative is missing from the text.)

p. 199, l. 31, and n. 1. this flying man.
(The established meaning of *p'rinveli* is "bird", etc.)

p. 200, n. 2. 'In the text two sentences which are not consonant with the narrative follow on here. "We went up to the entrance of the cave and halted beneath it. Some men in armour came out: Mze Dchabuki leaped upon them, and Mosor and Dorat followed him into battle."'

p. 201, ll. 7-8, and n. 1. 'Yet we have done wrong in coming away like this.'
(An obscure sentence . . .)

p. 201, n. 2. 'An incomprehensible sentence of five words is here omitted.'

p. 202, l. 12, and n. 1. a royal head-dress.
(The usual meaning of *k'udi* is "cap". Its use here is rather unexpected.)

p. 206, l. 9, and n. 2. 'It looks as though a few words telling of the stabbing of Mze Dchabuki have been lost from the text.'

p. 209, l. 8. Here is the story of the Revenge.

p. 210, l. 14, and n. 2. 'Since you have both come, that host [in the city]

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qubaneishvili

fitted up and the dignitaries took their places.

p. 91, ll. 3-6. 'I am resigned, O Lord, to the fact that he vanquished me! Since it was God who granted you victory over me, why should I hold this against you? Rather am I extremely grateful, because you could have killed me, and yet refrained from doing so.'

p. 91, ll. 10-11. 'I know not if it is on the king's orders or not. For indeed the giving away of this maiden in marriage has grieved him as much as it would grieve a foster-mother who had suckled her . . .'

p. 95, l. 17. [Negative is in the text, as required by the sense.]

p. 96, l. 6. this winged creature
(*p'rt'osani*).

p. 96, ll. 22-3. . . . But Dorat' and Mosor did *not* follow him.

p. 96, ll. 31-2. 'It was a great mistake for him ever to have undertaken this trip at all.' [A natural remark, considering that the knights are mourning for Mze Dchabuki, whom they imagine to have been killed by the dragon.]

p. 96, ll. 43-4. 'So that they may be terrified into running away'—this was his scheme. [This sentence fits perfectly into the context of the story.]

p. 97, l. 6. royal diadem (*gvirgvini*).

p. 98, l. 48-p. 99, l. 1. with their daggers they pierced the heart of Mze Dchabuki as he lay asleep, clad in his shirt.

p. 100, ll. 22-3. [End of ch. 10, beginning of ch. 11.]

p. 101, ll. 4-6. 'Since both of you have arrived, accompanied by all these

English translation by
R. H. Stevenson

- should not be able to compass your [defeat].’ (‘ . . . The sentence is defective.’)
- p. 211, n. 1. ‘Reading *movionarenü*’ (derivable from *onavaroba*) for *movia-renü*.’
- p. 215, l. 31, and n. 2. Dorat Dilami came and made obeisance to them. (‘ This sentence, although not obviously defective, is obscure.’)
- p. 220, ll. 20-1, and n. 1. he had torn off legs from [the carcasses of] horses, and was laying about him with these . . .
- p. 222, ll. 14-15, and n. 1. upon the same rampart as before. (‘ The previous feast was in fact described as taking place in one of the apartments of the palace.’)
- p. 228, l. 12, and n. 1. night after night. (‘ In the text, “ day ”.’)
- p. 229, l. 13. [Phrase omitted.—D. M. L.]
- p. 231, ll. 2-3. ‘ Well, you see, a scimitar was just what this Ghamaz Devi needed ! ’

Georgian text, edited by
S. Qubaneishvili

- vassals of yours, those others will be no match for you when you launch an offensive.’
- p. 101, l. 30. [Text has : *movarbivenü*’, from *morbeva* ‘ to plunder ’.]
- p. 103, l. 28. She bestowed rich gifts upon Dorat’ Dilami, and he took his leave and departed.
- p. 105, ll. 25-6. he wrenched off a thigh-bone from his [dead] horse, and laid about him with it . . .
- p. 106. [In the text, feasts take place *ban’a zeda* ‘ upon the terraces ’ throughout.]
- p. 109, l. 7. from time to time (*žami’ti žamad*).
- p. 109, l. 27. ‘ O King, why vent your wrath on me because of this ? ’
- p. 110, l. 13. Everyone was amazed at such a mighty feat.

TRANSCERENCE OF ASPIRATION IN EUROPEAN GYPSY

By R. L. TURNER

THE transference of aspiration in European Gypsy from an interior aspirated consonant or consonant-group has long been recognized, e.g. by F. X. von Miklosich,¹ J. Wackernagel,² and the late Dr. J. Sampson who in his monumental work, *The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, gives many instances. But an examination of these presents several unexplained problems. Why, if there is transference of aspiration in *phuč* ³ < *pr̥chātī*, is there not also in *dukh* < *duhkhā*, *pakh* < *pakkha* (*pakṣā*), etc.? If *vidhāvā* became *phivh*, how can *bilanō* 'gimlet' be derived from *vēdhanī* ⁴?

Sampson ⁵ suggests that the devoicing of voiced aspirates which is common to European and Armenian Gypsy, of the type Skt. *ghāsā* > Eur. and Arm. Gy. *khas* 'grass, straw, hay' as opposed to Pal. Gy. *gas*, took place before the separation of these two groups. But the transference of the interior aspiration (of the type Skt. *bandh* > Eur. Gy. *phand* as opposed to Arm. Gy. *banth* or Pal. Gy. *ban*), being confined to European Gypsy, must have taken place after the separation of the two groups. Then if in a common Armenian-European Gypsy *duddha* (< Skt. *ḍugdhā*) had become **du(t)tha* (Arm. Gy. *hath*), the subsequent transference of the aspiration in European Gypsy would have produced **dhut* and, by a second devoicing of the voiced aspirate, **thut*; but in fact the original voiced consonant remains in *thud*, as in *khabnī* 'pregnant' < *gabbhinī* (< Skt. *garbhīnī*), *čib* < *jibbhā* (< Skt. *jihvā*), etc. The transference of aspiration must therefore have occurred before the devoicing of voiced aspirates, i.e. the course of events must have been *duddha* > **dhud* > *thud*, which points to the devoicing having been an independent phenomenon in the two groups. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the European dialects are not uniform in their representation of the original or the secondary aspirates. In particular, aspirates have generally not been recorded for Greek Gypsy (e.g. *pral*, *ter*-, *kas* < *bhrātṛ*-, *dhārati*, *ghāsā*-) or for English Gypsy. But in the latter case, since the aspirates are well attested for the Welsh variety of it, the letters *p*, *t*, *k*, when initial, can represent as in English an aspirated form of the plosive, though it is possible that distinction between them and the unaspirated initials had been lost.

The clearest case is the transference of aspiration from an internal voiced consonant to an initial voiced plosive, since in this case the initial will be devoiced, whether or not it subsequently loses its aspiration, as for example with *čh* which generally appears as *č*.

¹ *Beitrage*, II, 782 ff.

² *JGLS*, NS, III, 2, 1909, 119.

³ Where not otherwise specified, forms are from Welsh Gypsy as recorded by Sampson in *DGW*.

⁴ Sampson, *DGW*, IV, 40.

⁵ *DGW*, I, 34.

-bbh-: *khabnī* < Pkt. *gabbhinī*-, Skt. *garbhīnī*-. Rum. Hung. Boh. Gy. *thab*- 'to burn', Gk. Gy. *tablo* 'hot', *tabar*- 'to ignite' < **dabbha*- analogical present formation for *dajjha*- (Skt. *dahyātē*) from past participle *daddha*- (Skt. *dagdhā*-) after the type *labbha*-: *laddha*- (Skt. *lābhyātē*: *labdha*-)¹: cf. **dambh*- (after the type Pkt. *lambhaī*: *laddha*-) in Si. *ḡambhaṇu* 'to brand', Pj. *ḍammhṇā* 'to burn', Nep. *dāmnū* 'to brand'; and Si. *ḍubhaṇu* 'to be milked', with past participle *ḍudho*, which has similarly replaced *ḍujjh*-: *ḍuddha*- (Skt. *duhyātē*: *dugdhā*-). *čib* 'tongue' < Pkt. *jilbhā*-, Skt. *jihvā*-.²

-mbh-: Bulg. Gy. *čham* 'cheek', Welsh Gy. *čam* f. 'cheek', Gk. Gy. *čam* 'cheek, jaw' < Skt. *jāmbha*- m. 'tooth', pl. 'jaws'. Rum. Hung. Gy. *čamb*- 'to chew', Span. Gy. *damb*- are, like Fin. Gy. *čamlo* 'chewed', Hung. Gy. *čamlo* (as recognized by Sampson) directly derived from Skt. *jāmbhatē* 'snaps at'.³

-ddh-: *thud* < *dugdhā*-. Hung. Gy. *thav*- 'to cook', *tādo* 'cooked', which like Boh. Gy. *tāv*-, *tādo*, Gk. Gy. *tav*- are probably < Skt. *tēpīyati*, were perhaps influenced by a **thado* < *dagdhā*:- if so, both *daddha*- and its replacement *ḍaddha*- (see below) were kept in Gypsy as in other Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Guj. *dādhel* 'burnt' beside *dādhū* 'burner of the dead' < *dāgdhī*-. In *xud*- 'to squeeze' < Pkt. *khubdha*-, Skt. *kṣubdha*-, the initial was already an unvoiced aspirate, but the preservation of the voiced *d* shows that either loss through dissimilation or transference of the aspiration took place.

-ndh-: *phand*- 'to tie' < Skt. Pa. *bandhati*. *kēand* 'stink' < Skt. *gandhā*-.⁴

-ḍdh-: *phurō* 'old' < Pa. Pkt. *buddha*- of which the original *b* is attested in Si. *buḍho*.⁵ Rum. Hung. Gy. *thar*-, Boh. Gy. *thār*- 'to burn', Gk. Gy. *tar*- 'to ignite' < Pa. Pkt. *ḍaddha*-, Pkt. *ḍaddha*- in Ku. *ḡḡṇo* 'to be burnt', Hi. *ḍādhā* 'burnt', etc., beside Pa. Pkt. *daddha*- in Si. *ḡodho*, Hi. *dādhnā*, etc. It is difficult to separate Rum. Gy. *taro* 'firm' from Mar. *dādhā* 'bold',

¹ For an analogical formation in the reverse sense see p. 493, n. 4.

² The explanation of this *č* = Skt. *j*- was first given by Wackernagel, *JGLS*, NS, III, 2, 1909, 119, as also for *čang* and *čam* (see below). His explanation of *č* 'yesterday' (beside As. Gy. *hič* < Pkt. *hičō*, Skt. *hyāh*) as due to a transference of initial *h*- to internal *-j-* is very doubtful. Initial *h*- normally disappears in European Gypsy. Moreover a voiceless consonant is recorded in Hung. Gy. *čž*, beside *čž*, *overid* 'day before yesterday' and It. Gy. *y-dž*. In any case there appears to be some tendency to devoice final plosives: so Gk. Gy. *panč* 'five' beside *panj*, Germ. Hung. Gy. *panč*, Welsh Gy. *panš* beside *panj*. Beside Welsh Gy. etc. *sigō*, *sig* 'quick' we have Germ. Boh. Gy. *sik* 'quickly', whence *sikar*- 'to hasten', *sikso* 'quick, industrious'.

³ *DGW*, IV, 54, s.v. *čamyar*-. B. Gilliat-Smith, however, in *JGLS* 3rd Ser., VI, 1, 1927, 25, points out that Bulgarian Gypsy only has *čamb*- 'to chew' as opposed to *čham* 'cheek' and suggests, without much probability, derivation from Skt. *cāmya*:- perhaps rather from *carayati* in Hi. *cānā*, etc., 'to chew', with onomatopoeic nasal.

⁴ Misled by Gk. Gy. *khan* which has lost its final *-d* (still preserved in the verb *kand*- 'to stink') Jules Bloch, *LM*, 326, wrongly derived this from Skt. *ghrānē*-.

⁵ See ND, 453 a 7, s.v. *buro*, where it is derived from **bṛddha*-, replacing (*pāri*)*bṛdha*- (for meaning cf. *bṛmhā*- 'firm, grown' *MBh.*). But it may perhaps belong to an immensely large group of words denoting some physical or mental defect and characterized by an initial voiced labial, the vowel *u* or *o*, and a dental or retroflex consonant-group, of which some are set out in ND, 479 b 30-50. In either case this *buddha*- was associated with *vučhc*- < *vṛddhā*-.

Si. *ḍāḍho* 'hard'; which are widespread in Indo-Aryan¹ and appear to be adjectival formations from Skt. *ḍārḍhya-* 'hardness, fixity, strength'. If so, we must assume earlier actual **tharo* for Gypsy.²

-jḥ-: Germ. Gy. *thuč-* 'to milk'³ < **dujjh-*, Pa. *dujhati*, Skt. *duhyāte* in Guj. *dujhvā* 'to yield milk'.⁴

-ṅh-: Čan f. 'thigh' < Skt. *jāṅghā-*.

-nh-: Bulg. Gy. *čhon*, Gk. Gy. *čon*, Rum. Gy. *čon*, *šon*, W. Gy. *šon* 'moon', Germ. Gy. *čon* 'moon, month' < **jonhā* (Pa. *junhā-*, Pkt. *jonhā-*) < Skt. *jyōtsnā-* 'moonlight'.⁵

-mh-: There is no example beginning with an original voiced plosive: *tumē* 'you' (cf. Pkt. *tumhē*, *tumhēhim*) as a pronoun may have lost its aspiration abnormally early. There is no trace in Gypsy of initial or medial aspirate.

The case of *-rh-* also is doubtful. Evidence for transference of aspiration rests on one uncertain etymology, viz. *khar-* 'to call, name, pronounce', if with J. Bloch⁶ this is < Skt. *gārhati* 'blames' (Asokan *garahati*, *gal*^o, Niya Documents *garahati* 'complains', Si. *garahanu* 'to talk over one's affairs privately', Kash. *gārun* 'to enquire': Snh. *garahanu* 'to reproach' is probably a loanword from Pa. *garahati*. There are two phonetic difficulties: firstly the Greek, Rumanian, and Bohemian dialects have *ak(h)ar-* 'to groan'⁷; and secondly, it would have to be assumed that the transference took place after the change of *a* before a single consonant to *e*.

A medial unvoiced aspirated consonant-group on the other hand preserved its aspiration unchanged, certainly if the group was *-kkh-*, less certainly if it was *-cch-*.

-kkh-: There is no transference to voiced or unvoiced initial: *dukh* 'pain',

¹ cf. Pa. *-dadhi-*; Kah. *drūi* f. 'strength', WPah. *dādi* f. 'a well-built goat', Lah. *dādh* 'strength', *ḍādhā* 'strong', Pj. *dādh* f. 'firmness of mind', *dādhā* 'strong', Hi. *dhār(h)as* f. 'courage', Ass. *dāri* 'seriously', Or. *dārha* 'strength, stubbornness', Snh. *daḍi* 'hardness, adj. strong, firm'.

² The loss of, or failure to record, aspiration is found in other words in Rumanian and Hungarian Gypsy, e.g. Rum. Gy. *kos-* beside Welsh Gy. *khos-*, Hung. Gy. *lav-d-* 'to flow' beside Welsh Gy. *thab-* 'to flow, run', Pal. Gy. *dau-* < Skt. *dhāvati*.

³ *'thütsch-* recorded by B. Liebich and *'tohäch-* by F. Bischoff seem more accurate or earlier than the *doš-* of Miklosich, in which *d-* may represent unvoiced South German *d*: references in R. von Sowa, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, 25, s.v. *dōšāva*. There is the further difficulty that the expected *ḥ* is represented by *č* or *š*.

⁴ cf. Pkt. *dujjha-* 'fit to be milked', Pj. *dōjh* m. 'milking' < Skt. *dōhya-*. Present stem *dujjh-* has been replaced by the analogical *dubbh-* (after the type *labbhāi*: *laddha-*) in Pkt. *dubbhāi* 'is milked', Si. *dubhanu*, Lah. *ḍubhan*, Mar. *dubhāṇē*.

⁵ ND, 220 b 16, s.v. *jun*¹ and JGLS, 3rd Ser., vi, 1, 1927, 26.

⁶ LM, 322, s.v. *garhāṇē*.

⁷ Sampson explains this *a-* as an exclamatory prefix; but his suggested derivation of *khar-* from Skt. *kāhāyati* (DGW, iv, 167, s.v.) is impossible. But if < *gārhati*, this root entered Gypsy in both its *-rh-* and *-lh-* forms. For it is impossible to separate Pal. Gy. *gāli* 'word' from Pj. *gall* f. 'word', WPj. *gall* f. 'affair', Old Hi. *gālhanā* 'to speak', Si. *gālhi* f. 'speech', Mult. *gālhi* f. 'word', pl. *gālhi* 'abuse', which despite the *ā* of Sindhi and Multani appear to be connected with Skt. *garhā-* 'abuse' and may be the origin of late Skt. *gālayah* f. pl. 'reviling speech'. If so, it is comparable with the two forms in Sindhi: *garahanu* and *gālhi*.

cf. Pkt. *dukkha-* < Skt. *duḥkhā-*; *dikh-* 'to see', cf. Pkt. *dekkha-* < MI *dakkh-* (< Skt. *drakṣyāti*) + *pekkh-* (< Skt. *prēkṣatē*); *boḥh* 'hunger' < Skt. *bubhuḥṣā-*; *drakh* 'grape' < Skt. *drākṣā-*; *pakh* 'wing' < Skt. *pakṣā-*; *kakh* 'armpit' < Skt. *kākṣa-*.¹

For *-ch-* the evidence is conflicting. The continued existence of aspirate *-ch-* is proved by Bulg. Gy. *mačho* 'fish',² cf. Pkt. *maccha-*, Skt. *mātsya-*, beside *mačo* recorded for other dialects. So too perhaps *koč* m. 'knee'³ if from Skt. *karuṣa-* > Pkt. *koccha-* n. 'region of the belly', Ksh. *tōch* 'belly' (cf. Skt. *kukṣi-* 'belly' > Ksh. *koch* f. 'lap') with the semantic development: 'belly > lap > knees'.⁴ But in *phuč-* 'to ask' < Pkt. *puccḥā-*, Skt. *prechāti*, contrasted with Arm. Gy. *pučh-*, an initial aspirate is recorded for most European dialects. In view, however, of the persistence of medial *-ch-*, evidenced by *mačho*, the change may have been later than in the case of medial voiced aspirates.

Of the single medial aspirates we will consider first those of which the occlusion was not altogether lost, namely *-dh-*, *-th-* which becoming voiced fell together with *-dh-*, and *-ph-*.

-dh-: *phivī* 'widow' < Skt. *vidhāvā-*. This makes it difficult to equate Gk. Gy. *bori* 'son's wife'⁵ with Pal. Gy. *wahri* 'id.', if the latter is from Skt. *vadhū-* > WPah. *bohūrī* 'son's wife', Bg. Or. *bahūrī*, EHi. *bahuriyā*. It is rather, like Nep. *buwāri* 'son's wife', Ku. *bwārī*, Bg. *buhārī*, Ass. *bohāri* 'son's or younger brother's wife' derived from Skt. *vyvāhārikā-* 'female slave'.⁶ *gw* 'corn', beside Arm. Gy. *gihu* 'wheat', < Skt. *gōdhūma-*,⁷ in place of expected **khi/uluv*, is unexplained.

-th-: *khul* 'dung' < Skt. *gūtha-*.⁸

-th-: probably in Rum. Gy. *thar*, *tar* f. 'back tooth', Hung. Gy. *thára* pl (despite absence of aspiration in Gk. Gy. *tar* f., pl. *taryá* 'gums', Welsh Gy. *tar* f. 'jaw, gum') < Pa. *dāthā-* f. 'large tooth', Skt. Pkt. *dāṭhā-* 'tusk'.⁹ *pīr* 'pot' is from earlier *pihada-* which occurs in Prakrit beside *piḍhara-* 'pot. pan', Pa. *piṭhara-*, Skt. *piṭhara-* n., *-ī-* f.¹⁰ *kerav-* 'to boil', also with original

¹ For *uknō* 'small' (Miklosich's derivation of which, *Beiträge*, VII, 84, from Skt. *uḥṣnā-* 'hot, pungent' Sampson, *DGW*, IV, 366, rejects on the grounds of semantic difficulty) there is no record of *kh*. The necessary assumption of a MI **tikkhina-* is not supported either by Pa. *tiḥvna-* or Pa. Pkt. *tikka-*, *tinha-*. But the conjunction in Nepali of *tinu* (possibly from this *tinha-*) with *sānu* 'small' in *sānu-tinu* 'small, petty' gives some support to Miklosich's theory.

Sampson's derivation of *phikō* 'shoulder' (*DGW*, IV, 294, s.v.) from Skt. *prsthā-*, which would have become **pṛst* (as Pal. Gy. *pṛst* 'back' < *prsth-*: see ND, 380 s 43, s.v. *piṭh*), cannot be accepted. Like Ksh. *phyok* 'shoulder' it is a *-kk-* extension of Skt. *spṛṣṭ-* 'buttock' or *sphya-* 'a flat wooden instrument', see ND, 406 b 11, s.v. *philo*.

² *JGLS*, 3rd Ser., VI, 1, 1927, 23.

³ A. G. Paspates, *Études sur les Tchinghamianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*, 29, *koich* m.

⁴ ND, 106 a 35, s.v. *kokh*.

⁵ ND, 427 b 9, s.v. *bahu*.

⁶ S. K. Chatterji, *The origin and development of the Bengali language*, 345.

⁷ ND, 138 b 13, s.v. *gahū*.

⁸ ND, 146 b 24, s.v. *gūku*.

⁹ ND, 310 a 41, s.v. *dāro*.

For unexplained interchange of *th-r* and *h-d* compare Skt. *kūḥāra-* 'axe', Pa. *kūḥārī-* (possibly in Sinh. *keneri* 'axe', D. E. Hettiaratchi, *The indeclinables in Sinhalese*, 6) beside Pkt. *kūhāda-*, Si. *kūhāro*, etc.

initial unvoiced plosive, has no form recorded in any dialect with initial aspirate *kh-*, but it appears, despite J. Bloch,¹ to derive from Middle Indian *kaṭh-* (Pa. *kaṭhati*, Pkt. *kaḍhaṭ*) beside Skt. *kvāthati* 'seethes, boils',² which is widely represented in Indo-Aryan: Sh. *kayoiki* 'to boil', Ksh. *kārun* tr. 'to boil' (< *kvāthayati*), Si. *kaṭhanu* intr., *kāṭhanu* tr., Mult. *kaṭhan* 'to boil, bubble', Hi. *kaḍhauri* 'earthen vessel to boil milk in', Guj. *kaḍhvū* tr. 'to boil', Mar. *kaḍhnē* 'to be boiled'.

-ph-: *khuv-* 'to plait, weave' < Skt. *guphāti*³: Pkt. *gubhaṭ*, *guhaṭ*, Hi. *guhna* 'to twist'. For *kūni* 'elbow', again with original initial unvoiced plosive, no aspirate is recorded in any dialect, but it is difficult to separate it from Skt. *kaphōni*, Pkt. *kuhiñi*—found widely in Indo-Aryan.⁴

An original intervocalic *-h-* appears to have had no effect on an initial plosive, voiced or unvoiced⁵: *but* 'much' < Skt. *bahutva*-n.⁶ *biav-* 'to marry', Gk. Gy. *biav* 'marriage' < Skt. *vivāhayati*, *vivāhd-*.⁷ Germ. Gy. etc. *prās-* 'to laugh at', W. Gy. *pas-* < Skt. *prahasati*, Pa. Pkt. *pahas-*; Germ. Hung. Gy. *peryas* 'mocking', W. Gy. *paías* (but Fin. Gy. *pherjas-*) < Skt. *parihāsa-* 'jesting', cf. Pa. Pkt. *parihas-* 'to laugh at'.

-bh-: The *-h-*, resulting from intervocalic *-bh-*, behaves like original *-h-*, and so points to *-bh-* having become *-h-* earlier than *-ph-*. Even in Sanskrit, in certain special cases, *-bh-* had become *-h-* (e.g. *grah-* beside *grabh-*), while in Pali and the Aśokan inscriptions *-bh-*, in the termination *-ēbhīh* > *-ēhi*, had already lost its occlusion.⁸

bokh 'hunger' < Skt. *bubhukṣā-*. Rum. Gy. *prinjan-* 'to know, recognize' < Skt. *pratyabhijānāti*, with the same metathesis as in Nep. *pahicānnu* < Pkt. *paccahiānaṭ*.⁹

-gh-: No example of a word with initial plosive and intervocalic *-gh-* is available: for *phen* 'sister' is as well derivable from Skt. Pa. *bhaginī* > Pkt. *bhainī*, Pj. *bhain*, etc., as from Pkt. *bahinī*, Hi. *bahin*, etc.,¹⁰ unless H. P. Patkanov's spelling *behn* for Asiatic (Karači) Gypsy¹¹ indicates the existence

¹ *LM*, 305, s.v. *kaḍhnē*.

² Pischel, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner*, 37, rightly rejects von Sowa's derivation from the *ghar-* in Skt. *gharmā-* 'hot', etc., which occurs as a verb—*jīghartī*, *ghṛṇōti*—only in the *Dhātupāṭha* and does not survive elsewhere in Indo-Aryan. Sampson's derivation from *kṛ-* 'to do' is unacceptable on the score of meaning.

³ *DGW*, iv, 172.

⁴ ND, 103 a 17, s.v. *kuhunu*².

⁵ Sampson, *DGW*, iv, 180, probably rightly connects *æv* f. 'hole' with Skt. *khan-* (cf. *khēya-* 'to be dug, n. ditch') rather than *gūhā-* 'cave', though the gender makes difficulty. H. Berger's theory (*Indo-Iranian Journ.*, III, 1, 1959, 24) that it is a loan from Burushaski *gam* 'hole' (earlier **kham*) is not very plausible.

⁶ ND, 427 b 16, s.v. *bahut*.

⁷ ND, 438 b 13, s.v. *bie*.

⁸ *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1937, 11.

⁹ ND, 389 b 36, s.v. *paicānnu*. Miklosich, *Mund.*, VIII, 53, and Bloch, *LM*, 370, s.v. *pañj*, wrongly < *pratiñā-*.

¹⁰ ND, 459 b 37, s.v. *baini*.

¹¹ *JGLS*, NS, II, 4, 1909, 326.

of an earlier intervocalic *-h-*, but the spelling *kīhr*¹ for *khir* < *kṣīrā-* suggests that it does not.

We may now consider whether any initial consonants other than plosives were affected by an internal aspirate.

Attention has previously been drawn² to the fact that European Gypsy had initial *s-* (instead of *ś*) from Skt. *ś-* when there was an internal aspirate: *sigō* 'quick' < Skt. *śīghrā-*; *sdnō* 'small, slender' < Skt. *ślakṣṇā-*, Pkt. *sanha-*; *suŋ-* 'to smell' < **śunh-* in Khowar and Kalasha *śunh-* 'to smell' (cf. Skt. *Dhātup. śinghati* and perhaps *śrṅkhānikā-* 'mucus'); *sovel* 'curse' < Skt. *śapātha-*.

śukō 'dry, thin' is < earlier **śukka-*, attested in Pkt. *sukka-* and in many Indo-Aryan languages³: it is not from Pkt. *sukha-*. Since *suskā-* was conceived as the past participle of *śuśyati* (**śuṣṭa-*, though surviving in Kalasha *ṣuṣṭa* and Kati *štu*, is not recorded in Sanskrit), the *-ktā-* of Pkt. *sukha-* was replaced by *-kk-* of other past participles of the type *mukka-*. The loss of aspiration in *śik-* 'to teach, show' (nowhere recorded as **śikh-*) is not explained; but since the aspiration of internal *-kḥ-* was not transferred to an initial plosive (as in *dukh*, etc., above), the *s-* (paralleled in Shina *siç-*, not **śiç(h)-*) is not due to derivation from Skt. *śikṣatē*, desiderative of *śaknōti*, but from *śikṣati*, desiderative of *sāhatē* or *saghnōti*. It seems impossible to separate *śulav-* 'to sweep' (in all dialects with *ś-*) from the other Indo-Aryan words such as Hi. *sohnā* 'to weed', etc., < Skt. *śōdhāyati*⁴: but in face of the transference of aspiration from *-dh-* in *vidhāvā-* > *pñivti*, why *ś*, not *s*? W. Gy. *sut* 'vinegar' (< Skt. *śukṭā-*) with *s-*, although there is no subsequent aspirate, is isolated, since all the other European dialects have *ś-*.

To the remaining initial consonants—*m*, *n*, *r*, *l*—there does not appear to have been any transference of internal aspiration generally in the European dialects.

m-: *maskal* 'in the midst', Rum. Hung. Gy. *maškar* 'middle' (cf. As. Gy. *manj* 'middle') < Skt. *mādhyā-*, Pkt. *majjha-*. *mašhō* 'fish' < Skt. *mātsya-*, Pkt. *maccha-*. *mol* 'wine, spirits', despite Arm. Gy. *mahl* 'brandy, wine' < Skt. *mādhu-*, is probably a loan from Persian *mul* 'wire'.

No transference is to be expected in *mūi* 'mouth' < Skt. *mūkha-*; *makhī* 'fly' < Skt. *māḥṣā-*; *māxav-* 'to stain' < Skt. *mṛakṣati*.

n-: No transference is expected in *nai* 'nail' < Skt. *naḥā-*, or in Gk. Gy. *nīláy* (W. Gy. *lilai*) 'summer' < Skt. *nīdāghā-*. Rum. Gy. etc. *nikl-* 'to go out, take out', Arm. Gy. *nakl-* < Skt. *niṣkālayati*, represents MI *nikkāl-*, Pkt. *nikkālēi*⁵ with regular development of unexploded final *-ṣ* + initial *k-* as *-kk-*, not *-kḥ-*.

r-: No transference is expected in *rakh-* 'to take care of' < Skt. *rakṣati*; *rukhl* 'tree' < Skt. *vykṣā-*, Pkt. *rukha-*.

l: No transference took place in Span. Scand. Fin. Eng. Gy. *lač-* 'to find'

¹ ib., 328.

² *The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, 20.

³ ND, 611 b 35, s.v. *suko*.

⁴ ND, 624 a 39, s.v. *sohornu*.

⁵ ND, 343 a 6, s.v. *rikālnu*.

< *laçh- < lajjh- in Pkt. lajjhaĩ 'is taken', Pj. lajjhñā 'to be obtained', which replaced labbhāĩ (< Skt. labhyātē): laddha- (see below) after the type dajjhaĩ (< Skt. dahyātē): daddha- (< Skt. dagdhā-). lim 'mucus' < Skt. ślēsmān-, Pkt. silimha- etc.¹

No transference is expected in lɪl 'letter' < Skt. līkṣitā-; lolō 'red', Pal. Gy. lúhrā < Skt. lóhita-; Germ. Gy. etc. loko 'light' < *lahu-kka-, Skt. laghú-; Hung. Gy. etc. likh 'nit' < Skt. likṣā-.

But Welsh Gypsy has three words—fat- 'to find', fik, fokō—with voiceless initial f- which Sampson² attributes to transference of a medial aspiration. Of these, in only fat- 'to find', < *lath- < the past participle in Pkt. laddha- (< Skt. labdhā-) and in Guj. lādhvū 'to be found',³ was there an internal aspirate group which generally affected an initial consonant; and if f is < lh, the transference of aspiration occurred after the devoicing of -(d)dh-. It would appear therefore that the transference of aspiration in this case, as also in fik < likh and fokō < *lahu-kka- is a recent phenomenon confined to Welsh Gypsy and perhaps assisted by the existence of a voiceless ɸ (ɸ) in Welsh itself. That there is not a voiceless f- in lɪl < līkṣitā- and lolō < lóhita- is perhaps due to an assimilation of f- to the following voiced l. In lilai 'summer' < nidāghā-, the l- is due to a recent assimilation from nilai.

To sum up: a transference of aspiration took place in European Gypsy in the following conditions:

1. When the initial consonant was g, j, d, b (v), ś, p.
2. When the internal consonant or consonant-group was ggh, ngh, ñkh (> ngh), jjh, cch (?), ddh, th (> rh), ddh, ndh, th and dh (> lh), bbh, mbh, ph (> bh, vh).

It did not take place when the internal consonants were kkh, cch (?), kh and gh (> h), bh (> h), rh (?).

Analysis of the words in which transference of aspiration is found:

g + ndh:	khānd	b (v) + ddh:	phurō
bbh:	khābnī	ndh:	phānd-
th:	khul	dh:	phivlī
ph:	khuv-	ś + ggh:	sigō
j + ngh:	chay	ngh:	sun
bbh:	chib	nh:	sānō
mbh:	cham	th:	sovel
nh:	chon	p + cch:	phuē-
d + jjh:	thuē-		
ddh:	thud, thado		
bbh:	thab-		
th:	thar		

¹ ND, 620 b 25, s.v. sep.

² DGW, I, 14.

³ Connexion with either Skt. rakṣ- or lakṣ- (as set out by Sampson, DGW, IV, 204) is highly improbable; but it is possible that Hung. Gy. alakh- 'to find' was due to contamination between (a) rakṣ- 'to keep' and *lath- or *laçh- 'to find'.

Except for two special cases, the exchange of aspiration took place only between a voiced initial plosive and a voiced internal aspirate. The change of *ś-* to *s-* in the presence of a voiced internal aspirate may belong to the same period, for it must have taken place before *gh* > *kh* (*sigā* < *śighrā-*). But the case of *phuč-* < **pučh-*, which does not fit into the system and is contradicted by the retention of the internal aspirate in the case of the other voiceless group, *-kḥh-* (as in *dukh* < *dukkha-*, *pakh* < *pakkha-*, etc.), may have been independent and later.

Abbreviations

Gypsy dialects	Other languages
Arm. = Armenian	Ass. = Assamese
As. Asiatic	Bg. Bengali
Boh. Bohemian	Guj. Gujarati
Bulg. Bulgarian	Hi. Hindi
Eng. English	Ksh. Keshmiri
Eur. European	Ku. Kumaoni
Fin. Finnish	Lah. Lahnda
Germ. German	Mar. Marathi
Gk. Greek	MI. Middle Indo-Aryan
Gy. Gypsy	Mult. Multani
Hung. Hungarian	Or. Oriya
It. Italian	Pa. Pali
Pal. Palestinian or Nuri	Pj. Panjabi
Rum. Rumanian	Pkt. Prakrit
Scand. Scandinavian	Sh. Shina
Span. Spanish	Si. Sindhi
W. Welsh	Snh. Sinhalese
	WPah. West Pahari

DGW	J. Sampson, <i>The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales.</i>
JGLS	<i>Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society</i> : New Series (NS).
LM	Jules Bloch, <i>La formation de la langue marathe.</i>
MBh.	<i>Mahābhārata.</i>
Beiträge	F. X. von Miklosich, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten.</i>
Mund.	F. X. von Miklosich, <i>Über die Mundarten der Zigeuner Europa's.</i>
ND	R. L. Turner, <i>A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepālī language.</i>

AN ANALYSIS OF NAMBUDIRI ṚGVEDIC RECITATION AND THE NATURE OF THE VEDIC ACCENT

By J. E. B. GRAY

यत्सर्वं पश्चिमे प्रोक्तं सविस्तरनिबन्धनम् ।

उदात्तं प्राग्धि विज्ञातं तन्ममामि मुनित्रयम् ॥

THE following description of Nambudiri Ṛgvedic recitation was made possible by Mr. J. F. Staal who very kindly lent the recordings he had taken in Kerala in 1957. Mr. Staal has already written on the Nambudiris in general as well as on their chanting in a publication¹ to which the reader is referred for a very full account beyond the scope of the present pages. Apart from treating the saṃhitā recitation in somewhat greater detail, an attempt will be made below to amplify some of the conclusions hinted at in a previous article with regard to the nature of the Vedic accent.²

Any account of Nambudiri Vedic chanting is forced to recognize minute variations in pitch which are frequently too fine for the Western ear to appreciate with ease. These subtle distinctions are nevertheless all-important, since upon them depends, in the accurate transmission of the Ṛgvedic text, the correct incidence of its original accents. To achieve this aim, a simple three-tonal pattern, like that chanted by other Ṛgvedis of southern India, would have been sufficient for those who use a Dravidian speech. Yet it is a matter of considerable doubt whether such a simple system could ever have formed a basis for the recitation so ingeniously graced by the lute-throated Nambudiri.

An analysis may begin with a description of the simpler style used for reciting the saṃhitā, pada, and krama texts, though some account will have to be taken later of the more elaborate style in which pada and krama may also be recited and which is used for the jaṭā and rathā vikṛtis. Even the simple style is characterized by a tremolo effect on most long vowels, generally carried out within a compass of a fourth, although variations are found in the intervals used by different reciters.³ To adopt a stave notation in order to illustrate

¹ Copies of the original recordings are deposited at the Universities of Leiden and Utrecht. The material investigated in 1-23 of this article is covered by the following references to the catalogue compiled by Mr. Staal (*A catalogue of Veda recitation and Indian music*; recorded in South India, April-July 1957): vi (1-5, 11); xiv (2, 8); xvii (3). In the later sections (26 onwards), additional material has been taken into account (Nambudiri Taittirīyaka): vi (10, 12); x (1, 2); xiv (1-3); xvii (1). In addition (for 29): x (3); xix (1); xxi (16).

The publication referred to is *Nambudiri Veda recitation*, to be published shortly in the series 'Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae'.

² 'An analysis of Ṛgvedic recitation', *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 86-94, which had already appeared before the present analysis was undertaken.

³ The majority chanted a minor third below mid-tone (with occasional drops to a major third below) and a minor to a small major second above mid-tone. One reciter extended the compass to a fifth throughout.

these chants would suggest a limitation which does not exist. Instead, signs are given which reflect the relationship between the tones without stating precisely the intervals.

1. In setting out the correlation between tone and accent, the relationship between anudātta, udātta, and svarita is found to be modified by contexts involving vowel length,¹ double consonants (or consonant groups, referred to henceforth as CC*), hiatus, aspiration, and the relative position of anudātta to a preceding svarita or udātta.

The chant is carried out on three tones with an additional pitch, heard on grace notes only, a minor or a major second below mid-tone. In a line (ignoring grace notes for a moment), all anudāttas are low-tone (or rising low-to-mid-tone); long udāttas and pracayas are mid-tone (or falling high-to-mid-tone in the case of the latter); long svaritas are mid-tone; short udāttas and pracayas are both mid- and high-tone, while all short svaritas are high-tone. Wherever a long vowel is followed by CC/hiatu (regardless of the accents which may be involved), a momentary high pitch is reached at the end of the vowel. This occurs also in the case of an open long svarita vowel where the next syllable is either anudātta or a short final in the line. The short udātta is evenly high-tone before long svaritas or udāttas, as well as before all anudāttas. Where preceded by hiatus/aspirate consonant, the short udātta is mid-tone before the contexts just mentioned. It is also mid-tone before short svarita, although occasionally a rising mid-to-high- or an even high-tone is heard. Apart from this, all pracayas after a svarita are high-tone, but the high-tone drops to mid-tone (i) with a glide on the first long pracaya to follow svarita, (ii) with a break after the first hiatus/aspirate consonant to follow svarita. The latter context includes junctions involving

¹ Where a short vowel is followed by a nasal/liquid (see p. 54, n.3) plus consonant/semivowel, it is accounted a long vowel, but not where a consonant group follows the nasal, etc.

² The combination *-rh-* does not count as CC after a long vowel, though it has the effect of lengthening the syllable (e.g. *bārḥ-* is fractionally short of 3 units, see D), as also *-hn-* through the insertion of svarabhakti. Such incidental features will not be indicated in the signs.

The equation: CC = hiatus, could not be argued from the *Rkprātīkhyā* on the basis of time, where, in I, 33-4, *drāghīyāsi (svarabhakti) sārḍhamātrā / stare ca* 'the longer (svarabhakti) is half a mātrā, as also the others (i.e. consonants)'. By II, 3-4, *sva-ntaram tu vivrtiḥ / sū vā svarabhaktikālā* 'the interval between the vowels is called vivrti (hiatus) and it has optionally the length of a svarabhakti'. If Uvaṣa is correct, this should be interpreted to mean a quarter mātrā (the shorter svarabhakti length) between two short vowels, half a mātrā between a long and a short vowel, and three-quarters of a mātrā between two long vowels. Nothing, however, is stated about hiatus in the chapter on metre (XVIII), which might more readily solve the present question. In the previous article on Rgveda recitation, pp. 86-94, it was noted (p. 89, 6) that high-to-low-tone anudāttas were particularly clear in contexts involving a long vowel followed by two plosives. In fact, both informants (B and C) illustrated the tendency to dwell on a long vowel followed by a consonant group. (The references in the article referred to which were given for the *Rkpr.* related to verse numbers. The edition used for the present is that of M. D. Sāstri: *The Rgveda Prātīśākhya with the commentary of Uvaṣa*, Vol. II, Allahabad, 1931. The previous references of III, 2-3, 11-13, 18, and VI, 15, would then read III, 4-5, 19-22, 32, and VI, 55, respectively.)

-h C- and, occasionally, -sibilant C-. Where, in a series of short udāttas, high-tone has been gained initially, a break to mid-tone may be heard after the same junctions. In all contexts involving the substitution of a mid-tone for a normal high-tone, the presence of a palatal was found to prevent the change.¹ On the other hand, the combinations Ch plus nasal/-r did not prevent the change.

2. Such, in brief, are the essential features as they appear in recitation. This is not to say that they are taught in this manner. An example will make this clear. A Nambudiri, while teaching his pupil, was careful to recite the first syllable of *bhrātā*, in the phrase *tṛtīyo bhrātā*, with a glide from high-to-mid-tone² (momentary high pitch having been reached at the end of the preceding long anudātta before CC, i.e. *bhr*-). The same Nambudiri, while reciting the verse straight through on another occasion, used the mid-tone only for the syllable *bhrā*-, thus giving an indication that the effect of the aspirate consonant on the tone is not consciously felt by the reciter.

The more detailed distribution of the tones is given below (the number placed after each sign indicates the time units, see 19).

3. (1) and (2) :

Anudāttas on all short vowels. The two-unit sign is used to indicate short anudāttas before CC/hiatus. Reference should be made to the proviso contained in 19 with regard to the interpretation of this sign in terms of length. Where an aspirate is involved, e.g. in a context such as *brahmā*, the tone of the anudātta is frequently lower than normal low-tone. In relation to jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya, see 6.

4. (1) and (2) :

(a) Udāttas on short vowels (i) followed by short svarita or (ii) preceded by hiatus/aspirate consonant, but (iii) where the udātta is separated from the svarita by a semivowel or nasal, a swift upward glide to high-tone may be heard on the udātta. For series of udāttas, see 18. For final short udāttas, see 13 (c).

(b) Pracayas on short vowels following (i) the first long pracaya to follow a svarita or (ii) hiatus/aspirate consonant. For series of pracayas initial in the line, sarvānudāttas, see 17. For final short pracayas, see 13 (c) and 16.

5. (1) and (2) :

(a) Udāttas on short vowels followed by (i) long svaritas or (ii) long udāttas or (iii) anudāttas, but a short udātta is mid-tone (iv) frequently where preceded and followed by anudāttas if semivowel junctions appear or (v) where 4 (a, ii) applies.

(b) Svaritas on short vowels. For final short svaritas, see 10 (c).

(c) Pracayas on short vowels after svarita (i) provided that contexts 4 (b, i

¹ Where a lower tone might be expected on a vowel introduced by (C)Ch-, the alteration did not always take place if the consonant was palatal, e.g. : *ccā*- or *Chy*-.

² For the sake of brevity, any tonal pattern (Nambudiri Ṛgvedic) which *begins* with a high-tone will be referred to as high-tone. The two passages referred to in this paragraph are found in : Staal, xiv (6) and vi (2).

and ii) have not intervened, but (ii) despite the intervention of an aspirate if short pracayas following the last svarita in the line are involved. Certainly, the pracaya separated from an immediately preceding long svarita by a single aspirate consonant is always high-tone. If this were not so, the quality of pracaya, *pracayādharma*, would not show. An additional feature in this connexion appears in 14.

6. (2) and (2):

Anudāttas on open long vowels (first sign only). The second sign represents the swift rise to high-tone heard on a short anudātta where it is closed by jihvāmūliya or upādhmāniya. Otherwise, a short anudātta vowel closed by visarga is low-tone, represented by the second sign in 3.

7. (4):

Anudāttas on long vowels before CC/hiatus.¹

8. (2) and (2):

(a) Udāttas on open long vowels (first sign only). The second sign represents an open long udātta where followed by a short svarita, see 21. For final long udāttas, see 15.

(b) Svaritas on open long vowels followed by a pracaya (first sign only). For final long svaritas, see 11.

(c) Pracayas on open long vowels (first sign only) where separated from a svarita (i) by hiatus or (ii), if the svarita is short, by a single or compound aspirate consonant (no examples occurred of an open long pracaya separated from a long svarita by a compound aspirate consonant). Otherwise, the first sign represents any open long pracaya to occur after the first long pracaya in a series. For final long pracayas, see 15 and 16.

9. (4):

(a) Udāttas on long vowels followed by a nasal plus consonant/semivowel.

(b) Pracayas in the same context.

(c) Sarvānudāttas (see 17) on long vowels. They are thus distinguished from long udāttas.²

10. (3) and (4):

(a) Svaritas on open long vowels before anudātta/final short pracaya (first sign only).

(b) Svaritas on long vowels before CC/hiatus (second sign only).

(c) Final short svaritas (second sign only).

11. (4):

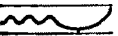
Final long svaritas.

12. (2) and (4):

¹ Where the anudātta consists of a long vowel plus visarga, four rapid swings between low- and mid-tone, the last reaching high-tone, are used instead (4 units). Only one example occurred in the passages recited.

² The available contexts do not relate what happens in the case of a sarvānudātta (or pracaya) initial in the line, see *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, p. 87, n. 2) occurring before a nasal plus consonant/semivowel. Presumably, more swings are heard.

An open long *pracaya* (i) introduced by a single or compound non-aspirate consonant and immediately following *svarita* or subsequent (short) high-tone *pracayas* (no examples occurred of an open long *pracaya* separated from a long *svarita* by a single aspirate consonant), but (ii) introduced by an aspirate consonant (as well as by a single or compound non-aspirate consonant) immediately following the last *svarita* in a line or subsequent (short) high-tone *pracayas* (no examples occurred of an open long *pracaya* introduced by a compound aspirate consonant). The second sign represents the context of the long *pracaya* where a nasal plus consonant follows.

13.  (6) :

(a) *Udāttas* on long vowels followed by CC/hiatu. A following short *svarita* remains high-tone.

(b) *Pracayas* in the same context, unless immediately following an open *svarita* (see 14). A following *pracaya* is never high-tone.

(c) Final short *udāttas* and final short post-*pracaya* *pracayas*.

14.  (6) and  (6) :

Pracayas on long vowels before CC/hiatu where separated by a single consonant (i) from a long *svarita* or (ii) from a short *svarita* if the latter is preceded by a short *udāta*. Occasionally the descent from high-to-mid-tone is not heard, particularly after long *svarita* (or short *svarita* before an aspirate consonant), which is the reason for the second sign. The tonal pattern is quite unmistakable from that of 13. The purpose in all cases is to prevent the syllables from being heard as an uninterrupted run of *udāttas*, since an open *svarita*, if short and preceded by a short *udāta*, is indistinguishable from a high-tone short open *udāta*, while if long, is indistinguishable from a mid-tone long open *udāta*. Where the long *svarita* is close, no difficulty arises. Closed short *svaritas*, where preceded by short *udāttas*, present a problem, but see 23. For short *svaritas* (open or closed) preceded by open long *udāttas*, see 21.

15.  (8) :

Final long *udāttas* and final long post-*pracaya* *pracayas*.

16.  (4) and  (8) :

Final short and long post-*svarita* *pracayas* respectively. There is some very slight evidence that, in Trichur style (see 23), sign 13 represents the tonal pattern of final short post-*svarita* *pracaya*. It is possible that some very minute differences may exist in the treatment of finals in *samhitā* recitation among the various schools (cf. p. 507, n. 1).

17. The tones of *sarvānudāttas*, or *pracayas* initial in the line, present a pattern similar to that which would be obtained by regarding as 'udāta' all *sarvānudāttas* except the first and the last (but see 9 (c)). The tones of a succession of *pracayas* medially and finally in the line may be determined as follows: initial high-tone gained immediately after *svarita* (modified by contexts 4 (b, ii) and 5 (c, ii)) continues over short *pracayas* as far as contexts 4 (b, i and ii). Where a long *pracaya* occurs, contexts 8 (c), 12, or 13 (b) may apply, as well as 14 if the long *pracaya* itself immediately follows *svarita*.

All subsequent *pracayas* are mid-tone, while final *pracayas* are according to 13 (c), 15, or 16.

18. The tones of a succession of *udāttas* may be determined as follows : after an initial high-tone is gained (on a short *udātta* after *anudātta* unless hiatus/aspirate intervenes), any remaining short *udāttas* are high-tone except for a penultimate *udātta* before long *svarita*, or a final *udātta* before short *svarita*. Theoretically, this is probably not the correct way in which to view the matter, since the *udātta* is chiefly determined by the following syllable as far as tonal pattern is concerned, but rules are difficult to formulate accurately in the absence of a sufficient number of examples. A short *udātta* is always high-tone before a long *svarita*, a long *udātta*, or any *anulāta* (again providing that hiatus/aspirate consonant does not introduce the short *udātta*). Initially in the line, a short *udātta* is high-tone if a long vowel follows ; mid-tone if a short vowel follows. All short *udāttas* before a short *svarita* are mid-tone (unless certain semivowel junctions are involved). All long *udāttas* are mid-tone, and the long *udātta* before a short *svarita* shows a slight rising tone.

19. Time ¹ is indicated in the transcription of the examples, since an approximate gauge to syllabic length may be represented in integers. Although the time allotted to a closed short vowel (2 units) is an alarming exaggeration in so far as the signs are intended to represent tonal patterns on vowels,² yet such anomalies are inherent in most methods of transcription. The very strict sense of tempo practised by the Nambudiris makes feasible such divisions which in other contexts might simplify much significance.

1 unit : CṼ-C, all accents.

2 units : CṼC-C/CṼ (V), all accents ;
CṼ-C, *udāttas* and *pracayas* ;

Final syllables :
CṼ./CṼC., *svaritas*.

3 units : CṼ-1 ³/nasala-C/CṼ-C, *svaritas* followed by *anudāttas*.

¹ The following paragraph deals with syllables in terms of metric length (while the signs in 3-16 attempt to indicate tonal patterns on the vowels as well as indicating metric length). It would be pointless to attempt to compare these time divisions with what is said in *Rikprāṭisākhya*, I, on the relative lengths of vowels and consonants (which is also a reason for not taking what is said concerning hiatus too literally). The portions relative to metre (*Rikpr.*, xviii, 37-44, in particular) are of little help in the present context.

² At least, the sign has been tapered ! The impression is that the hiatus between short vowels is longer (1½ units) than that between long and short/long vowels (1 unit), but this feature is not represented in the illustrations at the end of the article (examples 1-3) where the signs are evenly spaced. In this respect, Nambudiri practice is more closely allied to what is said in the *Tribhāṣyaratna* on *Taittirīyaprāṭisākhya*, xxii, 13, than with Uvata's remarks (see p. 500, n. 2).

Account has not been taken of *kampa*, but examples of *ekakampa* show two intense swings from low-to-mid-tone (4 units). The *dvikampa* is a prolongation of sign 9 (12 units) with a swing touching low-tone in the middle. There was no example of *trikampa* (where CC follows) which, presumably, would be interminable.

³ Normally, the combination of a short vowel with a nasal plus consonant functions as a long vowel (cf. p. 499, n. 3), while a short *svarita* vowel with -r- plus consonant functions as any other CṼC-C syllable before *anudātta* (i.e. 5, second sign). Nevertheless, an example occurred where the syllable *śclm-* in . . . *śclmglīm* was treated as CṼ-C before *anudātta*. No other examples of

- 4 units : CṼ⁻nasals-C, all accents ;
 CṼC-C/CṼ (V), anudāttas and svaritas ;
 Final syllables :
 CṼ./CṼC., udāttas and pracayas ;
 CṼ⁻nasal./CṼ., svaritas.
- 6 units : CṼC-C/CṼ (V), udāttas and pracayas.
- 8 units : Final syllables :
 CṼ./CṼC./CṼ⁻nasal., udāttas and pracayas.

20. Stress.

The recitations give the impression of being carried out with a nearly even intensity. Such differences as may be noted appear on the high point of an anudātta which reaches high-tone, on visarga final in the line, and, rather less apparent, on any high-tone preceding vivṛtti and on the high-tone pracaya following long svarita, in all of which cases an increase in intensity is found. Considerable breath is expended on anudāttas of the type ChV- or CVh-, giving an impression of greater emphasis, as well as, though again rather less apparent, on CV- plus visarga. Particular intensity is noticed on a final ChṼ (nasal).

21. A distinction which is not always easy to hear arises between the two contexts : CṼCṼCṼCṼ and CṼCṼCṼCṼ. The distinction lies in the circumstance that a long svarita (open) drops in pitch (i.e. retains the last downward swing) before a pracaya. The long udātta, however, runs straight into a short svarita from mid-tone (i.e. the last downward swing of the udātta is curtailed, see 8 (a), end). There also results a minimal time difference in the distribution of units between CṼCṼ and CṼCṼ, the udātta being fractionally shorter than normal.

22. Pronunciation.

Although the present topic may not appear entirely relevant in an inquiry into the nature of accent, the peculiarities of Nambudiri pronunciation of Vedic should not be completely overlooked. It has already been observed that palatals exercise an effect on pitch (see 1, end).¹ In the case of palatals, even the most cursory analysis reveals the considerable difficulties experienced by Nambudiris when faced with -ry- and -ir- in various contexts. First, however, it is to be noted that -t- does not become a definite lateral before a plosive (which is the normal Nambudiri pronunciation of -t- in this context as well as finally) if

-l- in this position were found. Possibly there is a palatal element in the -l- in such positions. Where this occurs (e.g. in a context such as yVt-C), there is invariably an abrupt glide upwards in pitch towards implosion. This feature may have caused the present anomaly by making the syllable behave as CṼ-C (sign 10) instead of CṼC-C (second sign 5). Since the evidence of -r- in such contexts is also uncertain, the problem must remain open.

¹ cf. also the preceding footnote. Mr. Staal has pointed out the chief features, namely, the pronunciation of -t- as -l- before a voiceless plosive (other than -t- itself) and finally in the line, as well as the difference between the Nambudiri visarga final in the line (akin to the *ach-laut*) and the -aḥ type current further north. The latter is an important, though well-known, feature. In connexion with 'breathings', it is worth emphasizing that the Nambudiris are meticulous in awarding Ch- its proper value.

the syllable is introduced by a palatal, or, more accurately, is y-V-t-plosive. A palatal glide on to the -t- is heard, but the nature of the -t- is difficult to determine. A similar sound is heard for the -r- in *samanaktv-aryamā*, but the -t- in this word, as well as in *vyaktām*, appears as a rolled alveolar. Examples of the lateral release of -t- occur in *bārhatāḥ* and *hnām ketar u-*, and of alveolar -r- in *hotur hotuḥ*.

Along with this may be taken the tendency to palatalize -r- in the context -ry-, but where the syllable is introduced by a palatal, the -r- becomes a velar stop, so that *śaryām* is pronounced 'śagyām'. Where -r- is involved, in the syllables -dhīr-, -bhīr-, and -tīr- in *puramdhir mahyam*, *naprōdhir modamānau*, and *aditir mātā*, they are heard as 'dhyam', 'bhyam', and 't(or d)yam'. On the other hand, the syllables involving -bhīr- and -tīr- in *tsnūbhīr vyāsema*, *āsaktir vyajyate*, and *aditir dyaur / jātam / janitvam* are pronounced as 'bhyag', 'tyag', and 'dyag' respectively.

Possibly connected with these tendencies is an interesting feature noted in a recitation of pada and krama in the elaborate style (Trichur, see 23). From the contexts available, a velar occlusion was apparent between the termination of the final vowel and the initiation of the nasal in the words *purohitam*, *hotāram*, and *ratnadhātāmam* where these occurred finally or before consonants (the third was not found in the latter context). The same occlusion was absent where these words occurred before a vowel, and also absent in *rtvijam* and *devam* finally or before a vowel (the words not being found before a consonant). The occlusion in question was not the full-bodied *ghum* of the Vājasaneyīs (on anusvāra before s-/h-) nor that of the Taittirīyakas before -s, but bore some resemblance to the Taittirīyaka anusvāra before ś- in so far as the two are comparable for strength. It would be tempting to regard this unconscious feature as a possible origin for *ghum*, particularly in view of the fact that its occurrence is preceded in the word by aspiration and t/r, but such a theory would be opposed by the generally accepted view that the Vājasaneyīs had a northern origin. It might also be opposed on the basis of accent, since the contexts which display the feature are post-svarita pracaya, whereas those which do not are either anudātta, udātta, or svarita. The *ghum* might therefore be a conscious effort on the part of the reciter, though this is highly unlikely, since another exponent of Trichur style does not produce it. In conclusion, the elucidation of this question, as well as of some of the other points in this paragraph, is at present somewhat obscure and is therefore probably best left to the care of the phonetician.

23. Little could be said on the subject of the 'elaborate style' which an example does not make more clear. From Ex. 4 the differences are seen to lie in the svarita (-prś-), the pracaya (-śtho),¹ and consequently the final post-pracaya pracaya (-sya), which one might expect to be the same as the final

¹ It may be presumed, therefore, that this difference runs through the long udātta and svarita as well. The passages in Ex. 4 are the only examples available. The two most important Nambudiri Vedic centres are at Trichur and Tirunāvāya.

udātta (-ta-)¹ respectively in the two styles. From Ex. 5, the similarity of the long udātta and the long svarita is apparent. It would be difficult to draw conclusions as to what factor provided the original purpose of this type of recitation. The difference in 'colouring' between the relationships of the short udātta, its svarita, and following pracaya, even though the important notes remain the same in the two styles, suggests in some measure that such recitation enables the chanter of 'simple' saṃhitā to achieve, admittedly unconsciously, a minutely tempered relationship between one accent and the next. It is difficult to believe that such complex recitations should have come about for the mere desire to be complicated (and, no doubt, beautiful), though such tendencies are not unknown. One may take, for example, the single emphatic note struck for the post-svarita short pracaya in Ex. 5 (*ma-*), as against the graces of the short svarita (rising in Tirunāvāya, rising-falling in Trichur), and compare what would be the probable effect in swift recitation with what is said in 20 concerning stress (cf. also 14).

24. Southern Ṛgvedic chanting other than Nambudiri.

The Ṛgvedic chanting which was described in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 86-94, is found also in the south of India. The extracts given in Ex. 6 were recited by two Ṛgvedic Brahmans, one from North Kannaḍa and one from South Kannaḍa.² The chanting agrees very closely with that previously described. The reciters chant in unison, and, as far as analysis was possible, the occasional dissonances occur in those contexts where slight differences were evident between the recitations of B and C (see p. 91), i.e. on the long svarita. The gradual rise in pitch (by clearly defined steps of minor seconds) throughout the passage recited was again a particular feature. In the present instance the rise was a whole fifth, owing probably to the studied nature in which it was made, but the previous reciters showed a lesser and more even rise (see p. 88, n. 2).

The chief cause of difficulty encountered by the two reciters lay in the attempt, frequently unsuccessful, to embark upon any syllable at the same time. This difficulty is inherent in such chanting, since, unlike all other kinds of Vedic recitation, it does not display an even tempo. Nambudiris, the Ṛgvedis described in 25, Taittirīyakas, or Vājasaneyīs, all are capable of reciting in a group in perfect time and, though not necessarily, in unison.³ In this disregard

¹ The Nambudiris treat the final syllable of the prior member of a compound occurring after the non-Vedic *iti* (the parigrahas in the vikṛtis) as if it were a final syllable in the line (as also a compound occurring in pada recitation).

² Indebtedness to Dr. A. A. Bake is acknowledged for this recording (as well as for those in Exx. 10 and 12) which was made in 1956 in Kathmandu at the time of the coronation. The recording given in Ex. 12 was also made from Brahmans who had come to Nepal to officiate at the ceremony. The reciter of Ex. 10 was a native of Nepal.

³ A Brahman must put considerable effort into reciting. The result of such concentration upon what he himself is doing renders him tolerably insensitive to the performances of his fellow reciters, and the requirements of the Śikṣā are not always evident: cf. 'sweetness, clarity of the syllables, divisions of the words, proper accenting, precision, and aptitude for tempo—such are the qualities that pertain to recitation' (*Pāṇinīyasikṣā*, 33; *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Benares, 1893, p. 381).

for tempo, the R̥gvedic chanting is the most closely allied to ordinary speech. Only very occasionally does a reciter give a suggestion that he is aware of timing; a recently acquired chanting of R̥gveda, 1, 1, hinted at this, although the tonal pattern was again identical with those previously described. This recitation came from Nagpur, whereas at Benares the tradition is purely Mahārāṣṭrian, so that the picture is now filled in for this type of chanting as being spread throughout India.

25. With regard to the manner of chanting practised by the other R̥gvedīs of southern India, the reader is again referred to Mr. Staal's monograph. In all such recitations, the monotonous regularity of anudātta low-, udātta and pracaya mid-, and svarita high-tone (all even notes at intervals of seconds) is relieved only by the occasional sarvānudātta a fourth below mid-tone and by the break in the long svarita whereby half (or rather more) the note is sung mid-tone and the remainder high-tone. This chanting, as a type, has been well known for some time, chiefly through Taittirīyaka sources, and an illustration is given in Ex. 7.

26. The Taittirīyakas.

The Taittirīyaka chanting of Aiyar Brahmins is probably the most familiar of all to students of Veda. The chief features are the same as those outlined in the previous paragraph, although in view of what has been said earlier concerning the role of CC, reference should be made to the hitherto unrecognized fact that the Taittirīyakas 'break' the long svarita only before compound consonants (not before hiatus) and finally in the line (or half-line). All other svaritas are even high-tone. Timing is rigid, with the result that Taittirīyakas can recite impressively in a group. There is always an impression of immense vigour in their performance, but this is not because they 'put more into' their chanting than other Brahmins, but because the simple and strictly musical framework intensifies the effect. The mid-tone is constant, but in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, for instance, it moves up a major second on *dharmāni* (verse 18), the other notes being transposed, and the remainder of the verse (the last in the hymn) is sung on the new notes. How widespread this feature is in Taittirīyaka chanting, the available information does not relate, but it has been observed to occur in the last verses (verse 11, second line) of the *Mahānārāyaṇa* hymn as well. The feature is a reflection, although a strictly musical one, of the (non-Nambudiri) R̥gvedic chanting and adds a further tint of panache to the almost aggressive style of the Taittirīyaka. The sarvānudāttas (a fourth below mid-tone) may rise to low-tone on long vowels (or be broken before CC), thus giving to a hymn replete with sarvānudāttas, such as the *Mahānārāyaṇa*, a quite pleasing effect.

The only other type of Taittirīyaka recitation known is that of the Nambudiris. The style is quite different from what has just been described, giving the impression of greater elaboration. On the other hand, it is simpler than that of the Nambudiri R̥gvedīs. The short anudātta is variable in tone, often scarcely distinguishable from mid-tone or pracaya if a palatal precedes

and occasionally higher than the udātta if conditions are favourable (e.g. where separated from a previous short high-tone svarita by a nasal or a semivowel). Some of the saṃhitā information available reveals a tendency towards somewhat slurred recitation, with the tonal influence of palatals and aspirate consonants allowed to run riot. It would be difficult to say whether this feature indicates that these Taittirīyakas are less strict in their sense of tempo than their R̥gvedi compatriots, or whether it is the result of poor performance, with the reciter uncertain of the position of the udātta. Certainly, the former view would be belied by the fact that they can perform their special types of recitation in perfect unison,¹ while the second may be countered by the fact that the svarita is always unerringly positioned. The long anudātta has its greatest intensity on the low-tone (a fourth below) and rises to mid-tone, but this position may be completely reversed after palatals, where the greatest intensity occurs on mid-tone and the sound subsequently glides away to the low-tone. The udāttas are similar to the pracayas (mid-tone), though long vowels show a grace note a minor second below (falling-rising). The long udāttas may rise to high-tone before a short svarita, itself an even high-tone a major second above the mid-tone, though intervals of a major third are also found (with a corresponding rise in the low-tone, giving a total compass of a fifth). The pattern of the long svarita may best be gathered by reference to Ex. 9.

27. The Vājasaneyīs.

The Vājasaneyī types of chanting do not present much material of interest in a study on accent. As far as can be gathered from the information available, a type does exist which aims at marking the important syllables by the use of different tones or tonal patterns, but the most striking feature of the greater part of Vājasaneyī chanting is not the accentual pattern, but the strict attention paid to vowel length, a syllable with a long vowel always being twice as long as a syllable with a short vowel, regardless of the consonantal context. This careful counting of time for long and short vowels gives a rather stately character to the reciter's performance. In the illustrations given, the only clear point to emerge is that rather less attention is paid to accent in the recitations from Northern India, or at least from Rājasthān, the provenance of Ex. 11. The reciter from Nepal, despite his geographical position, may represent a southern tradition (Ex. 10), since these Vājasaneyīs have traditional connexions with Kannadiga Brahmans. The last example (Ex. 12) comes from Benares and represents the performance of two (with a third occasionally)

¹ An example of a performance (poor ?) will illustrate the point. One informant had particular difficulty with the anudātta. In the first verse of *ā nō bhadrāh . . .*, where anudātta occurs twelve times, only three were below mid-tone. Noticeably high was *bhā-*, and, on the long vowels, *-thā* failed to drop below mid-tone, although *-so* (before hiatus) and *dē-* (beginning of line) did strike the low-tone.

On the other hand, such recitations as *sādhāraṇa mātṛā*, *śālā mātṛā*, and *caṇṭadikkal* are very measured performances. For descriptions of these, as well as of *kott* and *ghosam*, the reader is once again referred to Mr. Staal, op. cit. The Nambudiri Taittirīyaka has found numerous ways of deriving dignified entertainment from the fruits of his sacred duty.

Vājasaneyī who had spent much time reciting together and who chanted therefore in almost perfect unison. Some tradition of reciting strictly according to a tonal pattern linked with accent exists in southern India, but it is based on the familiar Taittirīyaka pattern. It is almost identical with that described for the R̥gvedis in 25, though retaining the characteristic Vājasaneyī *ghum*. Still other types are known, but it would be unprofitable to extend the list.

In view of the great importance attached by the *Yājñavalkyaśikṣā* to hand movements,¹ the only conclusions to be drawn at present with regard to Vājasaneyī recitation are that students are invariably taught in this way and that, although a certain correlation between tone and accent is discernible, the variations produced would require a physiological study in order to disentangle any tonal features. No doubt the hand movements become so much a part of the reciter that, once they have been learnt, he may easily ascertain the important syllable in any word. Whether or not an accomplished reciter would even have need to make the movements for this purpose, or whether the rigid training results in some phantom reflexes becoming an integral part of the recitation of any given passage would be interesting to know, but unprofitable for present purposes. Considerable freedom must be allowed to the reciter in developing his recitation into a melodic [*sic*] line, so that where reciters have not practised together, although they keep strict time, the result is occasional melancholy counterpoint.

As a supplement to the preceding remarks, it might be of interest to add some information transmitted personally by a Nepalese Vājasaneyī. The informant wished it to be understood that he was no expert in the matter since he had merely learnt a little in his childhood but had not kept up his Vedic studies. As far as could be gathered, the details of some of the hand movements were as follows (not too much reliance should be placed on the description since the movements were carried out with considerable laxness and lack of determination):

Anudātta : hand resting on knee ;

Udātta : hand to shoulder ;

Svarita : hand to normal position, which is with the forearm bent out at an angle of 45° from the body (in front).

Other points were : where svarita is replaced by anudātta, the hand is moved from low position on one side (left) after the first anudātta in a semi-circle nearly passing through the normal position (while the udātta is being recited) to low position on the other side for the second anudātta.

Ghum : with index finger pointing ;

Visarga : with index (or thumb ?) and little fingers pointing ;

¹ Most *śikṣās* include some details on accompanying gestures, but none so comprehensively as *Yājñavalkyaśikṣā*. Some forty verses are devoted to a detailed description of hand movements, besides enjoining their use in verses such as (47) : *yathā dhanuṣy āvīṭase ścre kṣipte punar gunah/ svasthānam pratipadyeta tadvad dhastagataḥ svarah* 'as the bow-string, once the arrow stretched on the bow has been released, regains its rightful place, so does the accent in relation to the hand'.

Anusvāra : clenched fist, but only when the anusvāra is *rakṭa*, the long nasal vowel before hiatus or at the end of a line ;

Anudātta before svarita : fingers spread out.

The *Yājñavalkyaśikṣā* has the following observations :

‘ As he (the reciter) pronounces his sounds at the beginning, so he should continue them in the same way. Directing his glance to the tip of his hand, he should concentrate on the purpose of the science.

‘ He should pronounce the sounds with hand and mouth ; and then the accent together with the hand, for these two are kept in harmony.

‘ The udātta should move to the brow and the *pracaya* to the tip of the nose ; where the hand lies is the anudātta, while the *svaritas* are across (the body).

‘ The clenched fist belongs to *ma-*, and a cast (quick opening and closing) to anusvāra while on the breathings (*visarga*, etc.) the fingers are freed (spread out).’

Both hands are employed on occasion, the fingers of the left hand coming into play as the following indicates (the left arm is not moved, however) :

‘ One should know that three fingers are for svarita, with six fingers used in descent while nine are used in ascent ; such is the mark of the svarita.’¹

28. Now that a survey has been made of Vedic recitation with accent, or *svara*, as it is known, the question arises as to why Vedic Brahmins should trouble to preserve the ancient positions of the important syllables. Patañjali’s remarks, though well known, deserve quotation. In the *Paspaśā* he gives, as one of the five main reasons for learning grammar, ‘ the removal of doubt’. The example he chooses runs as follows : ‘ The sacrificers say, “ *sthūlapṛṣṭīm āgnivāruṇīm anadvāhīm ālabheta* ” (“ he should acquire a ‘ *sthūlapṛṣṭī*’ cow for dedication to Agni and Varuṇa ”). There is a doubt here as to whether *sthūlapṛṣṭī* means (a cow) which is large and spotted, or, (a cow) which has large spots. But a non-grammarian cannot decide this from the *svara*. If the word is accented on the first member (*sthūla-pṛṣṭī*), it is a bahuvrīhi compound (and means “ a cow which has large spots ”), but if it is accented on the second member (*sthūla-pṛṣṭī*), it is a tatpuruṣa (i.e. a nominative case tatpuruṣa or karmadhāraya, and means “ a large spotted-cow ”).’ Thus, with his customary humour, Patañjali sets out an argument which, one must presume, might arise between the patron, who would have the compound a bahuvrīhi, and the priests, who would favour the tatpuruṣa interpretation. Implicit in the argument is the fact that everyone knows the position of the important syllable, though only the grammarian can expound its significance. Further, not even the grammarian can help if the position of the syllable has been lost, but the possibility of such an enormity does not even occur to Patañjali. In other words, the maintenance of the *svara* is accepted as fact. Any student of Vedic will know that there are occasions upon which the intended significance of a passage is determined by having regard to the place of the udātta.

It might be argued then that a commentary, of no very great length, could

¹ Verses 22, 23, 51, 56, and 52 respectively (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, pp. 3, 4, 7).

have been composed in ancient times to give an authority on those passages which depend exclusively upon *svara* for their correct interpretation. Yāska had attempted the same for the meanings of words. The committal to memory of such a treatise would have saved generations of Brahmans from the task of keeping alive, in their recitations, the place of the udātta. Further, it might be argued, since the whole aim of preserving the Vedic hymns is directed primarily towards the use of portions of them in the sacrifice, there is still no need for *svara*, since the passages in the sacrifice are recited *ekasruti* (usually translated : 'in a monotone').

The purpose of the next section (29) is to show that, amongst other things, *ekasruti* did not originally involve 'a monotone' and, further, that a correct knowledge of the *svara* is of vital importance to the sacrificial chanters in the performance of their task according to the ancient precepts. If the arguments are allowed, the conclusion must be that the *svara* which is used in the sacrifice would early have shown enormous variation, or be lost or discarded altogether, if there were not some established and traditional authority to which it could be referred and which could be used as a standard. The best manner in which to maintain such an authority lies in the traditional chanting of the sacred verses with *svara*. It is a sacred duty.

*mantra hīnaḥ svarato varnato vā mithyāprayukto na tīm artham āha ;
sa vāgvajro yajamānaṃ hinasti yathendraśatruḥ svarato 'parādhāt.*¹

29. Amongst the oldest authorities on linguistic matters in the Vedas are Yāska and the *Rkprātisākhya*. The former touches only briefly on accent in his statement that the udātta is more important than the anudātta since the former may displace the latter.² The *Rkprātisākhya* describes the three accents, udātta, anudātta, and svarita, as *āyāma* 'stretching out, tension', *viśrambha* 'relaxing', and *ākṣepa* 'taking back, withdrawing from, returning to normal'.³ Uvāṭa, commenting many centuries later, explains these terms as 'an upward movement of the body caused by breath', 'a downward movement of the body caused by breath', and 'an oblique movement of the body caused by breath'.³ These descriptions are an echo of the terms which Pāṇini adopted in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* : 1, ii, 29, *uccair udāttah* 'the important vowel (udātta) is upwards' ; 30, *nīcāir anudāttah* 'the unimportant vowel (anudātta) is downwards' ; and 31, *saṃhārah svaritah* 'the resounded vowel (svarita) is a combination (of the two preceding)'. From the latter impasse, according to Uvāṭa, the only escape is sideways. The next sūtra, 32, *tasjādita udāttaḥ ardhahrasvam* 'half (the length of) a short vowel is "udātta" (important) at the beginning (of

¹ *Pāṇinīyasikṣā*, verse 52 (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 383). 'A mantra deficient in *svara* or sound, or falsely used, does not convey its meaning ; a spoken thunderbolt, it strikes the worshipper like the foe of Indra through a fault in accent'. A reference to the well-known tale of the luckless Tvaṣṭr who described a demon as *indraśatruḥ* 'conqueror of Indra' instead of *indrāśatruḥ* 'he who had Indra as his conqueror' (bahuvrīhi). See *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, I, 6, 3, 10 (and variant : Taṭt. S, II, 4, 12, 1).

² *Nirukta*, IV, iv, 25, ed. Mukund Jha Bakshi, Bombay, 1930, p. 202

³ *Rkprātisākhya*, III, 1, and Uvāṭa's commentary thereon.

svarita) ' draws the conclusion from Patañjali that it is impossible to tell how much is udātta, how much anudātta, or at what place it is udātta and at what place anudātta. He goes on to say that Pāṇini, being kindly disposed, teaches that this much is udātta and this much anudātta, that at one place it is udātta and at another it is anudātta. In answer to the rather petulant query that, if the teacher is thus disposed, why does he not teach similar matters with regard to the processes of articulation involved, Patañjali gravely replies that grammar is a more advanced science and that anybody who is well versed in the 'metrical sciences' (a reference to the ancillary texts such as *prātiśākhya*s and *śikṣā*s) is able to grasp these matters.¹ Pāṇini continues in '33, *ekasruti dūrāt sambuddhau* 'when addressing from a distance (all vowels) sound the same', i.e. all vowels have the same quality or intensity. This is the manner in which mantras are uttered at the sacrifice, as Pāṇini states in '34, *yajñakarmāṇi ajapanyūṅkhasāmasu*, mentioning that it does not apply to one's private prayers, the performance of nyūṅkha, nor indeed to the sāmāns. One of the requirements of the priest at the sacrifice is that his voice should be heard by the worshippers, so that he is indeed addressing them from 'a distance'. The point is not that the priest aims at discarding *svara* while reciting the sacrificial mantras, but that the *svara* is temporarily obscured by his voice being constantly tensed. The bulk of utterances of this type are elaborated in the sūtras, VIII, ii, 82-99, which demand the final vowel both udātta and prolated. In this group comes the extension of the *ekasruti* sūtra, VIII, ii, 84, *dūrāt dhūte ca* 'and where someone is called from a distance', which sets a normal pattern for a phrase used to catch the attention of someone standing some way off, i.e. equal intensity on all syllables except the last, which is then lengthened and is 'upwards' by comparison, or upon which there is prolonged tension. In '35, *uccaīstarām vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ* 'the utterance of *vaṣaṭ* is more upwards, optionally', some differences of interpretation may arise. The words preceding *vaṣaṭ* in the sacrifice are *astu śrausaṭ* and *ā* (or *o*) *śrāvaya*. Sūtras VIII, ii, 91-2, demand that the first syllables of *vaṣaṭ* and *śrausaṭ* and the first two of *ā* (or *o*) *śrāvaya* should be udātta and prolated. *Ā śrāvaya* is the adhvaryu's call to the agnīdhra, demanding his co-operation. The agnīdhra then calls out *astu śrausaṭ* and upon this comes the cry *vaṣaṭ* from the hotṛ or one of his group as a signal to make the offering. This represents a crucial moment in the course of the sacrifice, where the tension has gradually mounted from the chanting of the samidhenī verses (uttered in a moderate voice while the fire is being built), on through the recitation of other sacrificial verses up to the moment when an offering is made. By the time that the cry *vaṣaṭ* is reached, both pitch and volume has increased considerably from the group, with the result that the priest's voice is strained nearly to the utmost, since the cry itself must be heard clearly. Although no tonal differences are apparent in the

¹ The sentence: *vyākaranam nāmeyam uttarā vidyā*, is generally translated as 'grammar is a (historically) later science', but both interpretations are possible. The passage referred to is: *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's edition), I, p. 208, l. 19 and following.

mantras recited after the kindling (the steadily increasing intensity of the voices would ensure this), the cry *vausāt* appears as if accented, the second syllable being a clear interval higher than the first. The evidence for this was provided by a Rgvedi from Mahārāṣṭra and was further corroborated by the performance of Vājapeya held in Poona (April–May 1959).¹ It is unlikely that this sūtra (I, ii, 35) should admit a 'musical' interpretation (i.e. 'higher' in pitch than the normal monotone, *ekasruti*),² since, apart from the pitch being lower on the prolated udātta, it is more probable that the emotion which charges the priest is that of still greater tension, which brings its natural consequence in the utterance of a normal svarita pattern. The next sūtra, '36, *vibhāṣā chandasi* ' (to make all syllables sound the same) is optional in the Veda', has given rise to difficulties not of great interest.³ In '37, *na subrahmaṇyaṃ svaritasya tūdāttaḥ*, and '38, *devabrahmaṇor anudāttaḥ*, some further injunctions with regard to ceremonial are given. The first enjoins the accenting of the Subrahmaṇyā passage used before the sacrifice, but with substitution of udātta for svarita, while the second requires the anudātta (for the svarita) in the words *deva* and *brahman* in the same passage. In order to interpret the above two sūtras correctly, reference must be made to VIII, iv, 66, *udātād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* ' svarita (takes the place) of the anudātta (i.e. the unimportant syllable or *pracaya*) after an udātta '. In the context referred to in '37, this rule results in making all the phrases, with the exception of the first, begin with a series of udāttas (apart from the variable phrases, *tryahe*, *dvyāḥe*, *adya*, which occur

¹ As the performance was conducted by Vājasaneyis, the characteristic [x] for -ḥ- was heard in these two words, but not even the Vājasaneyis were able to conceal the endemic tonal pattern of svarita.

² For the musical interpretation of the terms, see Siddheshwar Varma, 'The Vedic accent and the interpreters of Pāṇini', *JBBRAS*, NS, xxvi, 1, 1950. For the musical interpretation of the accent, i.e. that the Vedic accent was a (predominantly) musical accent, see W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in ancient India*, London, 1953, 87–93. Also C. R. Sankaran, 'Contributions on the study of Indo-European accent', *BDCRI*, II, 1940–1, 185–202 (especially p. 192) as well as the sections dealing with Vedic accent in any descriptive grammar of Sanskrit. The authority of Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, Göttingen, 1896, may be added to the group (p. 284, paragraph 244). The present pages offer a different point of view, since the question of pitch is disturbed by the fact that the anudātta can be both high and low relatively in musical pitch, and so can the udātta. It has also been suggested that 'loud'/'soft' are the appropriate oppositions for *uccaiḥ/nicaiḥ*. *Nica* does not usually mean 'soft' (Patañjal has used the terms *uccaiḥ/sanaiḥ* to express the opposition 'loud'/'soft' or 'gentle'; *Mahābhāṣya*, Bombay, 1935, Vol. II, p. 26, but Kielhorn's edition has *nicaiḥ* (!), Vol. I, p. 207, l. 2); if *nica* did mean 'soft', then *sannatara* (I, ii, 40) would have to mean 'softer still' which is extremely unlikely. The term adopted here for *nicaiḥ*, 'downwards', refers to an articulatory position, as does the term 'more constricted', used for *sannatara*. Relatively, udātta is 'upwards' from anudātta. In spite of the reasons given for equating *uccaiṣṭarām* with 'more upwards', it could reasonably be held that Pāṇini did not intend this term to be understood relatively to *uccaiḥ*, in which case it could be understood as 'louder', i.e. even louder than when calling someone from a distance. Such, certainly, is the aim of the priest who wishes the gods to attend the sacrifice.

³ *Kāśikā*, on this sūtra, suggests that the permission to abandon *svara* is given to the student while he is still engaged in the effort of committing the hymns to memory. As an alternative to this unlikely explanation, *Kāśikā* proposes that, in reciting Brāhmaṇas, etc., it is not necessary to use *svara* when coming upon quotations from hymns, but both explanations are weak. A further conjecture might be that the licence is extended to certain types of Vājasaneyi chanting.

before *sūtyām ā gaccha*), while in the second (*38) the rule results in the svarita being heard only at the end of the phrase. It is interesting to note that both these features were observed in actual performances.¹ The first was noticed in the recitation of a Nambudiri Sāmavedī as well as in that of another Sāmavedī from Tanjore. The second rule presented a little difficulty, since the Nambudiri made little distinction which could be observed between udāttas and pracayas, but his performance showed a definite distinction between the first two occurrences of the phrase *ā gaccha* (where the first two syllables are udātta and the last a pracaya) on the one hand, and the final occurrences of *ā gacchata* which is repeated three times with the first syllable udātta and the second a svarita. The svarita vowel in the latter case, *gacch-*, was twice the length of the same syllable in the two previous cases, as well as slightly lower in pitch, while the pracaya which followed the svarita was more emphatic and higher in pitch. In the case of the Tanjore informant, on the other hand, no clear distinction could be heard between the contexts just studied, but a definite feature of all long pracayas (provided they did not precede another long pracaya) was a break in the middle of the vowel and a drop subsequently of a minor second. This was the very tone heard on the second syllables in each case of *devā brahmāna*. The performances (at the Vājapeya) of the Vājasaneyīs, who are permitted to recite the Subrahmanyā, were also instructive on this point. The chant was somewhat similar to that of the Sāmavedī from Tanjore, and, although it was not clear what the tonal pattern was intended to convey (as is usual with Vājasaneyīs), a clear distinction was made between contexts with two initial udāttas (recited with steadily falling tones) and the word *brahmāna* (where the second syllable is anudātta), recited with falling-rising tone on the first syllable. The word *devā* was omitted. With regard to *ā gacchata*, the vowel following the svarita was twice the length of the previous *-ccha* syllables which followed an udātta. Once again, the context of a short svarita closed by a doubled aspirate consonant causes difficulties (a similar difficulty arises with the Nambudiris, see 14 end).

Another example of a sūtra relating to sacrificial practice is VIII, ii, 108, *praṇavaṣ teḥ*, ' (in a sacrifice) the syllable *om* (is recited instead) of the last syllable of the verse (and it is prolated and udātta) '.² The chanting of samidhenī verses at the Vājapeya illustrated this point amply. The verses were recited at great speed, but in a moderate voice,³ so that slight traces of tonal differences remained. This was particularly at the final of a half-verse (or line final), which, in the third repetition of the first verse, was prolated. The prolated *om* which replaced the final syllable of each verse led without a break on to the first syllable of the following verse, breaths being taken at the end of the half verse (*samtata* recitation; see *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra*, I, 23-4). This 'moderately voiced' chanting stands in clear contrast to the

¹ Staal, XIX (1) and XXI (16).

² cf. also Patañjali's comment on this sūtra and *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra*, I, 1, 19-21.

³ See *ŚSS*, I, 4, 17.

strident and unwavering tone used subsequently as the sacrifice proceeded. The same features appeared in the recitation of a Nambudiri Yajurvedī.¹ The manner in which the *om* was recited reflected faithfully an ordinary Nambudiri (R̥gvedic) udātta (see 9) multiplied by three. The reciter was heard to extend the range both above and below mid-tone, but this is not surprising. Being a Yajurvedī, he would normally recite long udāttas with a falling-rising tone (the traces of such tonal patterns could be heard medially), a feature which would become more apparent on a prolated vowel, while the greater range below mid-tone (more akin to the R̥gvedic low-tone) is most probably owing to the Yajurvedis' invariably using wider intervals than their R̥gvedī counterparts. Certainly, the syllable *om* was recited with six wavers, four on the *o*- and two on the *-m*. The *-m* was curtailed by one swing where the initial of the following verse was a fricative (in fact, *s*- or *v*-) and disappeared all but for a brief mid-tone where the initial of the following verse was a vowel (*samtata* recitation). Apart from this 'euphonic' feature, the *om* clearly represented a duration of three times the length of an ordinary long vowel. Twice the length would have been normal where a long vowel plus nasal is followed by a consonant (see 9), the prolated vowel has half as much again. The finals of the half-verses (lines) showed the normal features for finals in the line with the exception of the first and third repetitions of the first and last verses, where the whole verse was treated as a line. There are no rules to indicate the points at which a breath may be taken in these repetitions and the practice varies.

Pāṇini then relates what happens to syllables after svarita, first in '39, *svaritāt saṃkṛitāyām anudattānām* 'after a svarita (a series) of anudāttas (i.e. *pracayas* or unimportant syllables) sound the same in continuous utterance', and then in '40, *udāttasvaritaparasya sannatarah* ' (the unimportant syllable which is then) followed by udātta or svarita is more constricted (than the normal *pracaya*)'. The term *sannatara* is used in the same context as the verb *niyacchanti* and the noun *niyama* in *R̥kprātisākhya*, III, 20-2, which suggests that the ordinary meaning for *sanna* as 'contracted, constricted' would be suitable; hence *sannatara* 'more constricted'. In this way, the anudātta becomes a syllable during which preparation is made for the tension required in the utterance of the following udātta or svarita.

Such is the evidence afforded by Pāṇini. There is scant need to remark that not even the most astute philologist could hope to reconstruct anything from the sūtras as they stand, although many have tried, and this is just one more attempt. It remains to be seen whether the recitations of Vedic hymns provide any indication which might prove helpful in the effort.

30. A comparison of the R̥gvedic chants described in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 86-94, and the recitations of the Nambudiris leads to the following observations: (a) Common ground exists frequently on udāttas (compare p. 87, 2 (a), with 4 (a) and 8 (a)), i.e. mid-tone, but the two recitations tend towards opposite ends of the scale (compare p. 88, 3 (a), with 5 (a)).

¹ Staal, x (3).

(b) The recitation of B (see p. 91 and Ex. 2, p. 92) showed that a long svarita could be mainly an even mid-tone in most contexts (cf. 8 (b)). On the other hand, the Nambudiri short svarita is never mid-tone (5 (b)), while that of the previous informants is frequently so (p. 87, 2 (b-c)).

(c) Pracayas show a similar divergence, since, although mostly in agreement (compare p. 87, 2 (d), with 4 (b) and 8 (c)), the unimportant syllables at the beginning of a line are differently treated (compare p. 88, 3 (b), with 9 (c) and 17). Further, the Nambudiri high-tone pracayas (5 (c), 12, and 14) have only very rare counterparts in the previous recitations.¹

(d) The anudāttas are in total disagreement (compare p. 87, 1 (a), and p. 88, 4, with 3, 6, and 7).

31. On the inconclusive grounds given in the preceding paragraph, any suggestion that the two recitations could be compatible with one and the same set of concepts such as those given in Pāṇini's sūtras might be set aside. The necessary piece of evidence which makes the suggestion possible is gained by comparing the following statements :

(a) In the recitations described in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 86-94, the following features emerged :

(i) Udāttas which might have been low-tone remained mid-tone in contexts after -h/hiatus (and possibly -h-) (see p. 90, 7 (c)).

(ii) Svaritas, normally high-tone (p. 87, 1 (b), and p. 88, 5 (a-c)), became mid-tone (or almost so) before anudātta/hiatus (p. 87, 2 (b-c), and p. 88, 5 (d)).

(iii) Final pracayas : a penultimate svarita in the line, if followed by a final of the type C(h)Vh, was mid-tone (the final syllable then showed a high-tone instead of its normal mid-tone, p. 90, 7 (b)), even if separated from the final by some (generally short) syllables.

(iv) Anudāttas in aspirate contexts (ChVh) remained high-to-mid-tone in all contexts where a high-to-low-tone might have been expected (p. 90, 7 (c) and n. 3).

(b) In the Nambudiri R̥gveda recitations, the corresponding features were :

(i) Udāttas which might have been high-tone remained mid-tone in contexts after an aspirate consonant or hiatus (4 (a, ii) ; 5 (a, iv)).

(ii) Svaritas : long svaritas, normally mid-tone, rise to high-tone before anudātta/hiatus (10 (a-b)).

(iii) Final pracayas : a penultimate open long svarita in the line showed a rise to high-tone before a final short pracaya² (10 (a)). The final short pracaya is then lower than normal (compare 16 with 13 (c)). After the last svarita in a line, the drop to mid-tone does not occur after an aspirate, the high-tone remaining over short pracayas even as far as the final syllable (5 (c), 2).

¹ B (informant in the previous analysis) did show an occasional high-tone in a context such as *sybharā aśśatāq* . . ., where the first syllable of the second word was high-tone. But this was not a regular feature after hiatus.

² The rise does not occur on open long svaritas before a long final.

(iv) Anudāttas in aspirate contexts (ChV(h)) were lower in pitch initially than normal low-tone (3).

Further comparisons could be made¹ but there is no need to extend the list. The above evidence is sufficient to point to the conclusion that where alpa- and mahāprāṇa are in conflict ((i) above), in (a) the result is a pitch higher than normal, while in (b) the result is a pitch lower than normal; that the extension of alpa-prāṇa ((ii) and (iii) above), in (a) results in a pitch lower than normal, while in (b) it results in a pitch higher than normal (instead of 'extension of alpa-prāṇa', the 'temporary abeyance of mahāprāṇa' might be substituted); and that an abundance of mahāprāṇa ((iv) above), in (a) results in a pitch higher than normal, while in (b) it results in a pitch lower than normal. If such a conclusion be countered with the argument that these features involving alpa- and mahāprāṇa are the result of careful teaching in tonal distinctions, the reader is referred to 2. If such a conclusion is accepted, it is not difficult to see why, for example, the anudātta should be high-tone amongst some reciters or groups of reciters, and low-tone amongst others.²

32. The fundamental properties of the accent are then as follows:

(a) Anudātta (*sannatara*), or the unimportant syllable which immediately precedes the important one: the process of constriction of breath, i.e. ordinary breath such as is expended on unimportant syllables. Where additional breath is involved on account of 'stationary'³ features, e.g. aspirate consonants, two extreme possibilities arise: (i) the release and constriction processes terminate at the same point, with the result of greater intensity of sound, or, (ii) the release continues after the constriction has exerted its effect, with the result that the normal tonal pattern of the next syllable is disturbed.

(b) Udātta, or the important syllable: the process of tension⁴ and little breath, i.e. less breath than is expended on the utterance of unimportant syllables.

(c) Svarita, or the resounded syllable which follows the important one: the culmination of the process of tension and the return to the normal relaxed position. The variations possible in this syllable are considerable, but the most important factors are (i) duration (of the syllable itself in relation to

¹ The highly important feature of palatals, for instance. Compare p. 90, 7 (d), with end of 1 and footnote thereto, which gives a further illustration of the 'reversal' of tonal features.

² An object lesson was provided by the unfortunate Nambudiri who could not, least of all in aspirate contexts, keep his anudāttas low-tone (see p. 509, n. 1).

³ To decide which features are 'stationary' and which involve 'movement' is a matter belonging to historical analysis. Both this matter as well as that of the relationship of the Vedic accent to that of other Indo-European languages demand separate studies. With reference to the historical aspect, it is interesting to compare the tonal patterns illustrated in the previous pages (pp. 91-4) with those given by Professor J. R. Firth in 'Phonetic observations on Gujarati', *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 231-41.

⁴ There is no evidence for assuming that the process of constriction results in the articulatory context required for the uttering of the important syllable. Different terms are therefore used. The suggestion that less breath is expended on udātta than on unimportant syllables might be opposed. The evidence points to a particular voice quality for udātta, and the likelihood is that less breath is released.

the preceding syllable) and (ii) position (of the syllable itself with regard to the next important syllable or the end of the utterance). The first feature may affect, in anticipation, the tonality of the important syllable, while the second may result in the syllable being in conflict with (a).¹

In this case then, it becomes irrelevant to talk about the Vedic accent in terms of pitch at all, which is a paradoxical conclusion, admittedly, to be drawn from an analysis which has used pitch as the sole instrument with which to measure. Less misleading terms than 'high' and 'low' for udātta and anudātta should be entertained. Patañjali used the terms alpa- and mahāprāṇa to describe (in a broad division) non-aspirate and aspirate consonants.² The same terms were used on p. 89, 7 (b), to denote four other qualities besides that of non-aspiration and aspiration. The disadvantage of such a simplification is that the other four qualities are incomplete statements in the present context unless the idea of articulatory motion is applied to them, e.g. reference to anudātta as such has to be made in terms of 'constriction' of mahāprāṇa, the mahāprāṇa itself being a normal 'release' of breath on any unimportant syllable. In other words, when the mahāprāṇa of an anudātta is said to be released, or fully released, it must be borne in mind that the process of constriction is simultaneously present. When the mahāprāṇa is fully released, the present evidence points to the conclusion that the two processes terminate at the same point. Where, on the other hand, the anudātta vowel is followed by hiatus, the process of constriction is over before the mahāprāṇa is fully released. In this case the subsequent release takes place on the udātta, with the invariable result that the normal tonal pattern of this vowel (a factor basically dependent upon the composition of the svarita) is disturbed. Amongst the Nambudiris, for example, the normal high-tone udātta was invariably mid-tone after hiatus (4 (a, ii); 5 (a, iv)), while amongst the previous reciters, the normal low-tone udātta was invariably mid-tone after hiatus (p. 90, 7 (c)). Thus, although the terms alpa- and mahāprāṇa describe common factors, they suggest something stationary. Pāṇini must have been aware of this difficulty when he used the terms *uccaiḥ* and *nīcaiḥ*.

33. These terms do not ensure any correct interpretation, however, since 'upwards' and 'downwards' have no settled meaning. In other words, 'upwards' (or 'up', 'high', 'top') and 'downwards' (or 'down', 'low', 'bottom') are words without any predetermined significance. What is upwards or high for one person may be downwards or low for another. In this way one might say to someone who is speaking, 'Why are you yelling at the top of your voice? Speak more gently!' As a result, someone else might say to the same person, 'Why are you talking through your teeth? Speak up!' From such experiences one may gather the futility of terms such as 'upwards' and 'downwards' since these have no settled meaning.

In such cases, then, one must resort to definition by saying that tension,

¹ This latter conflict caused difficulties in ancient times, see *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, p. 90, n. 2.

² *Mahābhāṣya*, I, p. 61, ll. 16 ff.

hardness, and narrowness of the intrabuccal space are the factors which make a sound 'upwards'. By tension is meant a general tightening up of the body. Hardness pertains to the vowel, and for hardness one might say roughness (creakiness). Narrowness of the intrabuccal space involves a closing up of the throat. Such are the factors which make a sound 'upwards'. Relaxation, softness, and wideness of the intrabuccal space are the factors which make a sound 'downwards'. By relaxation is meant a slackening of the body. Softness pertains to the vowel, and for softness one might say smoothness (rounded quality). Wideness of the intrabuccal space involves amplitude of the throat. Such are the factors which make a sound 'downwards'.

Yet even this definition has many interpretations. For what is altogether 'upwards' (or tensed) in the case of non-aspiration, is altogether 'downwards' (or relaxed) in the case of aspiration.

34. The last paragraph, 33, as Sanskrit scholars and many others will recognize, was a translation of Patañjali's comment on Kātyāyana's first *Vārtikā* to Pāṇini, i, ii, 29, 30.¹ No further comment is needed. The theoretical deliberations of the *munitraya* on this matter are concluded, and they refer the phonetic details of the problem to the *akṣaracintakas*, 'the ponderers on the syllable'. Kātyāyana says (*Vārtikā*, 2, on i, ii, 29, 30): 'Successful operation is ensured as a result of the generally accepted progression'. Patañjali comments: 'The operation of Pāṇini's sūtra is assured. How? We may refer to the generally accepted progression. What is this progression? Chest, throat, and head'. Should this conclusion rather alarm the modern *akṣaracintaka*, it must be remembered that *homo foneticus indicus* was no mere cross-sectioned larynx sited under an empty cranium (as might be suggested by IPA diagrams); on the contrary, the whole man, belly, heart, and head, produced voice.

*ātma-buddhyā sametyārthān mano yunkte vivakṣyā
manah kāyāgnim āhanti sa prerayati mārutam.
mārutas tūraśi caran mandram janayati svaram
prātaḥsavanayogaṃ taṃ chando gāyatraṃ āśritam.
kaṇṭhe mādhyamadinayugaṃ madhyamaṃ traiṣṭubhānugam
tāraṃ tārīyasavanam śrīṣaṇyaṃ jāgātānugam.
sodīrṇo mūrdhny abhihato vaktram āpadya mārutaḥ*

¹ The last sentence of the above passage, *yad dāy alpaprāṇasya sevocais tad dhi mahāprāṇasya sarvanicaiḥ*, is generally taken to mean: 'for what is very loud for a weakling is very soft for a vigorous person'. This is certainly Kaiyata's view. But Patañjali uses the terms *alpa-* and *mahāprāṇa* in only one other place in the *Mahābhāṣya* (a debt is owed to Pandit Pathak and Pandit Citrao for enabling such statements to be made), i.e. when discussing the distinctions between consonants, he equates *alpaprāṇa*/non-aspirate consonants and *mahāprāṇa*/aspirates (i, 61, ll. 16 ff.). This is the reason for suggesting the translation given, taking *alpaprāṇasya* as a *bahuvrihi*, i.e. 'in the case of that which has a preceding non-aspirate consonant' (the Sanskrit grammarians always held that a vowel related to the preceding consonant). Further, the translation 'intrabuccal space' may be misunderstood; it is intended to convey the whole cavity as far as the back of the throat, i.e. as much as can be seen when looking into a person's mouth. The passage occurs in *Mahābhāṣya*, i, p. 207, ll. 1-14.

*varṇāñ janayate teṣāṃ vibhāgaḥ pañcadhā smṛtaḥ.
svarataḥ kālataḥ sthānāt prayatnānupradānataḥ
iti varṇavidaḥ prāhur nīpunam tam nibodhata.¹*

ILLUSTRATIONS

A considerable debt of thanks is owed to Mr. N. A. Jairazbhoy for his most helpful suggestions in the preparation of the illustrations which follow as well as for his very careful checking of most of the intervals.

Example 1. The intervals are : a small major second above and a minor third below mid-tone. The grace notes (always difficult to determine) generally cover an interval of a small major second below mid-tone. The signs give no idea of total time taken, but it may be noted that, in verse i, the first and second lines occupy slightly over 9 and 7 seconds respectively. (Staal, xvii (3).)

Example 2. The intervals are : a full major second above and a minor third (sometimes less) below mid-tone. The grace note is again mostly a small major second below mid-tone. In verse i, the two lines take just under 9 seconds and about 10½ seconds. (Staal, vi (2).)

Example 3. The two reciters chant a fourth apart, a major second above and a minor third below the respective mid-tones. In verse v, the times taken for the first two lines are 9 and just under 8 seconds. (Staal, vi, (1).)

Example 4. The time taken to recite each style straight through was identical, being just under 20 seconds. The Tirunāvāya variants have been placed in brackets after the Trichur forms for purposes of comparison. (Staal, vi (5A).)

Example 5. A difficulty arises from the peculiarity of Nambudiri jaṭā, where two reciters chant alternate groups, the last word of one group (e.g. the last *b* of *ab/ba/ab*) coincides with the first word of the next group (e.g. the first *b* of *bc/cb/bc*). The same word is thus chanted with a final form by one reciter, and simultaneously with a sandhi form by the other. Both recite the first *bhrātā* (verse ib), but only the notes of the reciter continuing on to *madhyamo* are given. The phrase from *bhrātā* onwards comes from verse ic. (Staal, vi (3).)

Example 6. The impression conveyed by these two reciters, it must be admitted, is more that of Vājasaneyis who have been carefully schooled to recite in the R̥gvedic manner. The considerable deliberateness of their performance may be accounted for by the fact that, as South Indians, they are rather unhappy in

¹ *Pāṇinīyasikṣā*, verses 6–10 (*Śikṣasamuccaya*, pp. 378–9).

‘The mind allied with innate knowledge joins meaning with the desire to speak. The mind strikes up the bodily fire, the fire impels the air.

‘The air as it moves in the chest softly gives rise to that inner sound wherein lies Gāyatrī in morning prayer.

‘In the throat then Trīṣṭubh, middling for the noon-day prayer, and shrill in the head Jāgati, for the evening prayer.

‘The air risen up, struck back in the head, reaches the mouth and gives birth to sounds ; five kinds are known.

“ But according to accent, to time, to place, and to movements greater and lesser ”, so say those who are skilled in sound. Take careful heed of this.’

this type of chanting. Certainly, an air of artificiality can be detected, as the intervals are difficult to analyse, varying from a small major third above and from a minor to a major third below mid-tone. Example 7. The intervals are : major seconds above and below mid-tone. A convention has been adopted in the signs (as well as in the notation) whereby (by means of a dot and horizontal stroke : --) the gliding vowel-sound after a final consonant is indicated. The vowel is generally indeterminate, often rather closer to the South, [ə] or something closely akin is used (but such a vowel is invariably 'echoes' the preceding vowel).

Example 8. The intervals are as in Ex. 7, and a break occurs which is treated as a line final. The word *chandāmsi* is recited.

Example 9. The Gāyatrī verse is recited in the 'chest', i.e. prayer, and the intervals, somewhat uncertain, are minor thirds above and a minor third below. The grace notes, as well as the syllables, are heard a small major second below mid-tone. The verse, recited in a loud voice, has by contrast a major second below mid-tone. For *yathāśāh*, 'yathāśāl' (Nambudiri, *Staal*, vi (12), and xiv (2).)

Example 10. The intervals are : a major second above and below mid-tone while the intermediate note varies from a minor to a mid-tone. The rise to high-tone represents very swift motion in the line, becoming more deliberate finally, where a rise of tone is heard. A fifth below mid-tone is also used (e.g. on the syllable *śā*) giving a total range of an octave. The distribution of tones is somewhat irregular.

Example 11. These two reciters show a remarkable sense of rhythm (vowel 1, long vowel 2 beats ; quite regular, and indicated by signs). An emphatic svarabhakti appears in conjuncts. The first line is approximately 13 seconds (while that for the second is just over 11 seconds). The sense of musical interval : an attempt has been made to note one voice only, omitting the other as the reciters go their separate ways. The intervals are generally a second to a third above and a minor third below mid-tone. Example 12. The sense of vowel length mentioned above is here, although still clearly in evidence. The intervals are generally a second to a third above and a minor third below mid-tone and a very full major second (rarely a third) above and a fourth below mid-tone. Again, the tones above mid-tone are inflections, so that it becomes almost misleading in the attempt to indicate a tonal pattern with a mid-tone, since the impression conveyed is that of a monotone with occasional deliberate inflections.

(In the transliteration of the text, the hyphens are used for spacing purposes and bear no reference to principles of s

Example 1. Recited by a Nambudiri Rġvedī

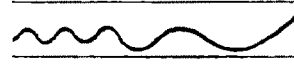
Rġveda, x, 85, i, iv, vii, xv, xxiv, xxviii



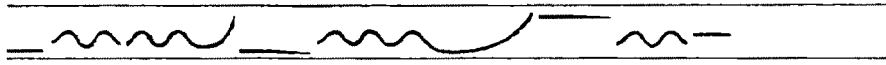
sa- tye- no- ttā-bhi-tā bhū- miḥ



sū- rye- no- ttā-bhi-tā



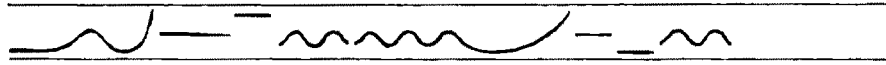
dyauḥ



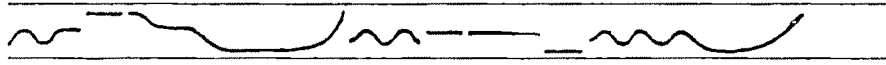
r- te- nā- di- tyās ti- ṣṭha- nti



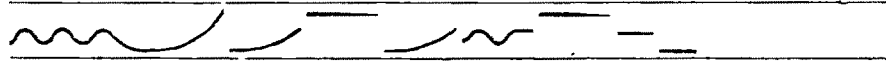
di- vi so- mo a- dhl śri-taḥ



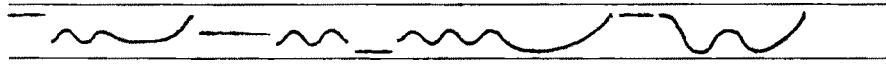
ā- echad vi- dhā- nair gu-pi- to



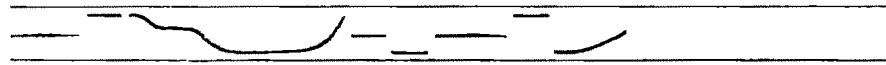
bā- rhā-taḥ so- ma ra- kṣi-taḥ



grā- vṇām ic chr- ṇvan ti- ṣṭha-si



na té a- śnā- ti pā- rthi-valḥ



ci- ttir ā u- pa ba- rhā-nam

ca- kṣūr ā a- bhya- ñjā-nam

dyaaur bhū- mī ko- śā ā- sīd

yad a- yāt sū- ryā pa-tīm

yad a- yā- tam śu- bha- spa-tī

va- re- yam sū- ryām u- pā

kva- kām ca- kram vām ā- sīt

kvā de- śtrā- yā ta- stha-tuḥ

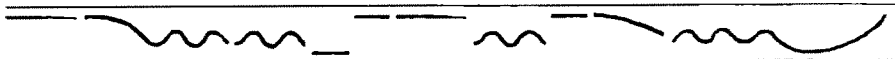
pra tvā mu- ñcā- mī va-rū- ṇa- sya pā- śād

ye- na tvā- bā- dhāt sa- vi- tā

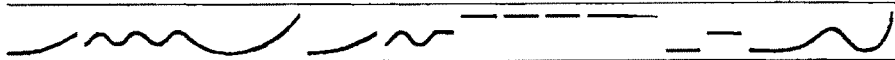
su- śe- vāḥ



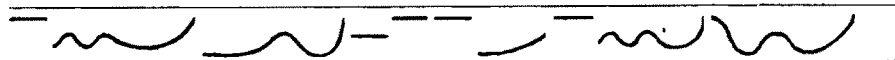
r- ta- sya yo- nāu su-kr- ta- syā lo- ke



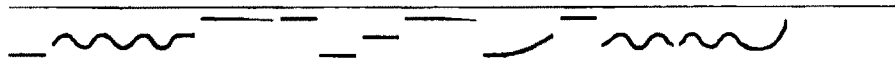
'rl- ṣṭām tvā sa- ha pa- tyā da-dhā- mi



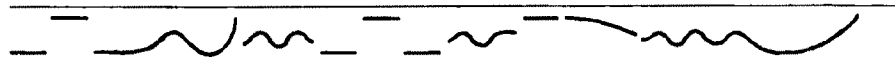
pū- śā tve- to nā-ya- tu ha- sta-gr- hyā-



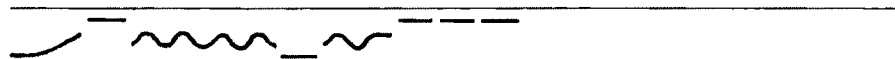
śvi-nā tvā pra vā-ha- tāṃ ra- thē- na



gr- hān gā- ccha gr- ha- pā- tnī ya- thā- só



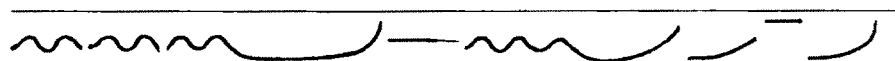
va- śi- nī tvam vi-da- thām ā vā-dā- si



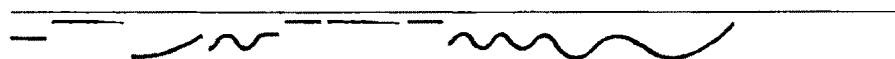
nī- la- lo- hi- tam bhā-va- ti



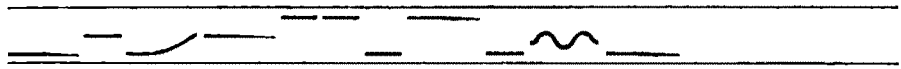
kr- tyā- sa- ktir vyā- jya- te



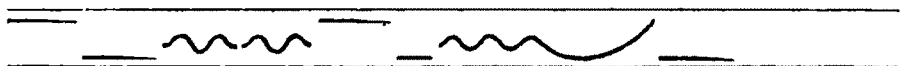
e- dhā- nte a- syā jñā- ta- yah



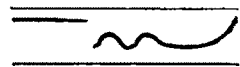
pa- tir ba- ndhe- śu ba- dhya- te

*Example 2. Recited by a Nambudiri R̥gvedī**R̥gveda*, I, 164, i and ii


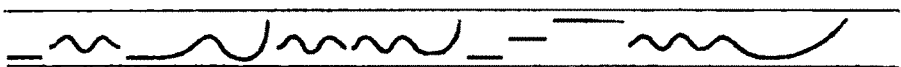
a- sya vā- ma- sya pa-li- ta- sya ho- tus



ta- sya bhrā- tā ma- dhya-mo asty



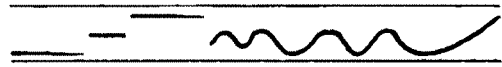
a- śnāḥ



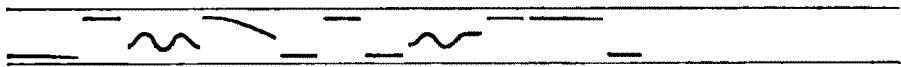
tr- tī- yo bhrā- tā ghr-ta- pṭ- ṣṭho



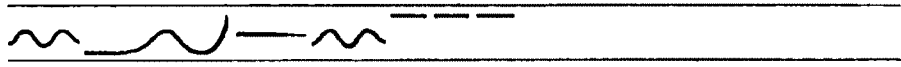
a- syā- trā- pa- śyam vi- śpa-tim



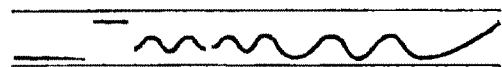
sa- pta-pū- tram



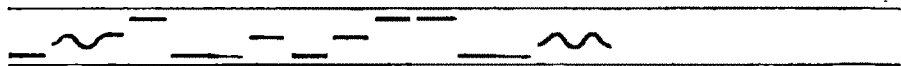
sa- pta yū- ŋja- nti ra-tham e- kā- ca- kram



e- ko a- śvó va- ha-ti



sa- pta-nā- mā



tri- nā- bhi ca- kram a- ja-rām a- na- rvaṃ

ya- tre- mā vi- śvā bhu-va-nā- dhi ta- sthuḥ

Example 3. Recited by two Nambudiri Rġvedīs

Rġveda, I, 89, v and vi

tam ī- śā- naṃ ja- gā- tas ta- sthu-śas pa- tlm

dhi-yam- ji- nvam a- vā-se hū- ma-he

va- yam

pū- śā no ya- thā ve- dā- sām a- sād vr- dhe

rā- kṣi- tā pā- yur a- dā- bdhaḥ sva- sta-yé

sva- sti na i- ndrō vr- ddha- śrā-vāḥ

sva- sti náḥ pū- śā vi- śva- vē- dāḥ

sva- sti naś tā- rkṣyo a- ri- ṣṭa- ne- miḥ

sva- sti no bṛ- ha- spa-tir da- dhā- tu

*Example 4. Recited by a Nambudiri R̥gvedī**R̥gveda, I, 164, i, parigraha. Trichur and (in brackets) Tirunāvāya style*

ghr̥-ta- (ta-) p̥ṣ- (p̥ṣ-) tho- (tho-) c as- (as-)
ya- (ya-) a; ghr̥-ta- (ta-) p̥ṣ- (p̥ṣ-) tha i- ti
(ti) ghr̥-ta- (ta-)a p̥ṣ- (p̥ṣ-) tha- (tha-) aḥ.

*Example 5. Recited by a Nambudiri R̥gvedī**R̥gveda, I, 164, i, extracts from jaṭā*

bhrā- ā- tā- ā ma-dhya-mo- o . . . bhrā- ā-
tā bhrā- ā- tā- ā tr̥- tī- ī- yās . . .

*Example 6. Recited by two Kannadiga R̥gvedīs**R̥gveda, VII, 49, iv, and x, 137, v*

yā-su rā-jā va-rū-ṇo yā-su so-mo vi-śvé de-vā yā-sū-rjam ma-dā-nti
vai-śvā-na-ro yāsv a-gñiḥ pra-vi-ṣṭas tā ā-pó de-vīr i-ha mēm ā-va-ntu
trā-yā-ntām i-ha de-vās trā-yā-tām ma-ru-tām ga-ṇaḥ
trā-yā-ntām vi-śvā bhū-tā-ni ya-thā-yam ā-ra-pā a-sāt

*Example 7. Recited by a Madras Ṛgvedī**Ṛgveda, I, 164, xlvī*

i-ndrām mi-traṃ va-rū-ṇam a-gnim ā-hur a-thō di-vyaḥ sa sū-pa-rṇo ga-ru-tmān
e-kam sad vi-prā ba-hu-dhā vā-da-nty a-gnim ya-mam mā-ta-ri-śvā-nam ā-huḥ

*Example 8. Recited by a Taittirīyaka**Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, III, 12, x*

ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-tāḥ r-caḥ sá-mā-ni ja-jñi-re
cha-ndā-ṁsi ja-jñi-re ta-smāt ya-jus ta-smād a-jā-ya-ta

*Example 9. Recited by a Nambudiri Taittirīyaka**Gāyatrī*

tat sá-vi-tur va-ré-nyam bha-rgó de-va-syā dhī-ma-hi
dhi-yo yo nāḥ pra-co-da-yāt

Āpastamba Mantrapāṭha, I, 3, 3

gr-bhṇā-mī te su-pṛa-jā-stvā-ya ha-stam ma-yā pa-tyā ja-ra-dā-ṣṭir ya-thā-sāḥ
bha-gó a-rya-mā sá-vi-tā pu-rā-mdhir ma-hyam tvā-dur ga-rhā-pa-tyā-ya de-vāḥ

*Example 10. Recited by a Nepalese Vājasaneyī**Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, 31, v and vi*

ta-tó vi-rāḥ ā-jā-ya-ta vi-rā-jo a-dhī pū-rū-śaḥ

sa jā-to a-ty ā-ri-cya-ta pa-ścād bhū-mim a-thō pu-rah

ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-taḥ sa-mbhit-tam pr-ṣa-dā-jyam

pa-śúmś tāms cá-kre vā-ya-vyān ā-ra-nyā grā-myās ca ye

Example 11. Recited by two Vājasaneyīs (Rājasthān)

Vājasaneyī Samhitā, 31, v and vi

ta-tō vi-rāḥ ā-jā-ya-ta vi-rā-jo a-dhi pū-rú-ṣaḥ

sa jā-to a-ty ā-ri-cya-ta pa-ścād bhū-mim a-thō pu-rah

ta-smād ya-jñāt sá-rva-hu-taḥ sa-mbhit-tam pr-ṣa-dā-jyam

pa-śúmś tāms cá-kre vā-ya-vyān ā-ra-nyā grā-myās ca ye

Example 12. Recited by two (with a third occasionally) Vājasaneyīs

Vājasaneyī Samhitā, 20, iii

de-va-syā tvā sa-vi-tuḥ prā-sa-ye 'śvi-nór bā-hu-bhyām pū-ṣno ha-stā-bhyām. a-śvi-nor

bhai-śā-jye-na te-jā-se bra-hma-va-rea-sā-yā-bhi-ṣi-ñcā-mi sa-rā-sva-tyai bhai-sā-jye-na vī-

ryā-yā-nrā-dyā-yā-bhi-ṣi-ñcā-mi-ndrā-sye-ndri-ye-na ba-lā-ya śri-yai ya-sū-se 'bhi-ṣi-ñcā-mi

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF THE VIPRAYUKTA-SAMSKĀRAS

By PADMANABH S. JAINI

ONE of the most important factors which distinguish the Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma from the Theravāda Abhidharma is a category called the *viprayukta-samskāras*. The disputes on the reality of the dharmas included under this category dominate some of the major works on Abhidharma, especially the *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya*¹ of Vasubandhu and the *Sphuṭārthā*² of Yaśomitra. An analysis of these dharmas is found in a few pioneering works like those of McGovern,³ Stcherbatsky,⁴ and others, but very little is known about their origin. Particularly the relation between these dharmas and the ones enumerated in the Pali Abhidharma as well as their correspondence to the *padārthas* (reals) of the non-Buddhist schools such as the Vaiśeṣika and the Mīmāṃsaka, are still in need of a more thorough investigation. There are valid reasons to believe that these *padārthas* exerted a strong influence on the Vaibhāṣika theory of reality and indirectly were responsible for the *dravya-vāda* of the neo-Vaibhāṣika school represented by Saṃghabhadra. The recent discovery of the *Abhidharma-dīpa*⁵ (together with its commentary—the *Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti*⁶), a work belonging to the tradition of Saṃghabhadra, furnishes us with valuable information on certain aspects of the theory of *viprayukta* category in general and on the nature of some of the *viprayuktas* in particular.

In early Buddhism, *samskāra* is described by a solitary term, *cetanā* 'volition'. The *samskāra skandha* consists of six volitions corresponding to the six sense objects.⁷ But as the Ābhidharmikas analysed the mental factors and differentiated their characteristics, they formulated long lists of dharmas which had to be accommodated in the traditional formula of the five *skandhas*. Instead of postulating new *skandhas*, they included these new dharmas in the *samskāra skandha*.

This addition of new dharmas in the group of *citta* is justified by showing a functional co-ordination (*saṃprayoga*) between them and the *citta*. The *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho* speaks of three kinds of uniformities that exist between a *citta* and 52 kinds of *cetasikas* (one *vedanā*, one *saṃjñā*, and 50 *samskāras*).⁸ They arise and disappear in the same time, have the same object, and depend on the same base. The Vaibhāṣikas also speak of five

¹ *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu* (tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin), ch. ii, kā. 35-48. Henceforth referred to as *Bhāṣya*.

² *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā* (ed. U. Wogihara). Henceforth referred to as *Saku*.

³ *A manual of Buddhist philosophy*, I, 161-2.

⁴ *The central conception of Buddhism*, 23-4.

⁵ Henceforth referred to as *Dīpa*.

⁶ Henceforth referred to as *Vṛtti*.

⁷ See *The central conception of Buddhism*, 20.

⁸ *Ekupāda-nirodhā ca ekāmbana-vāṭhukā/*

Cetoyuttā dvī-paññāsa dhammā cetasikā matā// (*Abhidhammattha-saṅgaho*, ii, 1.)

kinds of *saṃatā* (uniformity).¹ There is between the *citta* and *caitta* uniformity as regards time, basis, objects, essential qualities, and function.

Both the Theravādins and the Vaibhāṣikas arrived at almost identical lists of these *saṃskāras*. The former enumerated 50, and the latter had 44 *saṃskāras*. In the formulation of these *saṃskāras*, the early Buddhists appear to have been influenced by the Yoga school, which also analysed various states of mind with reference to several *citta-bhūmis*, *saṃādhis*, *ṛddhis*, and *dhyānas* with their attendant *yogāṅgas* or the means of *yoga*.² In course of time, the Ābhidharmikas, and particularly the Vaibhāṣikas seem to have been much influenced by their contemporary realists like the Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and Mīmāṃsaka schools.

Over a long period and particularly during the time of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the Ābhidharmikas were engaged in studying and criticizing the doctrines of these rival schools. Aśvaghoṣa's poems show an acquaintance with the Sāṃkhya system.³ Vasumitra, a leading Vibhāṣā-śāstrin is extolled in the *Vṛtti* as the one who refuted the theory of 25 *tattvas* (cf the Sāṃkhya) and demolished the (Vaiśeṣika) doctrine of the atomic structure of the cosmos.⁴ We learn from Paramārtha's 'Life of Vasubandhu' ⁵ that a Sāṃkhya teacher Vindhyavāsin defeated Buddhāmītra, the teacher of Vasubandhu, in a debate, whereupon the latter composed the *Paramārtha-saptatikā* in refutation of the Sāṃkhya. The *Bhāṣya*, as well as the *Vṛtti*, contains several criticisms of the Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika theories.

A result of these criticisms and counter-criticisms was the acceptance not only of new theories but also of new dharmas and novel terms in the Vaibhāṣika school. The doctrine of the *sarvāstivāda* bears a close resemblance to the *satkāryavāda*. The four traditional explanations of the *sarvāstivāda* can be treated as interpretations of the *pariṇāmanavāda* of the Sāṃkhya. The atomic theory of the Vaiśeṣika too played a great part in formulating the Vaibhāṣika theory of the *dravya* and *saṃghāta paramāṇus*. The seven categories of the Vaiśeṣika greatly influenced the Vaibhāṣika analysis of the *nāma-rūpa* and even their theory of dharma. On account of their fundamental thesis of *anātmanavāda* (non-substantialism), the Buddhists did not recognize the Vaiśeṣika distinction of *padārthas* as *dravya* (substance), *guṇa* (quality), *karma* (action), etc., but reduced all things to the status of dharmas, i.e. unique, momentary, ultimate elements. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the term *dravya* is conspicuous by its absence from the Pali suttas and even from the Abhidhamma. In the Vaibhāṣika school, however, it almost replaces the Buddhist

¹ *Pañcabhikkhū samatābhikkhū saṃprayuktitāh. . . . Tāh punar āśrayālambanākāra-kāla-dravyasamātābhikkhūh* (*Vṛtti* on kā. 126).

² See Poussin's article 'Le bouddhisme et le yoga de Patañjali', *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, v, 1937, 223 ff.

³ See Johnston's introduction to his translation of the *Buddha-carita*.

⁴ *Tad ebhyaś caturbhyaś sarvāstivādebhyaś śhāvira-Vasumitraḥ pañcavimsatī-tattva-nirāśi paramāṇu-samāya-vādonmāthī ca* (*Vṛtti* on kā. 302).

⁵ *T'ung Pao*, Sér. II, Vol. v, 1904, 269-96.

term dharma. Here all real dharmas are called *dravya*. Of the nine *dravyas* of the Vaiśeṣika, only five, viz. substances of earth, water, fire, air, and mind have their corresponding dharmas in the Theravāda Buddhism. The *ākāśa* was recognized by them only as a kind of matter (*ākāśa-dhātu* = *pariccheda-rūpa*), and not as a *mahābhūta*. In the Vaiśeṣika school the four *mahābhūtas* came to be regarded as *dravya-paramāṇus*, as indivisible as the atoms of the Vaiśeṣika. The *ākāśa-dhātu* of the Theravāda was raised here to the status of an *asamskrta* dharma, and made a *nitya-dravya* as in the Vaiśeṣika school. Of the remaining three *dravyas* of the Vaiśeṣika, viz. *kāla*, *dik*, and *ātman*, the first two were recognized by the Yogācāras as *prajñapti-dharmas*. Thus with the sole exception of the *ātman*, all the Vaiśeṣika *dravyas* came to be recognized in the later Ābhidharmika schools.

As in the case of the term *dravya* (substance), the term *guṇa* (quality) also is not found (in its technical sense)¹ in the Theravāda canon. But one can detect an influence of the Vaiśeṣika theory of *guṇa* and *dravya* in their enumeration of the derived matter (*upādāya-rūpa*).

The *Visuddhimagga* enumerates the following 24 kinds of derived matter : *cakkhu*, *sota*, *ghāṇa*, *jivhā*, *kāya* ; *rūpa*, *sadda*, *gandha*, *rasa* ; *īthindriya*, *purisindriya*, *jīvitindriya* ; *hadaya-vatthu* ; *kāyaviññatti*, *vacīviññatti* ; *ākāśa-dhātu* ; *rūpassa lahutā*, *rūpassa mudutā*, *rūpassa kammaññatā* ; *rūpassa upacayo*, *rūpassa santati*, *rūpassa jaratā*, *rūpassa aniccatā*, and *kabaḷikāro āhāro*.²

According to the Theravādins, all these 24 *upādāya-rūpas* are 'dhammas' and hence ought to be recognized as ultimate elements. But a large number of these can be treated rather as aspects, modes, or qualities than as separate entities. This is borne out by the description in the commentaries of some of these dhammas and a distinction drawn between the *nippanna* and *anippanna*³ *rūpa*. Thus, for instance, the *ākāśa-dhātu* (element of space = vacuum) is called *pariccheda-rūpa* 'material quality of limitation'. The two *viññattis* (intimation by body and speech) together with the *lahutā*, *mudutā*, and *kammaññatā* (lightness, pliancy, and adaptability of matter) are called *vikāra-rūpas*, i.e. material qualities signifying special conditions. The *upacaya*, *santati*, *jarā*, and *aniccatā* (i.e. the integration, continuance, decay, and impermanence of matter) are called *lakkhaṇa-rūpas*, i.e. the characteristics of matter. These ten kinds of *rūpa* are called *anippanna* in order to distinguish them from the remaining 14 *rūpas* (and the four *mahābhūtas*) which are called *nippanna-rūpa*. Thus in the *Aṭṭhakathās* Buddhaghosa explains the *nippanna-rūpas* as those which 'transcend limits, change, and characteristics and which

¹ The word *guṇa* occurs in the Pali scriptures only in the sense of 'string, a cord or a strand' (as in the case of *pañca kāma-guṇā*). It is sometimes used to mean a virtue but never in its technical sense of a quality as in the Vaiśeṣika or the Jaina schools.

² Of these only 23 are enumerated in the *Dhammasaṅgani*. The *hadaya-vatthu* is a later addition by the commentators. See *Aṭṭhasālinī*, iv, 112.

³ Also termed *parinippanna* and *aparinippanna* in *Aṭṭhasālinī*, iv, 119. In this connexion compare the term *parinippanna* with the Skt. *parinippanna* (*svabhāva*) of the Yogācāra school.

are to be seized in their intrinsic nature (*sabhāva*).¹ The *anipphannas* are contrary thereto. The *Visuddhimagga-tīkā* explains further that the *nipphanna-rūpas* have their own nature (*sabhāva*), whereas the *anipphannas* are devoid of their own nature and are known only in relationship to the *sabhāva-rūpas*.² The *anipphanna-rūpas* are nowhere in the suttas enumerated as *rūpa-dhammas*. Their inclusion in the Abhidhamma suggests an influence of the Vaiśeṣika school. It is certain that the commentators knew the theory of *guṇa*. Buddhaghosa criticizes a (Vaiśeṣika) theory according to which the *rūpa* (= *varṇa*) and *gandha* are qualities of *teja* and *pṛthivī*, respectively.³ The words *nipphanna-rūpa* and *anipphanna-rūpa* do not occur in the canon. They are found only in the *Aṭṭhakathās*. It is, therefore, possible that the commentators introduced this division in order to separate the 'real' *upādāya-rūpas* from 'qualities', which in the later Sautrāntika terms could be designated as mere *prajñapti* (nominal) dharmas.⁴

A few of the so-called *nipphanna-rūpas* can also be placed in the category of the *anipphanna*. The *jīvītindriya*, for instance, does not consist of a separate *rūpa*, but is only a name given to the life of matter. The *itthindriya* and *purisindriya*, two 'material qualities of sex' can be treated as different aspects of the *kāya*.⁵ The last *nipphanna-rūpa*, called *kabaḷikāro cāro* (edible food) is also not a separate entity but only a name given to the material quality of nutrition.

Thus out of the 24 kinds of *upādāya-rūpas*, only nine, viz. the five sense organs and four sense objects (the *phoṭṭhabba*—touch object—being included in the *mahābhūtas*) can be considered as dharmas having intrinsic nature (*sabhāva*) and, therefore real.⁶ As a matter of fact, these ten are identical with the ten of the eleven dharmas enumerated in both the Vaiśeṣika and the Yogācāra lists of the *rūpa-dharma*.⁷

¹ *Caṭasso dhātuyo, cakkhādāni terasa, kabaḷikārāhāro cā ti atthārasavidham rūpaṃ pariccheda-vikāra-lakkhanabhāvaṃ atikkamitvā sabhāveneva pa-riggahetabbato nippaṇnam, sesam tabbi-paritāṭṭhāya anipphannam* (*Visuddhimagga*, xiv, 73). See *Atthasālinī*, iv, 119.

² *Sabhāvenevā ti rūpassa paricchedo, rūpassa vikāro . . . ti ādinnā a-ggahetvā attano sabhāveneva . . . gahetabbato* (*Visuddhimagga-tīkā*, pp. 457-8).

³ *Keci pañetūha, tejādānam guṇehi rūpādāhi anugayhabhāvato ti kīraṇam vadanti. Te vattabbā : ko pañevamāha, rūpādayo tejādānam guṇā ti ?* (*Visuddhimagga*, xiv, 43).

⁴ This is further confirmed by the description in the commentaries of the *nipphanna* and *anipphanna rūpas*. The *nipphanna-rūpas* alone are called *rūpa-rūpa*, i.e. matter having the characteristic of *ruppaṇa* : *Nipphanna-rūpaṃ pañetūha rūpa-rūpaṃ nāma . . .* (*Visuddhimagga*, xiv, 77) ; *Yadetiha . . . nippaṇnam ti vuttam rūpaṃ, kaḍḍha rūpa-lakkhana-yogato rūpaṃ-ruppaṇam rūpaṃ, taṃ elassa atthiṭṭi . . . Yadi evam, ākāśadhātu-ādānam katham rūpabhāvo ti ? Nipphanna-rūpassa pariccheda-vikāra-lakkhanabhāvaṃ taggaṭṭikamevā ti* (*Visuddhimagga-tīkā*, p. 460).

⁵ cf. *Kāyendriya-pradeśa eva hi kaścit strī-purusendriyākhyam laṭhate . . .* (*Vṛtti* on kā. 73).

⁶ The Sautrāntikas go still further and enumerate only the four *mahābhūtas* and the four objects as real *rūpa-dharmas*. See *Ālambana-parīkṣā* (Adyar Library, 1942), Appendix D, p. 116.

⁷ The eleventh dharma of the Vaiśeṣika is *avijñapti* (unmanifested matter) which the Yogācāra include in their eleventh category of *rūpa*, called *dharmic-dhātu-paryāpanna* (matter included under *dharma-dhātu*). For details, see *A manual of Buddhist philosophy*, 118 ff.

Although the Vaiśhāṣikas did not enumerate the 'qualities' of *rūpa* in the *rūpa-dharma*, they certainly knew some of them. They recognized, for instance, the four *lakṣaṇas*, which were proclaimed in the sūtras as being universal characteristics of not only the *rūpa* but of all phenomenal elements. These were not enumerated as separate dharmas in the traditional formula of the five *skandhas*. If a large number of new *caitasikas* could be added under the *samskāra skandha*, there was no reason why these four *lakṣaṇas* could not also be accommodated under that heading, particularly when these were specifically called '*samskṛta-lakṣaṇas*' by the sūtra. But these *lakṣaṇas* were not exclusively *caitasika*, and could not, therefore, be treated as purely mental factors, inasmuch as they covered even the *rūpa-skandha*. The origin of a novel category called the (*rūpa*)-*citta-viprayukta-samskāra* is perhaps to be traced to an attempt to include the *lakṣaṇas* and such other aspects or qualities in the traditional formula of the *pañca-skandha*.

Yāśomitra explains this term fully. These dharmas are disassociated from the *citta* but are more akin to it than to the *rūpa-skandha*. Hence they are included in the *nāma-skandha*. The term *viprayukta* is used for excluding the *caittas* which are *samprayukta*. The term *samskāra* is used to exclude the *asamskṛta* dharmas. Thus the *viprayukta* dharmas are distinct from the *rūpa*, *citta*, *caitta*, and *asamskṛta* dharmas.¹

The term *citta-vippayutta* is known to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. But there it refers only to the *rūpa-khandha* and *nibbāna*.² It is not recognized as a separate category as in the Vaiśhāṣika school. The *Kathāvatthu*, however, shows acquaintance with the latter meaning. It contains a controversy where the opponent holds that the *pariyuṭṭhānas* ('outbursts' of *anusayas*) are *citta-vippayutta-dhammas*.³ Buddhaghosa attributes this view to the Andhakas.⁴ In his commentary on another controversy on the *anusayas* he says that the Andhakas, Uttarāpathakas, Mahāsāṃghikas, and Sammitīyas hold that the *anusayas* are *citta-vippayutta*.⁵ According to Yāśomitra, the Vātsīputriyas also maintained the same view.⁶ The *jīvitindriya* was also, according to Buddhaghosa, considered as a *citta-vippayutta-dhamma* by Pubbaseliyas and Sammitīyas.⁷ The Yogācāra school of Asanga not only accepted this new category but added several dharmas of its own under that heading. Thus the

¹ *Citta-viprayuktā itī citta-grahanam citta-samāna-jātiya-pradarśanārtham. Cittaṃ iva cittaṃ ca viprayuktā ity arthah. Kim ca teṣāṃ cittaṃ samāna-jātiyatvam? Yā arūpino 'mī bhavanti. Rūpītād eva hi viprayuktatve 'pi rūpaṃ na viprayuktatve nāma labhate. Yā vā amiṣāṃ nāma-rūpaṃ itī nāmatvam tat teṣāṃ cittaṃ samāna-jātiyatvam. Caittā api cittaṃ tulya-jātiyāḥ. Te tu cittaṃ sahālabane samprayuktā tad viśeṣanārtham viprayukta-grahanam. Asamskṛtām api tat-samāna-jātiyam anālambanātveneti tat-parihārārtham samskāra-grahanam (Sakv., pp. 142-3).*

² *Sabbam ca rūpaṃ, asaṃskṛtā ca dhātu, ime dhammā citta-vippayuttā (Dhammasaṅgaṇi, 1192).*

³ *Pariyuṭṭhānam citta-vippayuttam ti kathā (Kathāvatthu, xiv, 6).*

⁴ *Kathāvatthu-atthakathā, xiv, 6.*

⁵ *ibid., xi, 1.*

⁶ *Vātsīputriya-nayena prāptir anusayaḥ (Sakv., p. 442). See my article 'The Sautrāntika theory of bija', BSOAS, xxii, 2, 1959.*

⁷ *Tattha yesaṃ jīvitindriyam nāma citta-vippayutto arūpa-dhammo . . . seyyathāpi Pubbaseliyānañceva Sammitiyanāñceva (Kathāvatthu-atthakathā, viii, 10).*

category of the *citta-viprayukta-saṃskāra* was not necessarily a Vaibhāṣika invention; it was known as early as the time of the *Māhāvasthu* and was accepted by several major and minor schools.

There is no unanimity among different schools regarding the number of *saṃskāras* that were enumerated under this category. The lists of only two schools, viz. the Vaibhāṣika and the Yogācāra, have come down to us. Of the former, two lists are known. The older one is given in the *Abhidharmāmṛta*¹ of Ghosaka, and the later one is given in the *Bhāṣya* and the *Vṛtti*. The Yogācāra list is found in the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*² of Asaṅga.

Ghosaka enumerates the following 17 *saṃskāras*: (1) *prāptiḥ*, (2) *asaṃjñi-samāpattiḥ*, (3) *nirodha-samāpattiḥ*, (4) *asaṃjñi-āyatana*, (5) *jīvitendriyam*, (6) *nikāya-sabhāgatā*, (7) *sthāna-prāptiḥ*, (8) *vastu-prāptiḥ*, (9) *āyatana-prāptiḥ*, (10) *jātiḥ*, (11) *jarā*, (12) *sthitiḥ*, (13) *anityatā*, (14) *nāma-kāyaḥ*, (15) *pada-kāyaḥ*, (16) *vyāñjana-kāyaḥ*, (17) *prthagjanatvam*.

Asaṅga in his *Asm.* drops Nos. 7, 8, and 9 of the above list and adds the following nine, bringing his total to 23: (1) *pravṛttiḥ*, (2) *pratiniyamah*, (3) *yogaḥ*, (4) *javaḥ*, (5) *anukramah*, (6) *kālah*, (7) *deśah*, (8) *saṃkhyā*, (9) *sāmagrī*.

The *Kośa* and the *Dīpa* closely follow the list of Ghosaka. They enumerate only 13 dropping Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, and 17 from his list, and adding one more item called *aprāpti*. The last nine *saṃskāras* of the Yogācāra list are omitted by them. Of these three, Ghosaka's list is undoubtedly the oldest as he represents the period of the *Mahā-vibhāṣā*. The Yogācārins seem to have modified his list by including Nos. 7, 8, and 9 in No. 1 = (*prāpti*). The neo-Vaibhāṣikas like the *Kośakāra* modified it still further by including No. 2 in No. 4. They replaced the *prthagjanatva* (No. 17) by their new dharma, viz. *aprāpti*, since the former is only an *alābha* (non-obtainment) of *ārya-mārga*.

At least five items of these lists, viz. the four *lakṣaṇas* and the *jīvitendriya*, have corresponding dharmas in the *upādāya-rūpa* of the Theravāda. But the Theravādins enumerated the *lakṣaṇas* as 'qualities' devoid of *saṃskṛta-lakṣaṇas*³ like the Vaiśeṣika *gunas* which are *agunavatt*. The Vaibhāṣikas enumerated them as '*dravya*', i.e. having intrinsic nature, abiding in the three times and causing the origination, subsistence, decay, and extinction of all phenomenal existence. A logical conclusion of such a step was to postulate *upa-lakṣaṇas* (secondary characteristics) like *jāti-jāti*, *sthiti-sthiti*, etc., to these *lakṣaṇas*⁴; this was ridiculed by the Sautrāntikas as absurd and involving the fallacy of an infinite regress.

The same rule is applied in the case of the first two *saṃskāras*, viz. the *prāpti* and *aprāpti*. The former is a *saṃskāra* (force) which controls the

¹ Visvabharati Studies (Santiniketan), 17, 1953, p. 130.

² Visvabharati Studies (Santiniketan), 12, 1950, p. 10. Henceforth referred to as *Asm.*

³ *Samkhata-lakkhanānīti samkhatam etanti sañjānana-kāraṇāni nīmiṭṭhāni . . . uppādādayo samkhata-lakkhaṇā nāma . . . lakkhanam na samkhatam samkhatam na lakkhanam . . . (Anguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakachā, II, p. 252). See Aṭṭhasālinī, IV, 113-19.*

⁴ *Jāti-jāty-ādayas leṣām te 'sta-dravyaika-vṛttayah' (Abhidharma-kośa, II, 47.)*

collection or obtainment of certain dharmas in a given *santāna* (stream of life), as for instance, in the case of an *arhat* there is a *prāpti* of *asaikṣa* dharmas. The *aprāpti* is a 'force' which prevents this *prāpti*, as for instance in the case of a *prthagjana*, there is a non-collection of the *ārya-dharmas*. As in the case of the *lakṣaṇas* the *Vaiśeṣika* here postulates such additional dharmas as *prāpti-prāpti* and *aprāpti-aprāpti* for explaining the obtainment of the *prāpti* and the prevention of *aprāpti*, respectively, again exposing his theory to the fallacy of regress.

One can detect an influence of the *Vaiśeṣika* in this *dravya-vāda* of the *Vaiśeṣika*. This influence is unmistakably seen in a few other *samśkāras* of this list. The *Vaiśeṣika* category of *sāmānya* (generality), for instance, is unknown to the Pali canon. The Buddhists being pluralists, non-substantialists, and *vibhajya-vādins* always tended to oppose the reality of *sāmānya*, as the latter was a stepping-stone towards a unity, a substance, or even to the theory of *brahman* of the *Advaita* school. Their formulas of the *skandha*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*, etc., were primarily aimed at removing false notions of unity (*ekatva-grāha*).¹ In the later works on Buddhist logic the *sāmānya* is unanimously described as a mere conceptual construction (*vikalpa*) imposed on the discrete, unique, and momentary dharmas, and hence unreal.² But this *sāmānya* creeps up, in the *Vaiśeṣika* category of the *viprayukta*, under the guise of *sabhāgatā*. Like the *parā-sattā* and the *aparā-sattā* of the *Vaiśeṣika*, the *Vaiśeṣika* *sabhāgatā* is also divided into *sattva-sabhāgatā* (which is common to all beings—*abhinnā*) and *dharma-sabhāgatā* (which is found in smaller groups like men, women, laymen, monks, etc.).³

The *Sautrāntika* *Kośakāra* rightly observes that in recognizing the *sabhāgatā* as a *dravya*, distinct from the *skandha*, *āyatana*, or *dhātu* (which constitute a *sattva* or a *dharma*), the *Vaiśeṣika* has only supported the *Vaiśeṣika* category of *sāmānya*. The *Vaiśeṣika* seeks to support his *sabhāgatā* by a sūtra passage where the word *nikāya-sabhāga* is mentioned, and asks for an explanation of the notion of generality. The *Sautrāntika* points out that the sūtra does not warrant any recognition of the *sabhāgatā* as a distinct *dravya*. The generality is only a notion (*prajñapti*) and not a real *dharma*.⁴ 'And if all notions were to be treated as real', continues the *Kośakāra*, 'why not assume distinct dharmas for the notions of number, magnitude, distinctness, conjunction, disjunction, remoteness, nearness, etc., which are treated as realities by the heretic schools?'⁵ Indeed, the last nine *viprayukta-samśkāras*

¹ *Buddhy-aiśvādyā-dhī-hānyai dhātūṃś cāśtādasoktavān*/(*Dīpa*, kā. 6).

² See S. Mookerji's *Buddhist philosophy of universal flux*, ch. vi.

³ *Sabhāgatā nāma dravyam. Sattvānām ekārtha-ruciḥ-sādrśya-heṭubhūtam. Nikāya-sabhāga ity asya śāstra-saṃjñā. Sā punar abhinnā bhinnā ca. Abhinnā sarva-sattvānām sattva-sabhāgatā. Bhinnā punas teṣām eva sattvānām . . . bheda-pratītiyama-heṭuh* (*Vṛtti* on kā. 134).

⁴ *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ii, kā. 41.

⁵ *ibid.*, ii, kā. 46. *Yadi jātam-ity-evam-ādi-buddhi-siddhy-artham . . . jātā-ādayah kalpyante . . . ekam . . . dve . . . mahad anu prthag saṃyuktam vibhaktam param aparam sad-rūpam itī . . . ādi-buddhi-siddhy-artham saṃkhyādayo 'pi Vaiśeṣika-parikalpitā abhyupagantavyāḥ . . .* (*Saṅg.* p. 180).

of the Yogācāra list seem to represent these notions treated as reals in the Vaiśeṣika school. Of these nine, the following six, viz. the *pravṛtti*, *java*, *kāla*, *deśa*, *saṃkhyā*, and *sāmagrī* correspond respectively to the *pravṛtti* (a kind of *prayatna*), *vega* (a kind of *saṃskāra*), *kāla* (a *dravya*), *dik* (a *dravya*), *saṃkhyā* (a *guṇa*), and *saṃyoga* (a *guṇa*).¹ The *anukrama*² can be taken to correspond to the *paratva* and *aparatva*, two *guṇas* of the Vaiśeṣika. Only two, viz. the *pratiniyama* (manifoldness) and *yoga*³ (conformity of *hetu* and *phala*) have no corresponding reals in the Vaiśeṣika list.

The acceptance of these Vaiśeṣika reals exclusively by the Yogācāras did not, however, make them realists like the Vaibhāṣika. Unlike the latter, they treated all *viprayukta-saṃskāras* as mere notions (*prajñapti*). And in the case of the last nine *saṃskāras*, which directly correspond to the Vaiśeṣika *padārthas*, they interpreted them merely as different names of the *hetu-phala*.⁴

The Sautrāntikas also recognize these notions, but severely oppose the Vaibhāṣikas for accepting them as *dravya-dharmas* or reals. They point out that the so-called *viprayukta-saṃskāras* neither have own nature (*svabhāva*), nor are they preached in the sūtras. The second *kośasīhāna* of the *Bhāṣya*⁵ contains long and lively controversies between the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika on the validity of each and every item of the *viprayukta-saṃskāra*. The *Kośakāra* examines the scriptures quoted by the Vaibhāṣika, analyses their arguments, ridicules their dogmatic realism, and finally accuses them of supporting the heretical schools.

A counter-attack to this polemic of the *Kośakāra* is found in the *Vṛtti*. The *Dīpakāra* indirectly refers to the *Kośakāra* as an infant, ignorant of the *Abhidharma*, and boldly declares that he will prove the *svabhāvas* of these *saṃskāras*, and will also quote sūtras in his favour.⁶ Unfortunately, a large number of folios containing these lively controversies are lost. Discussions on

¹ *Hetu-phala-prabandhānupacchede pravṛtīr iti prajñaptiḥ. Hetu-phala-āśu-pravṛtttau java iti prajñaptiḥ. Hetu-phala-prabandha-pravṛtttau kāla iti prajñaptiḥ. Datasu dīkṣu hetu-phala eva deśa iti prajñaptiḥ. Saṃskārānām pratyekaśo tñede saṃkhyeti prajñaptiḥ. Hetu-phala-pratyaya-samavadhāne sāmagrīḥ prajñaptiḥ (Asm., p. 10). cf. Prayātñah samrambha utsāha iti paryāyāḥ. Vega. . . . niyata-dik-kriyā-prabandhaheṭuh. Kālah parāpara-īyatikara-yaugapadyā-yaugapadya-cira-ksipra-pratyayaṅgam. Dik pūrvāparādīpratyaya-āṅgā. Ekādi-vyavahāra-heṭuh saṃkhyā. Saṃyogaḥ samyukta-pratyaya-nimittan (Prāśastapāde-bhāṣya on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras).*

² *Hetu-phalaikatye pravṛtttau anumāna iti prajñaptiḥ (Asm., p. 10). cf. paratvam aparatvam ca parāparābhīdāna-pratyaya-nimittan (Prāśastapāde-bhāṣya).*

³ *Hetu-phala-nānūte pratiniyama iti prajñaptiḥ. Hetu-phalānūterūpye yoga iti prajñaptiḥ (Asm., p. 10).*

⁴ *ibid.* Also see the refutation of the Vaibhāṣika theory of the *viprayuktas* in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*; v. *La Siddhi de Huan Tsang* (tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin), I, 53-72.

⁵ *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, II, kā. 35-48.

⁶ *Ke punas te viprayuktāḥ saṃskārāḥ ? . . . Nahi vāyam eteṣāṃ svabhāvam upalabhāmahe nāpi kṛtyam. Na caite dharmā loke prasiddhā nāpi Euddha-vacane . . . Tad atropavāhriyate . . . Yat tāvat svabhāva-kriyābhāvad iti. Tad atrobhāyam abhidhāsiyate. Yā api Buddha-vacane na pāthyanta iti. Tatāpy āpta-vacanāṃ sāvajñam vyāhriyate. . . . Ye khalu sarvajña-viṣayā dharmāḥ buddhi-vṛttī-viṣayam āyānty ārya-Maitreya-sāhāvira-vasumitrācārya-Aśvaghoṣa-pramukhānām . . . tejoḥpānāṃ stānandhaya-buddhīnām abhidharma-parokṣa-mati-vṛttinām ca katham sādhanakāreṣu manassu gocarātām āyānti (Vṛtti on kā. 128).*

prāpti and *aprāpti* are entirely lost. The controversies on the *nirodha-samāpatti* are severely interrupted, since only a *prima facie* argument has survived which contains a view of the Kośakāra condemned as 'unbuddhistic' by the *Vṛtti*.¹ The treatment of *sabhāgatā* and *āsaṃjñika* is almost identical with the Vaibhāṣika explanations of these *samskāras* in the *Bhāṣya*. The *Vṛtti* here borrows several passages from the latter. The *Dīpakāra* does not advance any new arguments but contents himself with a remark that the Kośakāra in comparing the *sabhāgatā* with the Vaiśeṣika *sāmānya* has only made a futile attempt to see a similarity of the kind which we find obtaining between *pāyasa* (milk-porridge) and *vāyasa* (a crow).² The only important discussions available to us, therefore, are on the *jīvitendriya*, the four *lakṣanas*, and the last three *samskāras* called *nāma-kāya*, *pada-kāya*, and *vyañjana-kāya*.³ Even in the case of these topics the Vaibhāṣika arguments of the *Dīpakāra* are not different from those given in the *Bhāṣya*, which are well known through Poussin's *L'Abhidharma-kośa* and Stecherbatsky's *The central conception of Buddhism*. We shall, therefore, concentrate here only on certain aspects of these controversies which are found only in the *Vṛtti*.

JĪVITENDRIYA

Although the term *jīvita* is known to the Pali suttas, the technical term *jīvitindriya* is mostly found in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. In the suttas the term *āyu* is more commonly used in the sense of a principle signifying life-duration. The *Mahāvedalla-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* contains a conversation between Mahākotṭhita and Sāriputta on the mutual relation of the mind and mental concomitants. In this connexion a question is asked on the basis of stability of the five *indriyas*. Sāriputta replies that their stability is on account of *āyu*. The latter, he says, depends on *usmā* (*ūsmā*-heat generated by *karma*). Since *usmā* is also a part of the body, the *āyu* and *usmā* are interdependent like the flame and the light of a lamp. The light is seen by the help of flame, the flame is seen on account of the light.⁴ As yet there is no indication here to show the place of *āyu* in the traditional formula of the five *khandhas*. Perhaps to elucidate this point a further question is raised whether the *āyusamkhāras* (constituents of life) are identical with feelings (i.e. *vedanā*). Sāriputta says that they are not identical, for, if they were, a person undergoing the trance called *saññā-vedayita-nirodha* will not rise again from that

¹ *Atra punaḥ Kośakārah pratijānūte sacittikeyaṃ samāpattir itī. Tad etad abauddhīyam (Vṛtti on kā. 136).*

² *Siddhā sabhāgatā. Kośakārah punaḥ tām Vaiśeṣika-parikalpita-jāti-padārthena samīkurvan vyaktaṃ pāyasa-vāyasayor varṇasādharmyaṃ paśyatīti (Vṛtti on kā. 134).*

³ These three *samskāras* have been separately dealt with in my article 'The Vaibhāṣika theory of words and meanings', *BSOAS*, XXII, 1, 1959.

⁴ *Imāni kho āvuso pañcendriyāni āyur pañicca tiṭṭhantīti. . . . Āyu usmaṃ pañicca tiṭṭhantīti. . . . Seyyathāpi . . . acciṃ pañicca ābhā paññāyati, ābhāṃ pañicca acci paññāyati . . . (Majjhima-nikāya, I, p. 295).*

trance.¹ It may be recalled here that according to the Theravādins, the four *nāma-skandhas* always rise and disappear in one time. The *nirodha* (cessation) of *vedanā* and *saññā* would, therefore, automatically mean *nirodha* of all the four. Consequently, if *āyu* is identical with any of them, it will also cease to be, resulting in the death of the yogin. Sāriputta further explains that when a person dies, three things abandon him, viz. the *āyu*, the *usmā*, and the mind (*viññāṇa*). In the case of a person who has undergone the above *samādhi* the *āyu* and *usmā* still exist.² It appears from this passage that the sutta recognizes *āyu* as a factor which stabilizes the five *indriyas*, but does not include it in any of the *nāma-khandhas*. Its inclusion in the latter group would also go against the recognition of an existence called *asañña-bhava* which consists of only the *rūpa-khandha*. Nor could it be included in the *rūpa-khandha*, for in the *arūpa-loka*, in the absence of any *rūpa*, its operation will be impossible. Various speculations regarding its inclusion in the formula of the five *skandhas* can be traced to the above sutta and to the problems that arise on account of recognizing these two existences, one wholly material and another wholly mental.

The Theravādins solved this problem by postulating two *jīvitendriyas* (i.e. *āyu*), one physical (*rūpa*) and another mental (*arūpa*). Their Abhidhamma includes the former in the *upādāya-rūpas*, and the latter in the *samkhāra-khandha*.³ The beings of the *asañña-bhava* and the *arūpa-bhava* live their life-span on account of these two dharmas, respectively. The beings of other existences possess both kinds of the *jīvitendriya*.

The Theravādin enumeration of *āyu* in the *rūpa-kharāḥ* looks rather far-fetched. The sutta quoted above specifically raises the whole problem with reference to five *indriyas*, i.e. the five senses, and not matter in general. Death there spoken of refers not to a corpse but to a personality, i.e. a being led by his *karma* in different destinies (*gati*) or existences (*nikāya-sabhāga*) such as *naraka* (hell), *tiryāṇcha* (animal), *preta* (spirit), *manuṣṣa* (human), and *deva* (god). The *āyuk* thus was directly related to *karma* or *ceṭanā* and not the *rūpa-skandha*. This seems to be the main reason for a criticism of the *rūpa-jīvitendriya* by Pubbaseliyas and Sammitiyas recorded in the *Kathāvatthu*.⁴ They held that the *jīvitendriya* was essentially an *arūpa-dharma*. But these schools, as well as the Vaibhāsikas, were equally committed to the theories

¹ *Te ca kho āyu-samkhārā abhavimsu te vedaniyā dhammā, na-y-idam saññā-vedayita-nirodham samāpannassa bhikkhuno vuttānaṃ paññāyetha* (ibid.).

² *Yadā kho paṇḍuso imam kāyam tayo dhammā jahaṇti : āyu usmā ca viññānaṃ, añhāyam kāyo ujjhito seti yaṃhā katthaṃ acetanaṃ ti . . . yodāyam . . . mato . . . so cāyam . . . saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpanno, imesaṃ kim nānākaraṇaṃ ti ? Yodāyam mato . . . tassa . . . āyu parikkhīno, usmā vūpasantā . . . yodāyam . . . samāpanno tassa . . . āru aparikkhīno, usmā avūpasantā . . .* (ibid.).

³ *Katamam tam rūpam jīvitindriyam ? Yo tesam rūpīnam dhammānam āyu phutī . . . jīvitam . . .* (Dhammasaṅgani, 635). *Yo tesam arūpīnaṃ dhammānam āyu . . . jīvitam* (ibid., 19).

⁴ *Tattha yesam jīvitindriyaṃ nāma citta-vipparitṭo arūpa-dhammo, tesaṃ rūpa-jīvitindriyaṃ natthīti laddhī, seyyathāpi Pubbaseliyānaṃceva Sammitiyanāṃ ca* (*Kathāvatthu-attakathā*, viii, 10).

of the *asaṃjñā* and *arūpa-bhavas*, and hence could not include the *jīvitendriya* in the *nāma-skandha*. They, therefore, included it in their *viprayukta* category, distinct from both the *citta* and *rūpa*.

This conjecture is supported by the Vaibhāṣika description of this dharma. The *Vṛtti*¹ defines it as a (cause of) subsistence (*sthiti*) of the vital fire (*ūsmā*) and mind (*viññāna*). It is a basis for notions of different existences like human, animal, divine, etc., on account of its nature of being a result of the past *karma*. The Abhidharma describes it as a force of life-duration in all the three existences (viz. the *kāma*, *rūpa*, and *arūpa* worlds). The *Vṛtti*, in conformity with this Abhidharma, says that there is no faculty other than the *jīvita*, which is born of *karma*, covers all the three worlds, exists uninterrupted from the moment of birth, and thus becomes a basis for the notions of a particular destiny. The *Vṛtti* further quotes a scripture: 'when the *āyuh*, the *ūsmā*, and *viññāna* abandon this body, then (a person) lies discarded like a piece of wood devoid of consciousness'.²

But if the *āyuh* were to be always associated with the *ūsmā* (matter) and *viññāna* (mind), then it would not operate in the *arūpa-bhava* and in the *asaṃjñā-bhava* respectively. Therefore, the *Vṛtti* says that the *āyuh* in the *kāma-dhātu* is always accompanied by the sense of touch, the *ūsmā*, and *viññāna*. It is not essential to have all the five senses for its operation. In the *rūpa-dhātu*, which includes the *asaṃjñā-bhava*, the *āyuh* is always accompanied by the five senses, but not necessarily by mind. In the *arūpa-dhātu* it is accompanied only by *viññāna*, with the exception of the *nirodha-samāpatti* (where even *viññāna* is brought to a cessation).³

The Sautrāntika objection to this theory (as contained in the *Bhāṣya*)⁴ is that if a separate dharma like *āyuh* is necessary to sustain the *ūsmā* and *viññāna*, then the *āyuh* itself will need to be sustained by another *āyuh*. The Vaibhāṣika, in conformity with the above sutta, says that the *āyuh*, *ūsmā*, and *viññāna* are interdependent. This gives rise to another problem as to which of these precedes the other two. The Vaibhāṣika, therefore, says that *karma* produces and sustains the *āyuh*. The Sautrāntika rightly argues that the *karma* alone should be efficient to sustain both the *ūsmā* and *viññāna*. There is no need to postulate a life-sustainer like *āyuh*. Moreover, the *āyuh* is a mere notion. Just as the destiny of an arrow and the time it will take to reach its destination are determined at the moment of its shooting, similarly

¹ *Vṛtti* on kā. 138.

² *Na cānyad indriyaṃ vipākajam traidhātuka-vyāpy asti yaj janma-prabandhavicchedena vartamānaṃ gati-prajñāpti-upādānam syāt, anyatra jīvitendriyāt. . . Āgamas tāvad ayaṃ.*

³ *Āyur ūsmā 'tha viññānaṃ yadā kāyaṃ jahaty amī/ apaviddhas tadā śete yathā kāṣṭhaṃ acetanaṃ//* (ibid.)

⁴ *Sarvaṃ hi jīvitendriyaṃ kāma-dhātū avastyaṃ kāyendriyoṣṭha-sahacarissu. Tatto avastyaṃ viññāna-sahavartī nāpi cakṣurādīndriya-sahavartī. Rūpa-dhātav tu sarvaṃ kāyādi-pañcendriya-sahavartī. Na tv avastyaṃ citta-sahacarissu. Ārūpya-dhātav tu sarvaṃ viññāna-sahavartī, anyatra nirodha-samāpattēh* (ibid.).

⁵ *L'Abhidharma-kosa*, ch. ii, kā. 45; *Saku.*, p. 167.

the *karmas* of an individual, at the moment of a rebirth, fix the destiny (*nikāya-sabhāga*) and the duration of the *santāna* of the five *skandhas*. Therefore, concludes the Sautrāntika, the *āyuh* postulated by the Vaibhāṣikas is merely a notion and not a dharma separate from the *santati*.

The Dīpakāra does not take note of these arguments but asserts his position by saying that the *jīvitendriya*, being a basis of the notion of a destiny, is a *dravya*, a real dharma.¹ Otherwise, he says, what could prevent the death of a person who undergoes the *nirodha-samāpatti* or the *asamjñi-samāpatti*? Both are devoid of consciousness and hence require some real dharma which will be instrumental in the life-duration of these two states. That dharma is the *jīvitendriya*. These Vaibhāṣika arguments are, however, unconvincing to the Sautrāntika Kośakāra, for whom both *samāpattis* are conscious (*sacittika*), and which, therefore, do not require a separate dharma for sustaining the life-stream during those states.²

Whether the *āyuh* was accepted as a *dravya* or as a mere *prajñapti-dharma*, both the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas (together with the Theravādins) agreed that it was a *vipāka*, i.e. a result of some past *karma*. Being a *vipāka*, and being co-nascent with birth and coterminus with death, it functioned automatically, independent of any new *karma*. If a life-span (*āyuh*) was fixed it could neither be prolonged at will, nor could it be replaced by a new life-span to sustain the same *santati*. This unanimously accepted theory of *āyuh*, however, went against an equally well founded belief in the Buddha's power of prolonging his life-span for an indefinite period.

Various controversies relating to this belief and its bearing on the theory of *karma* are preserved in the Pali commentaries, the *Bhāṣya*, and the *Vṛtti*. The Kośakāra deals in detail with this problem and advances certain unorthodox solutions to this riddle. The Dīpakāra examines his arguments, declares them to be invalid, and accuses the Kośakāra of entering the portals of Mahāyāna Buddhism.³

SAMSKṚTA-LAKṢAṆAS

The next four *viprayukta-samskāras* viz. *jāti* (origination), *sthiti* (subsistence), *jarā* (decay), and *anityatā* (extinction), are called *samskrta-lakṣaṇas* or phenomenalizing characteristics of all phenomena. According to the Vaibhāṣikas, these four simultaneously exercise their power on all phenomena causing the origination, etc., of the latter. They further maintain that these four *lakṣaṇas* are as real as the dharmas which they characterize. Consequently, they are also characterized by secondary characteristics (*upa-lakṣaṇas*) like *jāti-jāti*, etc. They seek to prove the reality of these four *lakṣaṇas* by the

¹ *Jīvitendriyam gati-prajñapti-upādānam astīti dravyam . . .* (Vṛtti on kā. 138).

² See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. ii, kā. 44.

³ See my article 'Buddha's prolongation of life', *BSOAS*, xxi, 2, 1958.

support of a sūtra which says 'of the *samskṛta* there is known the origin (*utpāda*), cessation (*vyaya*), and change of state (*sthityanyathātva*)'.¹

The Sautrāntika Kōśakāra examines these *lakṣaṇas* at great length. His main arguments against their acceptance as real dharmas, distinct from the phenomena, are: (1) they cannot simultaneously work upon a momentary (*kṣaṇika*) dharma; (2) the theory of *upa-lakṣaṇas* results in the fallacy of regress; (3) the term *samskṛta* in the sūtra quoted by the Vaibhāṣikas does not refer to a momentary dharma but to a series of them (*pravāha*). 'The series or stream itself is called subsistence (*sthiti*), its origin is called *jāti*, its cessation is *vyaya*, and the difference in its preceding and succeeding moments is called *sthityanyathātva*.'² Therefore, concludes the Sautrāntika, the words like *jāti*, etc., have no corresponding realities: they are only names, like the word *pravāha* (series). The *samskṛta* is defined by the Lord in a different sūtra: 'Phenomenon is that which becomes having not been before, having once become it does not become again, and it is the series of which it forms a part which is called subsistence and which changes its state'.³

The Dipakāra does not attempt a reply to these criticisms of the Kōśakāra. He briefly deals with this topic concentrating only on two points, viz. the reality of *jarā* (decay) and *vināśa* (extinction).

The sūtra quoted by the Vaibhāṣikas speaks of only three *lakṣaṇas*, viz. *utpāda*, *vyaya*, and *sthityanyathātva*. In their Abhidharma, however, four are enumerated: *jāti*, *sthiti*, *jarā*, and *anityatā*.⁴ Of these the first and last are identical with *utpāda* and *vyaya*. The sūtra term *sthityanyathātva* is differently explained in different schools. The Theravādins interpret it as *jarā*.⁵ They do not recognize the *sthiti* as a separate *lakṣaṇa*. Although it is represented in their *upādāya-rūpas* as (*rūpassa*)*santati*, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the *Visuddhimagga* treat the latter term as a synonym of *jāti* (i.e. *upacaya*).⁶

The Vaibhāṣikas recognize both *sthiti* and *jarā*. They, therefore, interpret the term *sthityanyathātva* differently. The *Bhāṣya* gives two views.⁷ Some *ācāryas* hold that the term *sthityanyathātva* means *jarā* only and not *sthiti*. The sūtra is only explanatory, and hence speaks only of *jāti*, *jarā*, and *nāśa*, whereas the Abhidharma is definitive and hence speaks of four. The sūtra does not refer to *sthiti*, because the Lord wanted to cause distress about the

¹ *Trinimāni bhikṣavaḥ samskṛtasya samskṛta-lakṣaṇāni. Katamāni trīni? Samskṛtasya . . . utpādo 'pi prajñāyate, vyayo . . . , sthity-anyathātvaṃ apīti* (Sakv., p. 171). cf. *Trinimāni . . . samkhatassa samkhatā-lakṣaṇāni . . . uppādo paññāyati, vayo paññāyati, phitassa aññathattam paññāyati . . .* (Ang.-nikāya, I, p. 152).

² *Jātir ādīḥ pravāhasya vyayac chedah sthitis tu sah/ sthity-anyathātvaṃ tasyaiva pūrvāpara-viśiṣṭatā//* (Sakv., p. 175.)

³ *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, ch. ii, kā. 47.

⁴ *Etāni khalu catvāri samskṛta-lakṣaṇāni bhagavatā 'bhidharme 'bhīṣitāni. Etāny eva vinēya-prayojanavastī eūtre sthity-anyathātvaṃ ekīkṛtya trīny uktāni* (Vṛtti on kā. 139).

⁵ *Uppādo ti jāti, vayo ti bhedo, phitassa aññathattam nāma jarā . . .* (Ang.-nikāya-affhakathā, II, p. 152).

⁶ *Ācāya-lakkhaṇo rūpassa upacayo, . . . pavatti-lakkhaṇā rūpassa santati . . . ubhayampetaṃ jāti-rūpassavādhivocanam . . .* (Visuddhimagga, xiv, 86). See *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, 643.

⁷ Sakv., p. 176.

phenomena in the minds of his disciples. Moreover, *sthiti* (albeit not as a *samskāra*) is found even in the *asamskṛta* dharmas which are held to be eternal. In order to dispel any confusion between the *samskṛta* and *asamskṛta*, the sūtra speaks of only three. Other *ācāryas*, however, maintain that the term *sthityanyathātva* includes both *sthiti* and *jarā*. These two dharmas are like the goddesses of good luck and bad luck. The Lord combined *jarā* with *sthiti* in order to cause detachment from the phenomenal world.¹

This second view alone is given by the Dīpakāra. He maintains that if a dharma were to be devoid of *sthiti* (subsistence), then it would be incapable of yielding any fruit, i.e. performing any action.² Consequently, it would not be a real dharma. But mere *sthiti* without *jarā* will also not be desirable. For in that case the dharma will go on performing more than one action and will never cease to be. Therefore, it is to be inferred that there is a force like *jarā* (decay) which reduces its strength (*śakti-hāni*) and hands it over to the last force, viz. *anityatā*, which brings an extinction of the dharma.

The Sautrāntika takes strong exception to this Vaibhāṣika theory of *śakti-hāni*. He points out that the change of a subsisting dharma into a decaying dharma corresponds to the *parināma-vāda* of the Sāṃkhya,³ where also a substance (*dharmin* or *dravya*) changes its aspects or qualities (*dharma*) without losing its identity.

The reply of the Dīpakāra to this criticism is brief. He says that according to the Sāṃkhya, when that which is characterized (*dharmin*, i.e. a substance), while remaining permanent, gives up one characteristic (or aspect = *dharma*) and assumes another, both these characteristics being identical (*svātmabhūta*) with the characterized, this is *parināma*. According to the Vaibhāṣika, however, a characterized (*dharmin*, i.e. a *dravya*) is different from the characteristic (*dharma*), (in this case) *jarā*.⁴

Although brief, this statement of the Dīpakāra is significant. His definition of the Sāṃkhya *parināma* corresponds to the one given by Vyāsa in his *Yoga-sūtra-bhāṣya*. Commenting on a sūtra⁵ dealing with three kinds of mutations (*parināma*), viz. *dharma* (of external aspects), *lakṣaṇa* (of time-variation), and *avasthā* (of intensity), Vyāsa defines a *parināma* in the following words: 'What is a mutation? It is the rise of another external-aspect (*dharma*) in an abiding substance after an earlier external-aspect has come to an end'.⁶

It may be noted that these two definitions of the Sāṃkhya *parināma* are

¹ *ibid.*

² *Yadi hi dharmasya sthitir na syāt, tasyātmanya avasthitasya letavākyah śakti-prabhāva-vibhago na syāt . . . (Vṛtti on kā. 130).*

³ *Naitad yuktam uktam parināma-doṣa-prasaṅgāt . . . bhavati Sāṃkhyiṇaḥ parināma-bhūyagato bhavati (ibid.).*

⁴ *Anyā eva hi no jarākhyo dharmo, anyas ca dharmi. Sāṃkhyasya te avasthitasya dharminal-śvātmabhūtasya dharmāntarasyotsargah svātmabhūtasya cotpādah parināma iti (Vṛtti on kā. 140)*

⁵ *Etena bhūendriyesu dharmā-lakṣaṇa-avasthā-parināmā vyākhyātāḥ (Yoga-sūtra, iii, 13).*

⁶ *Atha ko 'yam parināmo 'vasthitasya dravyasya pūrva-dharma-śvarttau dharmāntarotpattib- parināma iti (Yoga-sūtra-bhāṣya, iii, 13).*

almost identical, with the significant exception of the term *svātmabhūta* found only in the *Vṛtti*. The *Dīpakāra* uses this term to show that in the *Sāṃkhya* theory the *dharma*s and the *dharmin* are identical. This idea is also clearly enunciated by Vyāsa. After declaring that the three-fold mutation is in reality one mutation, Vyāsa says 'the external aspect (*dharma*, etc.) is nothing more than the substance itself'.¹

Commenting on this, Vācaspati Miśra says that the three-fold mutation is based on the distinction between the substance and the external-aspects (*dharma*), etc. But as referring to the lack of distinction between them it is said that in the strict sense the external-aspects (*dharma*, etc.) are nothing more than the substance (*dharmin*) itself.² From this it is evident that the *Sāṃkhya* recognizes the identity as well as difference between the *dharma* and *dharmin*. Vyāsa further examines an objection of an opponent who, like the *Dīpakāra*, alleges absolute identity between the *dharma* and *dharmin*. Vācaspati Miśra refers to this opponent as a Buddhist.³ The latter have always maintained that the *satkāryavāda* results in the identity of cause and effect and consequently in the denial of any action or change.⁴ The *Dīpakāra* here represents this Buddhist thought.

The parallel development of almost identical speculations regarding the nature of a substance and its change in the *Sāṃkhya*-Yoga and the *Vaibhāṣika* schools has already been noted by many scholars, notably Stecherbatsky⁵ and Poussin.⁶ The *Sāṃkhya* admits one everlasting reality (*prakṛti-dravya*) along with its momentary manifestations. The *Vaibhāṣika* admits the reality of several distinct elements (*dravya*) potentially existing in the past as well as the future, but becoming manifest only in their efficiency moments, i.e. the present. The four traditional *Vaibhāṣika* explanations of the relation between a substance and its manifestations given by Dharmatrāta, Ghosaka, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva have all been incorporated and harmonized by Vyāsa in his *Yoga-bhāṣya*.⁷ The reality of the past and future is also proved in almost identical words in both the schools. Both admit that the mutations are not occasional, but perpetual. But whereas the *Sāṃkhya* holds it as the very nature of the substance to undergo these mutations,⁸ the *Vaibhāṣikas* hold

¹ *Paramārthatas tv eka eva parināmo dharmi-svarūpa-mātro hi dharmah . . .* (ibid.).

² So 'yam evaṃvidho bhūtenāriya-parināmo dharmīno dharmā-lakṣaṇāvasthānām bhedam āśṛtyāha. 'Paramārthatas tv' iti tu sabdo bheda-pakṣād viśiṣaṣi pāramārthikatvam aya jñāpyate . . . (Tattva-vaiśārādī, in, 13). See *Pātañjala-sūtrāni*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, XLVI.

³ *Nanu dharminām dharmānām abhinnave dharmīno 'dhanām ca bhede dharmīno 'nanyatvena dharmanāpīha dharmivad bhavītyayam ity ata āha . . . ekānta-vādināṃ Bauddham utthāpayati* (ibid.).

⁴ See T. R. V. Murti, *The central philosophy of Buddhism*, 133-4, 168 ff.

⁵ *The central conception of Buddhism*, pp. 27, 47, notes, and 'The *dharma*s of the Buddhists and the *gunas* of the *Sāṃkhyas*', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, x, 1934, 737-60.

⁶ 'Documents d'Abhidharma (Sarvāstivāda)', *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, v, 1937, 1-158.

⁷ See *Yoga-sūtra-bhāṣya*, iii, 13 and 15.

⁸ *Guṇa-svabhāvayam tu pravṛtti-kāraṇam uktam guṇānām iti* (ibid.).

that there are external forces like the *saṃskṛta lakṣaṇas*, which bring about a mutation in the substance. The statement of the Dīpakāra that the Vaibhāṣika dharma (*jarā*) is distinct from the *dharmin* (i.e. a *saṃskṛta dharma*), and hence his position is different from the Sāṃkhya, confirms Stcherbatsky's observation that 'when accused of drifting into Sāṃkhya, the Sarvāstivādin justified themselves by pointing to these momentary forces, which saved the Buddhist principle of detached entities'.¹

The Dīpakāra's use of such terms as *dharmin* and *dharma* respectively for a (*saṃskṛta*) dharma and (*saṃskṛta*) *lakṣaṇa* is also equally significant. It confirms our earlier hypothesis that the category of the *viprayukta-saṃskāras* was designed to accommodate 'qualities' or *guṇas* that qualified the substance (*dravyas*), i.e. non-*viprayukta-dharmas*. Had they been treated only as 'qualities' and, therefore, as mere names given to different aspects of a real dharma, the Sautrāntikas would have admitted them as *prajñāpti-dharma*. The Vaibhāṣikas, however, did not stop only at enumerating different 'qualities', but proceeded to make them reals and ended in treating them as *dravyas* or substances.

The contention of the Dīpakāra that without a reduction of its strength (*śakti-hāni*) caused by *jarā*, a dharma will not be affected by *vināśa* (destruction) leads to another Vaibhāṣika theory that *vināśa* of a dharma is caused (*sahetuka*) and not inherent in it.

The Kōśakāra deals with this topic in detail while explaining the momentary nature of all phenomena.² The Sautrāntika maintains that destruction is not caused. It is an inherent nature of a phenomenon to perish the moment it flashes into existence. It does not depend on any external agency to bring about its destruction. For, if a dharma were not to perish immediately and spontaneously after its birth, it might never perish, even afterwards. The Vaibhāṣika contention that it perishes on account of becoming different (*anyathābhūta*) by the loss of its power (*śakti-hāni*) is wrong. For it is a contradiction to say that (a momentary thing) becomes different. A thing cannot be itself and yet appear different from itself. Therefore, destruction is uncaused. Moreover, *vināśa* is merely an absence (*abhāva*). An absence is not a reality, and being unreal it has no function to perform.

The Dīpakāra points out that this Sautrāntika position is not supported either by the scriptures or by reason: destruction of a thing is caused, because it depends on the origination of that thing. It conforms to the law that 'being this, that becomes'. If it were to operate without a cause, it will always exist, and consequently there will be no origination of any dharma.

Nor is destruction a mere non-existence. For the Vaibhāṣikas do not say that a substance is destroyed. It is only the efficiency (*kāritra*) of a substance that is destroyed by *vināśa*. 'What we call destruction', says the Dīpakāra,

¹ *The central conception of Buddhism*, 45.

² *L'Abhidharma-kōśa*, ch. ii, kṣ. 2-3. For full details and other Abhidharmika references on this controversy, see 'Documents d'Abhidharma (Sarvāstivāda)', op. cit., 148-58.

'is the non-arising of a (new) activity (in a substance) when its efficiency is confronted by an opposite condition.'¹ Therefore, *vināśa* does not mean merely a non-existence (of a substance). Moreover, existence and non-existence are contingent upon each other. Denial of one means denial of another. If destruction is to be treated as uncaused, origination too will have to be treated similarly. The reasons for holding the origination as caused also obtain in the case of destruction. Hence *vināśa* is *sahetuka*. After advancing these arguments the Dīpakāra quotes the scriptures that support the Vaibhāṣika view: The Lord has said 'one must strive hard to destroy bad states that have arisen'. 'Here a person becomes a killer of life.' 'There are three periodical dissolutions by which the world is destroyed.' Finally it is said 'depending on birth, there arise decay and death'.²

It may be noted that these arguments of the Dīpakāra are almost identical with the traditional orthodox Vaibhāṣika views of *ācārya* Saṃghabhadra.³ The central problem of this controversy rests, perhaps, on the meaning of a *kṣaṇa* and the simultaneous operation of these four incompatible *lakṣaṇas* on a *kṣaṇika* dharma. For the Sautrāntika, a *kṣaṇa* means a moment. For the Vaibhāṣika, however, it means that time which all the four functions, viz. origination, subsistence, decay, and destruction take for their accomplishment.⁴ Thus a *kṣaṇa* of the Vaibhāṣika corresponds to a *cittakkhaṇa* (mind-moment) of the Theravādins, which is really not a *kṣaṇa* but a unit of three moments.⁵ The Dīpakāra does not fully discuss this problem, but from his other arguments on the reality of the *lakṣaṇas*, we can infer that he also subscribed to the same Vaibhāṣika concept of *kṣaṇa*.

¹ *Kāritra-mātra-nāśāc ca. Viruddha-pratyaya-sānnidhye kriyā-mātram nodeti, natyati* (Vṛtti on kā. 141).

² '*Upannānām akusālānām dharmānām nirodhāya*', '*Thaikatīyah prānātipātiko bhavati*', '*Tisraḥ saṃvartanyo . . . yāvāc chubha-kṛtā vināśyante*', '*Jāti-pratyayaṃ jarā-maranam*' . . . (ibid.).

³ 'Documents d'Abhidharma (Sarvāstivāda)', op. cit., 149.

⁴ *Kṣaṇa-trayāvasthānāt kṣaṇikatvaṃ bādhyata iti. Eṣa eva hi nah kṣaṇa iti kārya-parisamāpti-lakṣaṇo na tūtpatya-anantara-vināśa-lakṣaṇa ity arithaḥ* (Sako., p. 178). See *The central conception of Buddhism*, p. 41, notes, and 'Documents d'Abhidharma (Sarvāstivāda)', op. cit., 135-58.

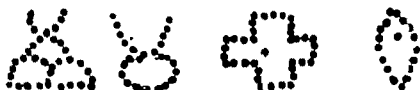
⁵ *Uppāda-ūthi-bhāṅgavasena khaṇa-ttayaṃ eka-citta-kkhaṇaṃ nāma* (Abhidhammatika-saṅgaho, iv, 8).

UPON THE CONTEXTUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CERTAIN GROUPS OF ANCIENT INDIAN SIGNS

By F. R. ALLCHIN

IT is more than 20 years since Durga Prasad published his 'Observations on different types of silver punch marked coins, their periods and locale'.¹ In this lengthy paper one section was devoted to demonstrating that certain signs can be regarded as Mauryan royal marks (pp. N 61-7). This conclusion and the many probabilities it raises have long been widely accepted in India, but in Europe acceptance has been more reserved. We are not here concerned with Prasad's main argument but with the section indicated above, our purpose being to restate that part of the evidence and consider its probable meaning. From some points of view Prasad's advocacy was imperfect, for in presenting his case he made certain assumptions which we are unable to accept, and thus weakened the force of his argument.

The starting place for the inquiry is the Rāmpurvā copper bolt at present in the India Museum, Calcutta. This was discovered in 1880 by Cunningham and H. B. Garrick. It was buried beside the fallen southerly pillar on which was engraved a set of Aśoka's pillar edicts. The pillar and its lion capital were subsequently fully excavated by Daya Ram Sahni.² The more northerly Rāmpurvā pillar is that associated with the famous bull capital. The bolt was examined by Cunningham who concluded that there could be no doubt of its being original and that it must have served to hold the lion capital in place upon its pillar.³ It is probable that other Aśokan pillars and capitals bear mortises for similar bolts. This one is described as barrel shaped, of pure copper, measuring 2 ft. 0½ in. in length, with a diameter of 4½ in. in the centre, and 3½ in. at each end. Cunningham makes no mention of any marks upon the bolt, but Durga Prasad published an impression of four marks. They are made of lines of impressed dots and include the hill-with-crescent, the taurine or *Nandipada*, and the open cross :



Here then these signs occur upon an object which must have been made by craftsmen working for Aśoka or one of his predecessors.

The second context is the base of one of the polished Chunār sandstone

¹ *JASB*, 3rd Ser., III, 1937, Num. Suppl., N 51-92.

² *ARASI*, 1907-8, 181 ff. The mortises of both pillars are clearly visible, pls. LXVI and LXVIIa.

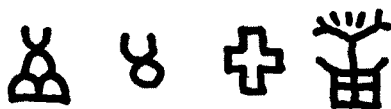
³ *ASR*, XVI, 1883, 112-13.

pillars excavated by Spooner at Kumrāhār.¹ The four quarters of the circumference are marked by arrows and in the centre are various marks, including three rows of three circles which Spooner thought to be masons' marks. Prasad, however, points out that there are several others which Spooner did not explain. In the very centre is the hill-with-crescent, above and to the right a *stambha* symbol, and to the left a taurine. Immediately above the taurine is an indistinct mark, perhaps a simple cross. Thus the base bears the following marks :



No satisfactory explanation of the unique pillared hall, whose traces were discovered by Spooner and which is so evocative of the work of the Achaemenids, has yet been offered, unless it is that it forms part of a royal palace of Pāṭaliputra, probably that described by Megasthenes. Here then, once again, we find these marks occurring in a context that is surely Mauryan, the products of royal masons.

The signs occur again in groups upon certain types of incuse die-struck and cast copper coins, found in Patna, Taxila, and many other ancient city sites, but as yet rarely published in their archaeological contexts. The following examples are derived from the British Museum *Catalogue of coins of ancient India*. Allan comments that they are very common and usually found with silver punch marked coins, both groups probably belonging to the same period.² However, we must note that their weights are very irregular and that they fall into many different types, some approximating more nearly to the inscribed copper 'tribal' coins. Thus it is almost certain that all the types do not belong to one period, and many may be later imitations or derivatives of the original types. The hill-with-crescent sign appears on 12 of Allan's 19 types; the open cross upon 10; and the taurine upon 7. On types G, H, J, and K the three appear together on the reverse with a fourth 'tree with railing' sign :



The obverse of these types includes the elephant and *stambha* in each case, together with two other signs. Other types, such as Allan's M, N, and O (fig. 2, nos. 6, 7), have single signs on obverse and reverse, the open-cross, hill-with-crescent, tree with railing, etc. The possibility that these coins may be of Mauryan origin is raised by Allan, but has not as yet been generally

¹ *ARASI*, 1912-13, pl. XLIX.

² J. Allan, loc. cit., 1936, lxxiv-lxxvii.

accepted. As archaeology is so far scarcely ready to supply any examples from well dated contexts we shall defer consideration of their age.¹

From the Bulandibāgh excavations at Patna, Manoranjan Ghosh recovered a group of nine shallow *thālī* bowls of grey earthenware; two bore in the centre a circular stamp impression of 2 cm. diameter, containing the hill-with-crescent, open cross, square, and lotus bud signs, a third bore the

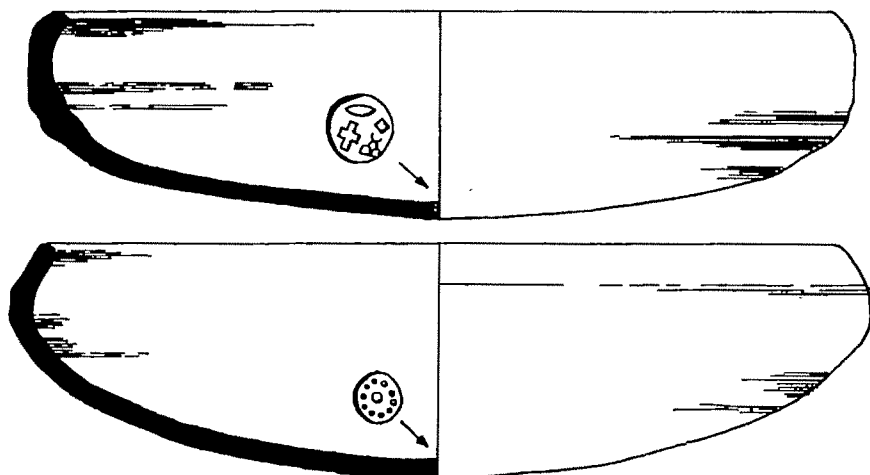


FIG. 1.—Stamped grey ware bowls from Bulandibāgh at present in Patna Museum (1:2).

hill-with-crescent alone, and another a small rosette. These bowls, whose forms have hitherto remained unpublished, are made of a fine alluvial clay with characteristic mica content.² The surface appears to have been treated with a slip in some cases, but in others it resembles that of a weathered NBP ware from which the black dressing has disappeared. The outer surface was probably turned and shaved before drying (fig. 1). The cluster of four signs is strikingly reminiscent of those of the Rāmpurvā bolt and of the cast copper coins. The little rosette stamp is as near to those of Early and Late Hellenistic pottery from Antioch-on-the-Orontes as to any published Indian examples,³ and appears again on Han grey wares in the Victoria and Albert Museum,

¹ Two coins were found at or near the base of the Aśokan column at Sārnāth (*ARASI*, 1927-8); others in the 'Mauryan level' at Bulandibāgh; at Hastināpur B. B. Lal reports similar coins throughout his period III, dated by the presence of NBE ware (*Ancient India*, 10-11, 1954-5, 102-3); at Taxila their chief occurrence was in Bhirmound I and II (Marshall, *Taxila*, 1951, 756-63); at Maheshwar related types are found in levels producing NBP (Sankalia, Subbarao, and Deo, *Excavations at Maheshwar*, 1958, 66-72; and at Ahicchatra, Rupar, and Ujjain they occur in equivalent levels (*Ancient India*, 2, 173, 138 and 124, and *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-7, 23). Allan lists many other find spots. Since this paper went to press I have received a copy of S. C. Ray's *Stratigraphic evidence of coin- in Indian excavations and some allied issues* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 8), Benares, Numismatic Society of India, 1959. In this interesting study Ray shows with considerable detail the occurrence of cast copper coins in many recent excavations. Their earliest appearance is almost invariably in what we may call the period of the NBP, but other examples—often one suspects of clearly later types—occur consistently into the first century A.D.

² They are at present housed in the Patna Museum.

³ O. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, 1948, fig. 4, etc.

but comparable rosettes are not uncommon upon NBP bowls and their contemporaries.¹ Thus we may conclude that these Patna bowls are from all points of view consistent with a dating to the period when NBP flourished.

A very wide variety of signs appear on the silver punch marked coins. The whole question of their dating has hitherto centred around the two great hoards discovered in the Bhir mound at Taxila, but confusion of the dates of deposition and dates of coin types, together with the uncertainty which surrounds their exact find spots, has not helped the discussion.² The hill-with-crescent symbol is absent from the larger hoard of bent bar and pure silver coins, Marshall's 'earlier' group, which contained also coins of Alexander and Philip Aridaeus. This suggests, as the Greek coins are in mint condition, a date of accumulation for the hoard of c. 300 B.C. But the hill-with-crescent sign is found throughout the second hoard of debased silver punch marked coins. This hoard contained a coin of Diodotus II, dated to c. 235 B.C. Kosambi analysed the hoards and, accepting the dated coins as indices for the punch marked, worked out a chronological sequence for the smaller hoard coinciding with the Mauryan dynasty.³ Even before this Jayaswal regarded the hill-with-crescent sign as Mauryan.⁴ Interestingly the remaining four signs upon this series are very rarely found on the cast copper coins (fig. 2, no. 8). The two most common, after the hill-with-crescent, the *akra* and the six armed sign, are almost never found, certainly never upon the types we quoted above. However, as Dani has recently shown the hoards cannot be taken as characteristic of the Bhir mound sequence.⁵ It seems certain that all three hoards were deposited in pits dug from the floors of BM II if not later, and hence the chronological sequence suggested by the Greek coins is not necessarily related to the dates of deposition. Its relationship to the other coins in the hoards is thus not certain. With the remaining coins found by Marshall in the Bhir mound we are on safer ground: in BM IV and III they are mainly oblong bar and round-and-concave types; while in BM II and I they are predominantly of the 'later' debased silver and copper punch marked and 'local' Taxilan die-struck and cast copper currency. These later punch marked coins are of similar fabric to those of the smaller hoard and the majority have the hill-with-crescent as one of a group of five signs. But, as Allan noted, the silver punch marked coins of the so-called earlier hoard are almost certainly foreign to Taxila and the north-west, for the types are not found there outside the hoard.⁶ The question of their origin and relative age need not concern us here, but Dani and Allan both doubt the earliness which Marshall assigned to them. Our concern is with the smaller hoard and with

¹ B. B. Lal, loc. cit., 57, for an example in NBP from the early part of period III at Hastināpur; for other examples in NBP from Rupar and Rājgur, see *Ancient India*, 9, 1953, fig. 5, 127, and fig. 2, 120.

² See particularly chapters 39-41 of Marshall's *Taxila*.

³ *NIA*, iv, 1941, 1-35 and 49-76; *JBRAS*, xxiv-xxv, 1948-9, 33-47.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, xxii, 3, and Durga Prasad, loc. cit., N 61.

⁵ *JASP*, i, 1956, 109-20.

⁶ In Marshall's *Taxila*, 1951, 854-5.

the punch marked coins of similar fabric from the levels BM I and II. The dating suggested by the coin of Diodotus is reasonably consistent with Marshall's view that this level was Mauryan. This also would agree with Allan's view regarding the origin of the local copper coinage. The geographical distribution of the punch marked coin types has been too little noticed. This aspect seems often to have been neglected by the earlier collectors for they rarely record find spots, but even with the incomplete data available to Durga Prasad in 1934 it was possible for him to notice their wide dispersion.¹ Thus the find spots of the varieties found in the smaller Taxila hoard are as widely spaced as Peshawar, Swat, and Rawalpindi in the north-west; through Mathura, Lucknow, and Kosambi to the central Ganges valley; and thence via Benares, Ahraura (Mirzapur district), Patna, and Bhagalpur to Dacca in the east. More rarely the identical types have been found in the Deccan. Prasad lists no less than 16 examples of a single type, extending the above distribution to Ceylon. The numerous types found in both the North West Frontier and the central Ganges valley are particularly suggestive. It is probable that a thorough survey of museum collections would greatly extend the distribution, but even as already noticed it speaks for itself.² There is not as yet much good stratigraphic evidence for the coins, but their first occurrence is usually linked with the NBP. Thus at Hastināpur a silver coin bearing the hill-with-crescent sign appears in the lowest levels of period III,³ and again at Rupar punch marked coins occur in similar context.⁴ At Maheshwar a silver punch marked coin of (?) earlier fabric was found at the bottom of the NBP levels, while coins of (?) later fabric appear in the middle levels.⁵ At Taxila, outside the BM hoards, Marshall found the first fragments of NBP at depths well below the first occurrence of punch marked coins of 'later' fabric, although not below the earliest silver bar coins. Thus as with the cast copper coins, the associations of their first occurrence in stratified sequences appear to be fairly constant.⁶

The hill-with-crescent sign is found again upon one of two seemingly related inscriptions, the Sohgaura cast copper plate and the Mahāsthān stone slab.⁷ Both are written in Brāhmī script which has been assigned to about the third century B.C.; both are in Prakrit and are couched in similar terms. The Sohgaura inscription is complete and refers to the construction of store-houses (*koṣṭhāgāra*, Prakrit *koṭhagala*) for grain in times of dire need (*ātyāyika*, Prakrit *atīyāyika*). Its four corners are pierced by nail holes, suggesting that

¹ *JASB*, xxx, 1934, Num. Suppl., N 5-59.

² Śrī Paramēśvarī Lal Gupta, numismatist of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has for some years been engaged in such a study and the publication of the results of his work is eagerly awaited.

³ Lal, loc. cit., 102.

⁴ Y. D. Sharma, *Ancient India* 9, 1953, 123.

⁵ Sankalia, loc. cit., 66-70.

⁶ Here too, Ray (loc. cit.) has now provided a detailed study of the finds in many recent excavations, and this bears out our contention regarding the relationship of these coins to the period of the NBP, just as it did for the cast copper coins.

⁷ D. C. Sircar, *Select inscriptions*, 1952, 82-3 and 85, with further bibliography.

it was attached to some wooden door. The find spot was on the river Rapti about 14 miles south-south-east of Gorakhpur. In the Mahāsthān inscription the letters are more clearly written and the storehouse appears as *koṭhāgāla*. Incidentally the use of the *danḍa* to separate words and phrases in this inscription is of interest. The content of the inscriptions recalls passages in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* where the words *koṣa*, *koṭhāgāra*, *ātyayika*, *śāsanam*, *mahāmātra*, etc., are found in comparable usages. Above the text is a register which includes two buildings presumably the storehouses mentioned, two trees with railings, and in the centre three signs, viz.



The upper part of the Mahāsthān inscription is missing. Its letters are cut deeply into the sandstone block.

One last object may be mentioned, an inscribed copper band discovered in Patna and published by Altekar.¹ This is about 11 in. in length and is also pierced by nail holes. On it are punched 21 signs which include the hill-with-crescent, open cross, taurine, *stambha*, *svastika*, hill-with-peacock, and other sometimes indistinct signs (fig. 2, no. 10).

We may now summarize the evidence. The Rāmpurvā copper bolt is marked with a group of four signs. Three of these recur upon two bowls from Patna together with a new fourth sign; two—if not three—recur on the Kumrāhār pillar base together with a further sign. Three again recur on four types of cast copper coins on the reverse, while other types show two or more of the signs on obverse or reverse. The debased silver punch marked coins have apparently a different system of five marks, but even here the hill-with-crescent is ubiquitous. Three, if not four, signs are found again on the Sohgaṇḍa cast copper plate inscription, while three also occur among the signs on the Patna copper band (fig. 2).

These concurrences are remarkable and require an explanation. I am not aware of any other objects or categories of objects which demonstrate these particular groups of signs. Singly, no doubt, it is possible to pick out individual examples among other groups in later copper coinage, etc., but these do not carry the conviction of those we have listed. The pillars which bear the Aśokan edicts and the uninscribed pillars of the same series cannot well belong to a period other than that from Chandragupta Maurya to Aśoka. Thus the copper bolt from Rāmpurvā must bear marks put on it at that time, probably by the royal coppersmiths. Even without agreement upon the precise meaning of the marks this context is indisputable and leads one to regard other objects marked by the same system as belonging to a related contextual complex. In particular the ubiquitous hill-with-crescent sign, recurring throughout, may

¹ A. S. Altekar, *JNSI*, ix, 2, 1947.

have something of the significance of the mark of a far-reaching authority, extending at least from Patna to Taxila, and impressing itself upon the products of stone-masons, coppersmiths, copper and silver coiners, potters, etc. Such a mark may be expected to be a royal or dynastic sign (Kauṭilya's *rājāṅka* or *narendrāṅka*) as Jayaswal and Prasad long ago opined.¹ If indeed it has

Other Signs

1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								etc.
9								
10								etc.

FIG. 2.—1, Rāmpurvā bolt; 2, Kumrahār base; 3, Patna bowls; 4, cast copper coins, types G, H, J, K; 5, ditto, type F; 6, ditto, type M; 7, ditto, type O; 8, debased silver punch marked coins; 9, Sohgaura plate; 10, Patna copper band.

that significance then it can only belong to the Mauryan dynasty or at least to a single ruler thereof. No other dynasty or ruler, or for that matter authority, answers so completely the various conditions established by the contexts in which the mark occurs. Using this conclusion as a starting-point we may assemble our facts in the form of a coherent hypothesis.

The Rāmpurvā copper bolt and the Kumrahār pillar base bear groups of

¹ Durga Prasad, loc. cit., N 63. Thus 'arms and allied objects are to be marked with the royal mark (*narendrāṅka*) and kept in the magazine'. *Arthashastra*, v, 3.

marks indicating the authority which caused them to be made. This authority can only have been that of a Mauryan ruler, either Chandragupta, Bindusāra, or Aśoka. Two systems of coinage should belong to the same authority, for they are marked by a similar and a related system of marks: these are the cast copper coins and the debased silver punch marked coins. Coins of these two classes and of the types we have been studying are found throughout northern India, from the North West Frontier Province to Dacca, and are also known in the Deccan. They appear together in stratified excavations and invariably along with the NBP ware. But they also appear to coincide with the two classes of coin named in the *Arthaśāstra*, debased silver (*rūpyarūpa*) and alloyed copper (*tāmrarūpa*).¹ Various other objects, the Patna terracotta bowls, copper band, etc., should belong to the same period. The forms, and the rosette of one of the bowls, are also features which occur in the NBP ware. The copper band with its nail holes may well have been a reference or index mark attached to a wooden treasure chest, or some such object, in the royal mint or treasury at Pāṭaliputra. The Sohgaura and Mahāsthān inscriptions have been inferred to belong to the Mauryan period not only by their script and language, but by their contents. Both refer to the construction of store-houses in times of calamity, both give the impress of a single powerful authority, and the one complete inscription, a cast copper plate with nail holes to fix it to a door, etc., would appear to bear the mark of that authority at its head. Both inscriptions use terms which are found in similar contexts in Kauṭilya. This again suggests the contextual aptness of the *Arthaśāstra*.

The manner in which the several parts of this hypothesis fit together and lend each other support encourages one to accept it. No other explanation accounts for them so well, and if it be 'vain to do with more what can be done with fewer', then it should provide a good basis for further investigation. Finally we may remark that if, as we have argued, the hill-with-crescent, etc., in these contexts had more than a merely auspicious connotation, and had indeed the seal of Mauryan authority, then it would be quite understandable that in the centuries which followed the decay of Mauryan power the symbols thus established should have continued in currency, resorted to by princeling and forger alike to lend dignity and value to their coins. Thus, we reiterate, all is not necessarily Mauryan that bears these marks. However, while it may well be that the *svastika* and the taurine had even earlier acquired meaning as auspicious signs, the hill-with-crescent appears to have been the specific invention of either Chandragupta or Aśoka, and has every right to be regarded as a 'hall-mark' originating in the Mauryan period.

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12. Durga Prasad states (loc. cit., N 45) that the 'chemical quantitative analysis' of a coin bearing the hill-with-crescent symbol showed percentages of silver, copper, and base metal which 'tallied very nearly' with the ideal proportions laid down by Kauṭilya in that chapter. This suggestive claim needs to be backed by more exhaustive chemical analysis if it is to be accepted. A similar investigation of the copper coins should now be made.

OBSERVATIONS ON A NEW CLASSICAL CHINESE GRAMMAR¹

By A. C. GRAHAM

IT is a surprising fact that the *Chinesische Grammatik* (1881) of G. v.d. Gabelentz remains the only grammar of Classical Chinese widely available in a Western language. Joseph L. M. Mullie's *Grondbeginselen van de Chinese letterkundige taal* is accessible only to those who read Flemish, and the *Structural analysis of literary Chinese* of H. E. Shadick and Hsin-min Wu² has not yet appeared in printed form. The publication of this grammatical analysis of LAC (Late Archaic Chinese) by Professor Dobson, Head of the Department of East Asiatic Studies at Toronto, is therefore an event of great importance to sinologists and to linguists generally. Its object is to establish, on a purely formal basis, the grammar of the literary language of the fourth and third centuries B.C. For descriptive purposes this period is taken as a unity, ignoring the peculiarities of particular texts and the dialects which may underlie them. It excludes, not only the Early Archaic of the 'Songs' and 'History', but the Middle Archaic of the 'Spring and autumn annals' and the early 'Analects'. Professor Dobson seeks to liberate the grammar of LAC from all the Western categories so far imposed on it (parts of speech, subject/predicate, subject/object, case, tense) and to establish, with the aid of a new and often alarming terminology, new categories distinguished by purely formal criteria.³

Dobson shows successfully that the old question of whether Chinese has parts of speech is irrelevant to his enterprise.⁴ Within a particular sentence, it is useful to say that a particular word or syntagma (word-group, excluding customary word-groups) has verbal or nominal value. It is also useful to a lexicographer to notice that a word is confined to one value in all or most sentences, and may therefore be classed as a verb or noun; but for the grammarian this is merely a complication which would force him to speak of verbs acting as nouns and nouns as verbs. There are two classes of sentence in LAC:

- (1) 'Verbal', the minimal form of which is a word verbal in value.
- (2) 'Determinative', the minimal form of which is a pair of terms both nominal in value.

The conventional division between subject and predicate (or 'topic' and 'comment') is found misleading for the first class and inadequate for the second. The verbal sentence may or may not have an agent. The agent is

¹ W. A. C. H. Dobson: *Late Archaic Chinese: a grammatical study*. xxviii, 254 pp. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press; London: Oxford University Press, [1959]. £6.

² Preliminary edition, Ithaca, 1950.

³ Following Dobson's practice, references (for texts included in the series) are to the Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series. Abbreviation: *SBTK—Syhbu tsongkan* 四部叢刊.

⁴ Introduction, section (v.a).

not a subject of which the verb is predicated, but merely one of several elements which may or may not be placed before the verb to determine it. The agent may be exposed in an absolute position at the head of the sentence, but so may other elements in the sentence. In support of this method of treating the agent, Dobson claims that the pronouns have special 'determinant' forms which determine both the verb as agent and the noun in syntagma (in terms of Indo-European grammar, are limited to the 'nominative' and 'genitive'):

	Pregnant	Determinant
Non-status personal pronouns . . .	<i>woo</i> 我	<i>wu</i> 吾
	<i>ruu</i> 汝, <i>ruoh</i> 若	<i>eel</i> 爾, <i>erl</i> 而, <i>nae</i> 乃
Anaphoric pronouns . . .	<i>zy</i> 之	<i>chyí</i> 其

Although this approach may well be a fruitful one, it must be recognized that whether we speak of 'subject' or 'agent' is hardly more than a question of nomenclature. Formally, we are concerned with a nominal element in the sentence which, if present, precedes the verb, its determinants, and the 'agential distributives' (such as *jie* 皆 'all' and *moh* 莫 'none'). Notionally, the disadvantage of calling it 'subject' is that this encourages us to assume that even when the element is absent the subject must be 'understood'. But the notion of the agent is equally irrelevant and potentially misleading. Thus in 治人者食於人 'Those who rule others are fed by others', Dobson treats 治人者 as the 'agent of realization' (a term which will hardly bear very close scrutiny) and the second 人, notionally the agent, as the 'directive'.

Further, of Dobson's five 'determinant' pronouns only *wu* is regularly used as agent of the main verb in LAC. His three sets of pronouns are not symmetrical:

(1) In the case of *wu* and *woo*, Dobson's classification fits throughout pre-Hann literature.¹

(2) That the *Tzuoojuann* distinguishes *eel* and *ruu* in the same way as *wu* and *woo* is a discovery of Dobson's. It is certainly valid, although he might have made it clear that, although his references are to the Harvard-Yenching concordance, his table of instances in the *Tzuoojuann*² is not exhaustive.

¹ Karlgren argued that originally *wu* was nominative and genitive, *woo* accusative ('Le proto-chinois, langue flexionelle', *JA*, xv, 1920, 205-33). Dobson's description has the advantage that it accounts for the frequency of 'nominative' *woo* by postulating that the determinant *wu* cannot be exposed. For other attempts to establish a difference between *wu* and 'nominative' *woo*, cf. *Hwu Shyh wenhsien* 胡適文存 (first series), 2/15-22, and Kennedy, 'A re-examination of the Classical pronoun-forms NGO and NGA', *Academia Sinica*, xxviii, 1956, 275-82. None of these three articles appears in Dobson's bibliography.

² Appendix 3. His table records 44 cases of *eel*, none of which (this is the crucial point) stands in the position of 'affectee' (object). But the Harvard-Yenching concordance (of course excluding entries for the *Gongyang* and *Gwuliang* commentaries) records 75, of which 5 are object: 168/Wen 14/10, 203/Shiuan 15/2, 216/Cherng 2/fuh 2, 269/Shiang 10/1, 347/Jau 2/3. Two of these are in the position of inverted object, in which *wu* is also found. These exceptions are not sufficient to overthrow his case.

Dobson insists that the distinction is observed throughout IAC. But examination of the fully concordanced texts shows that in their use of *eel* and *ruu* they fall into three classes, exactly corresponding to three dialects distinguished by Karlgren.¹

(i) The *Tzuoojuann* dialect.

(ii) The Luu dialect (*Analects*, *Mencius*), in which there is no trace of Dobson's distinction. *Eel* is used freely as the object, especially in the *Analects*, which provided the basis for Karlgren's very different theory that *eel* was originally confined to the object. For Dobson, the *Analects* represents Middle Archaic Chinese. But grammatically, as Karlgren showed, *Mencius* is closer to the *Analects* than to the *Tzuoojuann*. This is a case in which Dobson's principle of distinguishing Middle and Late Archaic, and ignoring dialect differences, becomes seriously misleading.

(iii) The third century dialect, of which *Mohtzyy* is in many respects the precursor. Judging by the three concordanced texts of this group, *eel* was not one of the standard pronouns of this dialect and *ruu* was 'determinant' as well as 'pregnant'. In *Mohtzyy* and *Shyuntzyy* *eel* is almost confined to Early Archaic quotations. In *Juangtzyy* there are eight cases of *ee* (all 'determinant') but 129 cases of *ruu*, as well as many cases of *ruoh*. In spite of Dobson's categorical statement that *woo* and *ruu* 'never occur as determinant words',² *ruu* is throughout the *Juangtzyy* the standard second-person pronoun as agent, as possessive, and as object.

Unlike *eel*, *erl* and *nae* are almost exclusively possessive in the *Tzuoojuann*. *Erl* is fairly common as the agent in a subordinate clause (where the agent, if a noun, is generally followed by *ji* 之), but not as agent of the main verb.³

(3) With the 'anaphoric' pronouns there seems to be no point in classing *ji* as the pregnant form of the determinant *chyi*. If the implication is that 之 **iag* is the original sound of which 其 **g'iag* is a modification (a plausible idea in the case of 我 **ngá* and 吾 **ngo*), then the difference between the initials makes this at best a remote possibility. If it is implied that *ji*, like *woo*, is used wherever the determinant form is inappropriate, this is clearly not the case; *ji* is confined to the object, 'to the two post-verbal positions',

¹ 'On the authenticity and nature of the Tso chuan', Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, xxxii. 1926, 3-65.

² §2.6.4.1. A footnote qualifies the 'never' by admitting 'sporadic examples of earlier blunting'. For cases of possessive *woo* cf. *Hwu Shyh*, ut sup., 21.

³ In the *Tzuoojuann*, according to Dobson's table, there are 10 cases of *nae* (all in syntagma) and 49 of *erl* (13 as agent). The figures, although presented as though they were exhaustive, are evidently based on the selection in Fraser and Lockhart's *Index to the Tso chuan*. It is in any case hardly a practical proposition to separate the pronoun from the particle throughout the 50 pages of entries for *erl* in the Harvard-Yenching concordance. In the Fraser-Lockhart index (in which there is some confusion between the pronoun and the particle) I find only two cases of *erl* as agent of the main verb (658/2, 786/12). In other cases where it is agent it is in a subordinate clause: 678/11 余知而無罪也 'I know you are guiltless'; 687/11 而告我也後 'You have told me too late'. (Harvard-Yenching references: 389/Jau 15/fuh 3, 462/Ding 14/5, 401/Jau 20/4, 406/Jau 21/fuh 2.)

as Dobson remarks elsewhere.¹ His only motives for classing it as 'pregnant' seem to be a desire for symmetry and an aversion to anything which might countenance the introduction of the Indo-European category of case into Chinese.²

The pronoun *chyi* is strictly possessive, used as agent only in subordinate clauses, where (as we have just noticed with *erl*), a noun as agent may be followed by *iy*. Recognition of this fact is one of the most important linguistic discoveries of Western sinology, since it saves translators from the old error of mistaking a subordinate clause for a sentence with *chyi* as agent.³ For the Chinese, of course, it is not a discovery at all; Leu Shwushiang 呂叔相 mentions that teachers of literary Chinese still correct the student who uses *chyi* as agent of the main verb, for example 吾往訪友, 其已出 'I went to call on a friend, but he had gone out'.⁴ But the desire to make *chyi* a determinant form parallel to *wu* and *eel* has induced Dobson to revive the old fallacy that *chyi* means 'he, she, it, they' as well as 'his, her, its, their'. It is surprising to find him mentioning that Leu Shwushiang's article 'gives examples of blunting in the use of *chyi* by Han times',⁵ without indicating that one of the two kinds of 'blunting' discussed in it is the use of *chyi* as agent in the literature of the Six Dynasties.

Dobson's examples of *chyi* as agent⁶ are cases either of the 'modal' *chyi* or of the pronoun in subordinate clauses, for example:

其無後乎

'Was not it (the making of grave figures) not without serious consequences?' (Dobson).

周公知其將畔而使之與

'The Duke of Chou sent him knowing that he would rebel, did he?' (Dobson).

In Dobson's opinion, the so-called modal *chyi* is simply the pronoun. When it stands between agent and verb, the agent is exposed and *chyi* resumes it. Consequently, the pronoun before *chyi* 'invariably uses the pregnant form (e.g. 汝其行乎/You!/that person/go/?/"had you not better go" (Tso 123.3))'—a claim which is almost the direct opposite of the facts.⁷ However, he observes that

¹ 3.8.

² An aversion for case is perhaps also the reason for Dobson's insistence that *suoo* substitutes for the agent as well as the object (§8.6). His examples are 所不足 'that which is insufficient', 所難 'that which is difficult'. But could one read Classical Chinese at all if one thought that, for example, 所聞 had an equal chance of meaning 'he who hears' or 'that which he hears'?

³ cf. Gabelentz, *ut sup.*, § 562-4.

⁴ *Hannyen yuefua luenwen jyi* 漢語語法論文集 (Peking, 1955), 181.

⁵ § 2.6.4.1, n. 15.

⁶ §§ 3.5.2, 3.8, 3.11.1.

⁷ Appendix 3. In fact before *chyi* the *Tzuoojuann* (from which Dobson's example is taken) uses the determinant *wu* 12 times, the pregnant *woo* never (except for a *Shyjing* quotation, 318/Shiang 27/fuh 2). In the second person, however, it uses *ruu* three times and *eel* twice.

'The exposure of the agent, and its replacement by *chyi*, together with the occurrence of *hu* in the sentential modal position, frequently occurs in sentences in the injunctive or subjunctive mood. This has led to commentators glossing *chyi* by *jiang* (potential) and *dang* (injunctive) and to the appearance of a "modal *chyi*" in grammatical works'.¹

He does not explain why *all* his examples of the supposed agent *chyi* (except those in subordinate clauses) occur in injunctive or subjunctive sentences, whether there is a preceding exposed agent or not. He does, however, give two indicative illustrations of the fact that '*chyi* is sometimes omitted', of which the first is:

是鳥也，海運則將徙於南冥

'This bird, when the sea is turbulent, is about to go to the Southern Darkness' (Dobson).

Sometimes omitted? He gives no example of a similar sentence in which *chyi* is included.

The rules of descriptive linguistics presumably forbid Dobson to take into account the fact that in Early Archaic the modal *chyi* is more common than the pronoun, the functions of which are assumed by *jyue* 厥. His one argument against the hypothesis of a modal *chyi* is that *jiang* and *dang* are sometimes used in addition to *chyi* and therefore cannot have the same meaning—a baseless objection (cf. such combinations as *jihyii* 既已) even if modern sinologists did think that the modal *chyi* has the same functions as *jiang* or *dang*. What we *do* think is, I admit, not such an easy question to answer, except by saying that *chyi* expresses commands, wishes, subjective judgments, and rhetorical questions.

Dobson's determination to avoid imposing Indo-European categories on Chinese also shows in his attitude to tense and aspect. He insists that LAC has no tense, only aspect; 'time of occurrence is not treated as a determination of the verb'.² This is a fruitful approach, but the rigidity with which it is followed has very questionable results. Thus *fang* 方, *jah* 乍, and *shyh* 適 are classed under 'momentary aspect'. *Jah* certainly does indicate that the happening is momentary, but *fang* and *shyh*, as Dobson rightly says, present the act as 'taking place at one moment rather than another'—that is, they show the 'time of occurrence'. In any case, strictly it is only *shyh* which

¹ § 3.11.1, n. 71.

² § 3.3.2.1, n. 13. His case is complicated by insistence that aspect 'is relative to the speaker and not to fixed points of time' (§ 3.3.2.5, n. 18). But so is Indo-European tense, while aspect (indicating that action is continuous, completed, etc.) is not. The first two sentences of the Mohist canon (*Mohitzzy*, 68/42/15) to which he appeals for support would suggest rather that *chice* and *yii* really are temporal particles; the last is too obscure to carry any weight. 自前曰且，自後曰已，方然亦且 'From beforehand we say "about to", from afterwards we say "already"'. What is so at present is also about to be (?). Dobson's translation ('Though we say for an event in front of us "chice", and for an event behind us "yii", in fact, the event of any given moment is an event about to be') suggests that he takes *tsyh* ('from') as 'self', although *tsyh* is not a pronoun like *jii* 己, but, in his own terminology, a 'reflexive determinant of the verb'.

times one event at the same moment as another; *fang* merely shows that they happen at the same time, whether at the same moment or during the same period:

方其夢也，不知其夢也。夢之中，又占其夢焉，覺而後知其夢也

‘As long as we are dreaming we do not know that we are dreaming, and in the middle of a dream interpret another dream within it; not until we wake do we know we were dreaming’.¹

Again, *jiang* 將 and *chice* 且 are classed under ‘potential aspect’; yet his translations rightly assume that these particles imply, not that the event may happen, but that it will. He says that among the aspects indicating ‘a point in the progress of the action’, the potential indicates ‘a point prior to realization’²—that is, a point at which realization is still future. (In any case, isn’t the point also ‘prior’ to the whole ‘progress of the action’?)

More serious are cases in which his theoretical rigidity forces him to distort the known functions of particles. Thus since his preconception makes it impossible to admit that *chang* 嘗 can place an event in the indefinite past, he defines its function as ‘customary aspect’, although it is often clear that *chang* is being used in connexion with a single event:

是固嘗矯駕吾車，又嘗啗我以餘桃

‘This man certainly once drove my carriage without permission, and once gave me what was left of the peaches he had been eating’³—single incidents narrated just before.

The same determination to exclude time at any cost is responsible for his idiosyncratic treatment of *wey* 未. It may be admitted that the standard English equivalent ‘not yet’ does not quite fit, and an improved definition would be welcome. My own feeling, for what it is worth, is that while *jiang* (‘intend to’, ‘about to’) implies movement towards an event, *wey* (‘not get to’, ‘not yet’) implies failure to reach it; and that neither distinguishes between movement in time and movement towards the realization of an aim or an expectation. But in any case Dobson’s rejection of the standard explanation seems to be inspired less by the practical difficulties in applying it than by his theoretical preconception. The English ‘not yet’ negates all conceivable instances up to the time in question. But for Dobson *wey* cannot share this limitation in time—a claim given some substance by the fact that it is common to deny the possibility of an event at any time by saying 未之有也 ‘There has never been . . .’. He concludes that while ‘with *bu* one particular instance of the act is envisaged and negated, in *wey* all conceivable instances envisaged are negated’.⁴ *Wey* makes a universal denial in space and in time; he goes so far as to translate 有司未知所之 as ‘His

¹ *Juangtzyy*, 6/2/81 f.

² § 3.3.2.

³ *Harn Fei tzyy*, *SBTK*, 4/6B/2f.

⁴ §§ 3.3.1.1, 4.8.1, n. 13.

courtiers will never know where he has gone'. The first of his illustrations of *bu* is:

不賢者雖有此不樂也

'He who is *not worthy* though he may possess these things, does not enjoy (them)'.

One would have thought that the second *bu* does deny that the unworthy will enjoy any conceivable instance of this pleasure. His first example for *wey* is:

見牛未見羊也

'It was because you had seen an ox (in such a predicament) but had at no time seen a sheep (in a similar predicament)'.

Here one would have thought that Mencius is *not* denying that the King may see an ox in this predicament in the future. It seems unlikely that any Chinese negative distinguishes between universal and particular; but when 'all conceivable instances' are denied, the standard negative is surely *bu*:

子不語怪力亂神

'The Master did not speak of marvels, feats of strength, disorders, and spirits'.¹

Is it seriously suggested that the *bu* confines the denial to one particular discourse of Confucius, and that its replacement by *wey* would enlarge instead of limiting its scope?

Abundant examples show that the conventional interpretation 'not yet' is very much less misleading than Dobson's:

十日而問，雞已乎。曰，未也...十日又問。曰，幾矣

'After ten days he asked, "Are the cocks ready?" "Not yet." . . . After another ten days he asked again. The man replied, "Almost"'.²

夫患未至，則不可告也。患既至，雖知之無及矣

'Before the disaster happened, he would not be warned; after it had happened, it no longer did him any good to know about it'.³

復見，未語而君與之食

'When he visited him again, the prince offered him food before he had time to speak'.⁴

夫天未欲平治天下也

'Heaven does not yet wish to pacify the Empire'.⁵

Rather surprisingly, in view of his attitude to case and tense, Dobson claims that the Chinese verb has mood. Apart from the indicative (negated by *bu* and *wey*) and the injunctive and hortatory (negated by *wu* 毋 and *wuh* 勿), he distinguishes a subjunctive mood 'describing non-real, hypothetical

¹ *Analexis*, 7/20.

² *Juangtzyy*, 50/19/46-8.

³ *Leushyh chuenchiou*, *SBTK*, 23/7A/3f.

⁴ *Harn Fei tzyy*, *SBTK*, 7/10A/6.

⁵ *Mencius*, 17/2B/13.

or imagined situations',¹ and marked by the following particles preceding the verb—*wu* 無, *yeou* 有, *wei* 爲, *ru* 如, *ruoh* 若, and *you* 猶. The conception of a subjunctive in LAC seems to me to serve no purpose, and to reduce the precise functions of many very different particles to a single vague function; but there is space here to discuss only *wu* and *yeou*. Dobson draws a sharp line of distinction between injunctive *wu* 毋 and subjunctive *wu* 無; he does not recognize that in pre-Hann texts the two characters are often interchanged, and that in *Mencius* and *Juangtzyy*, for example, the injunctive *wu* is always written 無.² Two of his examples (both from *Mencius*) are:

王如知此,則無望民之多於鄰國也

'If the King really understood this, then *he would not expect* his population to be any larger than that of his neighbour' (Dobson).

王無罪歲,斯天下之民至焉

'If the King *would not blame the harvest*, then the peoples of the whole world would come to him' (Dobson).

The first is surely a plain injunctive: 'If you know this, Your Majesty, then do not expect . . .'. As for the second, Leu Shwushiang has pointed out that all the injunctive negatives are often used, not only to forbid, but also to indicate actions or events which it is commanded, wished, intended, or decided shall not happen,³ for example 欲勿予 'If we prefer not to give it to them'. His examples include abundant instances both of *wu* 毋 and *wuh* in this type of sentence and of *wu* 無 in simple commands. Granted that, as Leu Shwushiang himself remarks,⁴ such sentences have a 'subjunctive flavour', they do not show the utility of postulating a subjunctive mood; they merely show that Dobson's injunctive mood is too narrow.

Dobson gives other illustrations of an entirely different type:

仲尼之徒無道桓文之事者,是以後世無傳焉

'It was because the disciples of Confucius *would not* speak about the affairs of Duke Huan of Ch'i and Duke Wen of Tsin that their successors *would not* tradite them' (Dobson).

大夫有賜於士,不得受於家,[則往拜其門]

'A noble might make a gift to a gentleman, but the gentleman ought not to receive it in his own home'.

In the first *wu* is the main verb; it cannot determine *daw*, which is part of the syntagma ending in *jee*. Both examples are structurally similar to others which Dobson quotes later⁵ to illustrate the use of *yeou* and *wu* as

¹ § 3.3.1.3.

² cf. Leu Shwushiang, *ut sup.*, 12. A. C. Graham, 'A possible fusion word: *wuh* = *wu jy*', *BSOAS*, xiv, 1, 1952, 140. Dobson refers to the latter: 'The verb is injunctive or hortatory when negated with *wu* (毋) **miwo* (8) or with its stressed form *wuh* (勿) **miwot*' (§ 3.3.1.2). 'The unstressed form does not occur in *Mencius* (see Graham (1))' (n. 8). But that isn't what I said.

³ Leu Shwushiang, *ut sup.*, 24-30.

⁴ *ut sup.*, 30.

⁵ § 3.5.3.1.

agential distributives, and he offers no reason for refusing to understand them in the same way:

'None of the disciples of Confucius spoke about the affairs of Dukes Huan and Wen. That is why no one has transmitted them to later generations.'

'In cases when a high official makes a gift to a gentleman, and the gentleman is not at home to receive it, [he goes to pay his respects at the official's house]' (Dobson's translation ignores the context)

According to a widely accepted theory, the negatives *fu* 弗 and *wu* 勿 combine the functions of *buh jy* 不之 and *wu jy* 毋之 respectively. To explain this combination of functions, there is another theory, which now seems to me very much less firmly established than the former, that *fu* and *wu* are actually phonetic fusions ('allegro forms', as Dobson calls them) of the pairs of words to which they correspond. Dobson rejects both these hypotheses (which he does not clearly distinguish), on grounds very similar to those offered independently by Hwang Jiingshin 黃景欣.¹ The proposal of allegro forms 'fails to account for the occurrence of *fu* and *wu* before intransitive verbs, and for the possibility of occurrence of the object after the verb'. He recognizes that '*fu* and *wu* occur predominantly before transitive verbs where the object is omitted. But it is also observable that *bu*, where polarity "negative/positive-reflex" is present, behaves in precisely the same way; for example, *yaw tsyy* . . . *bou yaw yee* (樂此 . . . 不樂也), "does enjoy this . . . does not enjoy (this)" . . . so that the feature is not a contrast between *fu* and *bu*, but a feature common to both'. He feels, however, that *fu* and *wu* are more emphatic than *bu* and *wu*. In his introduction, where he justifies the three cases in which he has found it necessary to assume phonological or prosodic features, he writes:

'The second is the inference of a prosodic feature (stress) to account for the otherwise complementary distribution of two forms of the formal indicative negative, and the two forms of the injunctive negative'—that is, apparently, he infers the presence of stress from the fact that the distribution of the two pairs is complementary, except for the difference in stress.²

Nearly all Dobson's own explanations of particles, sound or unsound (even, as we have seen, a couple in which he is rash enough to say 'never' or 'invariably'), 'fail to account for' a certain proportion of instances. In a language preserved in corrupt texts representing different dialects, it cannot be otherwise; everything depends on frequencies. In the case of *wu* and *wuh*, Dobson's criticisms are directed primarily against my own article on the question. By what oversight does Dobson fail to mention that this article, which classifies every instance of *wu* and *wuh* in the concordanced pre-Han texts, shows that in those belonging to the classical period *wuh* precedes an objectless transitive verb 124 times out of 134, *wu* only four times out of 139?

¹ 'The negation words *fu* and *bu* in pre-Han Chinese', *Yuyan-yanjiu* 語言研究, 1958, 3/1-23.

² Dobson, § 3.3.1.1; introduction, section (v.b).

Dobson's method of refuting my argument is simply to observe that there are exceptions, without mentioning that they amount to less than one in thirteen; and to quote a few of them, without mentioning that they are classified (and except for one, quoted) in my article. This seems to him enough to justify the claim that (except for a difference of stress for which no criteria are proposed) *wu* and *wuh* have 'complementary distribution'.

The following table shows the distribution of *fou* in three texts. Among exceptions, cases in which the object of the verb is *ji* are classed separately, since they account for a remarkably high proportion of exceptions with both *fou* and *wuh*. Several fusion words accepted by Dobson are also found combined with one of their elements, 諸乎, 盍不, 也與.¹

Verbs after <i>fou</i>		<i>Mencius</i>	<i>Juangtzyy</i>	<i>Mohitzyy</i>
transitive without object	. . .	32	30	54
transitive with object <i>ji</i>	. . .	1	1	2
transitive with other objects	. . .	—	—	1 ²
intransitive	. . .	2	3	1 ³

Dobson's claim that occurring predominantly before objectless transitive verbs is a feature common to *fou* and *bu* is so extraordinary that it can only rest on a total misunderstanding of the argument. Open any of these three books, and you will find a case of *bu* with an object after the verb before you have finished the second sentence:

Mencius: 不遠千里而來

'You have come without considering a thousand miles too far'.

Juangtzyy: 鯢之大不知其幾千里也

'The size of the *kuen* is I don't know how many thousand miles'.

Mohitzyy: 入國而不存其士, 則亡國矣

'If when you enter a country you do not preserve its knights, you will ruin the country'.

Dobson's tentative suggestion that the fact that 'the intransitive verb is

¹ Particular texts show other classes of exception. The *Tzuoojuann*, which otherwise resembles the three texts analysed here in its use of *fou* and *wuh*, shows two such classes:

(a) 弗能久矣 'he cannot last' (six times). Here it is just possible to take *jeou* 久 as transitive, 'we can no longer expect him to last'.

(b) *Fou* before *kee* 可 followed by a verb (eleven times). If these are not exceptions to the rule that the verb after *fou* is active and transitive, they are exceptions to the equally useful rule that the verb after *kee* is passive. The association of *fou* with *neng* 能 and *kee* may be important, since I have the impression that it survives the obscuring of the distinction between *fou* and *bu* during the Hann dynasty. This seems to connect with Karlgren's suggestion that 'The negation adverb *fut* has a particular modal value in the Chou literature; it mostly means "cannot" or "will not" e.g. 王弗聽 "The King would not listen", 弗克 "He could not vanquish [him]"' (*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm*, No. 23, 1951, 120).

² *Mohitzyy*, 91/49/65. The text is corrupt (*Mohitzyy shyangwu* 墨子閒詁, Basic Sinological Series, 299/11).

³ *Mencius*, 4A/13; *Juangtzyy*, 39/14/56, 63/23/59, 67/24/54; *Mohitzyy*, 88/49/6, 7. Several of these seem to me borderline cases, but Dobson would no doubt say the same of a few classed as transitive without object.

a small class ' may explain the high proportion of transitive verbs after *fu* is also quite groundless :

		<i>Mencius</i> , ch. 1A	<i>Juangtzy</i> , ch. 1	<i>Mohizy</i> , ch. 1
Verbs after <i>bu</i>				
transitive without object	. . .	13	5	1
transitive with object	. . .	28	25	11
intransitive	. . .	36	13	8 ¹

Dobson's observation (also made by Hwang Jiingshin) that the object *ji* tends to be omitted after verbs with *bu* as well as *fu*, is, however, of great interest. If *ji* was never used regularly after *bu*, it is unlikely that *fu* was created by their phonetic fusion. But although this adds to the difficulties of the phonetic theory (which are well stated by Hwang Jiingshin), it is strange that both scholars should suppose that it refutes the claim that *fu* is unlike *bu* in generally preceding objectless transitive verbs; both argue almost as though *ji* were the only word in Chinese which ever serves as object. It must be remembered that none of those who developed the theory that *fu* and *wu* incorporate the function of *ji* built his case on the phonetic hypothesis.² There are other ways of explaining the combination of the functions of a negative with those of *ji*—for example, by supposing that the tendency to drop *ji* in certain types of negative sentence led to confusion between transitive and intransitive verbs, which was removed by *fu* and *wu* assuming the function of identifying succeeding objectless verbs as transitive. But whatever explanation we prefer, we cannot solve the problem by simply ignoring all the evidence so far collected, and reverting to the ancient principle: 'When in doubt, call it an emphatic particle'.

According to Dobson, while the minimal form of the verbal sentence is the verb, that of the 'determinative sentence' is a determined term followed by a determinant term, the value of both being nominal (大丈夫也 'He is a man'). In this class of sentence, unlike the verbal, he does not find the old distinction of subject and predicate misleading,³ but in one respect, in spite of his renaming of the two terms, he seems to be misled by it himself. For his assumption that, unlike the agent, the subject cannot be omitted⁴ is

¹ Borderline cases are more frequent here than in the preceding table, but I doubt whether any redistribution would greatly alter the proportions.

² Ding Shengshuh argued that *fu* combines the functions of *tu* and *ji*, but without suggesting phonetic fusion (which was proposed by Boodberg soon afterwards). Leu Shwushiang extended his argument to *wu* in an article written in 1941; but he rejected the phonetic solution and suggested that *fu* and *wu* began as the stronger members of each pair and later incorporated the function of *ji*. Being unaware of this essay until its inclusion in his *Hannyeu yensfaa luenwen jyi* (1955), I unwittingly repeated his investigation in 1952, accepting phonetic fusion tentatively, but explicitly confining myself to showing that the function of *wu* combines those of *wu* and *ji*. Since Leu Shwushiang is, in the case of *wu*, the chief author of the theory which Dobson is attacking, it is difficult to understand Dobson's reference to his article:

'The theory of an allegro form for *fu* and *wu* has been examined by Leu Shwushiang, who rejects it on historical and phonological grounds, suggesting that the difference is one of "different degrees of strength"'. (References as in Dobson, § 3.3.1.1, n. 6.)

³ Introduction, section (v.c).

⁴ § 3.5.1, n. 51.

evidently the reason for his untenable claim that the minimal form of this class of sentence requires the determined term (subject). But the determined term in this class is omitted as freely as the agent in the verbal class (禮也 'It is propriety'); indeed, it is absent from half of his first set of examples.¹

Dobson's reason for his renaming of subject and predicate is that 'the *predication* (my italics) is essentially of a class with the determinative process in morphology'.² The two terms 'stand in a relationship to each other analogous to that of the determinant word and the determined word in syntagma'.³ But it seems reasonable to argue that it is the verbal, not the 'determinative' sentence, which fits this description. In Dobson's terminology 垂天之雲 'Clouds which droop from the sky' is a syntagma in which the first two words determine the last. The relationship of determinant and determined term is analogous to that of verb and agent in 雲垂天 'Clouds droop from the sky'. On the other hand in none of the types of syntagma distinguished by Dobson is there a relationship analogous to that in 白馬馬也 'A white horse is a horse'. In any case the relationships in question are logical, not grammatical; they provide no basis for extending the grammatical term 'determination' from one to the other.

A basic weakness is that, although Dobson's two classes are intended to be formal and not notional, in the last resort he gives no formal criteria for distinguishing them. To decide the class of a sentence, we need to know whether the irreducible element is verbal or nominal. Among the criteria which we might choose for this purpose are the negatives; we can say that a word in a certain position is acting as a verb if it is or can be negated by *bu* (or *wey* 未 or *fou* 弗 or *wuh* 勿), as a noun if it cannot, but can be negated by *fei*. Thus 白馬馬也 'A white horse is a horse' is a 'determinative' or (as I should prefer to call it) 'nominal' sentence because its irreducible element 馬也 can be negated by *fei* but not by *bu*: 非馬也 'It is not a horse'. This method has dangers when we are treating a dead language, since there are no informants to check the validity of our additions and substitutions; but this difficulty is inherent in the whole enterprise of building a grammar of Late Archaic Chinese on a formal basis. Without such criteria, one must in the last resort be classing the sentence on notional grounds—on the grounds that 'horse' determines what white horses are, and is not an action of which white horses are the agents.

It is in fact often very hard to discover why Dobson puts a sentence in one class rather than another. He recognizes four types of 'determinant term', the last of which designates an attribute of an act, state, or process:

Determined Determinant
天下歸殷 / 久矣

'lit.: "the world's being in the hands of Yin / is long"' (Dobson).

But by the test of the negatives *jeou* 久 is here a verb and the sentence verbal. Dobson himself does not speak of adjectives as distinct from verbs in

¹ § 4.3.1(a).

² Introduction, section (v.c).

³ § 4.1.

Chinese, and he classes sentences with predicative adjectives as verbal when followed by *yan* 焉.¹ 罪莫大焉 'No crime is greater than this'.

With less confidence he classes sentences with *yeou* 也 determinative,² in spite of the fact that elsewhere he has given an example of an isolated *yeou* as a verbal sentence in minimal form.³ One of his examples is:

Determined	Determinant
未 有	仁 而 遺 其 親 者 也

'There has never been / one who being humane neglected his own kin' (Dobson).

Yet by most formal tests *yeou* is verbal rather than nominal. It can be preceded by *wey* and even by *bu*,⁴ it behaves like a transitive verb in such combinations as 所有 'what one has' and 有之 'have it'. The one difference from the verbal sentence mentioned by Dobson, that *yeou* does not have an agent, is at least disputable (吾有大樹 'I have a big tree'). Dobson's insistence that such sentences, although there are also grounds for treating them as verbal, 'are structurally more akin to the determinative sentence', strikingly illustrates the subjectivity of his division between the two classes. His treatment of *yeou* and of the type of determinant words which designate attributes of actions makes it hard to resist the suspicion that for Dobson a sentence is determinative if there is the verb 'to be' in the English translation.

Yeou is said to occur also as determinant term:

Determined	Determinant
寇 讎 /	何 服 之 有
'For an outlaw / what mourning can there be?'	
X /	未 之 有 也
'There has never been / X'.	

According to the orthodox explanation, *yeou* is in both cases a transitive verb with object. In the first, the object is inverted and resumed by the pronoun *ji*—a construction which Dobson does not seem to admit except in the pattern 惟...之...⁵ In the second, *ji* is the pronoun object inverted in a negative sentence. But Dobson's comment on *yeou* as determinant term is:

'This form is used when occurrence or presence is emphatically denied or questioned. . . . The interrogative substitutes are then made determinative of *yeou* with the particle of determination *ji*. In this form *ji* occurs between the negative *wey* and *yeou*'.⁶

Does this mean that *ji* is the particle of determination even after *wey*? Such an explanation is clearly impossible, since the particle of determination

¹ § 3.4.6.

² § 4.8.

³ § 3.2.1.

⁴ cf. *Jucngtazy*, 67/24/63; *Tzuoojuann*, 103/Shi 10/5, 131/Shi 2E, 5, 164/Wen 12/6.

⁵ § 3.4.8(4).

⁶ § 4.8.2.

requires a preceding noun. But if Dobson recognizes that *ji* is the pronoun, how does 未之有也 differ from 吾未之聞也 'I have never heard of it', elsewhere classed as a verbal sentence? ¹

Another type of sentence classed as determinative is:

Determined Determinant
行仁政而王 / 莫之能禦也

'To rule as a true King practising humane government / is irresistible' (Dobson).

Here also *ji* seems to be taken as the particle of determination, for Dobson's literal translation of the determinant term is 'that which no one is able to oppose'.² But can *moh* 莫 (an 'agential distributive' in Dobson's terminology) ever be followed by the particle of determination, as though it were a noun? Dobson himself recognizes *ji* as the inverted pronoun object in the following sentence:

莫之禦而不仁, 是不智也

'To be inhumane when no one resists him is folly'.³

Dobson's treatment of *you* 猶, *ru* 如, and *ruoh* 若 shows very clearly that his distinction between the two classes of sentence is notional and not formal. Sentences which contain them are classed together as 'determinative', quite frankly because all express the same idea, similarity, by which 'both term A and term B are included within an unspecified third term C'.⁴ In the case of *you*, which is a particle (not preceded by negatives) linking two nominal elements, generally with the final *ye*, the sentence certainly is 'determinative'. On the other hand *ru* and *ruoh* are transitive verbs, which can be negated by *bu* and succeeded by the pronoun object *ji*. If the two classes are distinguished on formal grounds, 'A *you* B' is 'determinative', 'A *ru* (*ruoh*) B' is verbal. Dobson also seems to assimilate the very different functions of *you* and of *ru*, *ruoh*. The latter compare, not the things A and B, but actions or qualities of A and B, in the case of qualities comparing degree. Dobson recognizes that they differ from *you* in often implying degree, but seems unaware that they provide one of the two normal means of comparison (如 X 大 'as big as X'; cf. 大於 X 'bigger than X'), and that in pre-Hann literature *buh ru* and *bwu ruoh* always or nearly always mean 'not as much as', 'not as good as'.⁵ He declares that '*buh ru* and *bwu ruoh* occur as the negation of "A is like B", that is "A is not like B", for example, in 孟施舍之守氣又不如曾子之守約也 "Meng Shih-she's guarding his physical self was not like Tseng Tzu's guarding his principles"; but also,

¹ § 3.4.8(5).

² § 4.3.1, n. 2.

³ § 3.4.8(5). Dobson translates: 'Being something that nothing can resist, not to be humane is folly'.

⁴ § 4.6.

⁵ Yang Borjiunn 楊伯峻 goes so far as to take a single example of *buh ru* in the sense of 'not like' (without implication of degree) as evidence of the late date of *Lichtzyy* (*Lichtzyy jyishyh* 列子集釋, Shanghai, 1958, 238-42).

... in the sense "it were better to"'.¹ But in this quotation Mencius is saying, not that the two methods are unlike, but that the first is not as good as the second.

Confusion between verbal and determinative sentences is also responsible for Dobson's virtual assimilation of the very dissimilar final particles *yee* 也 and *yii* 矣. The final *yee* is characteristic of the determinative sentence although not confined to it.² On the other hand *yii*, with rare exceptions, is confined to verbal sentences. But Dobson's treatment of the two classes obscures this distribution. Thus, as Dobson notices himself,³ his examples of three out of his four types of determinant term generally end in *yee*, while his illustrations of the type which designates an attribute of an action generally end in *yii*. But we have already seen that the last type, if the test of a verb is the possibility of a preceding *bu*, should be classed as verbal. Dobson rejects the widespread theory that *yii* is similar in function to the colloquial *le* 了,⁴ and, apart from an unexplained reference to *yii* performing a continuative function,⁵ he limits himself to asserting that *yee* and *yii* are both stress particles, with the difference between them that *yee* stresses the ultimate and *yii* the penultimate word. He does not explain why *yii* is so common in sentences with no penultimate word after the agent or determined term, for example in three successive sentences which he quotes himself for a different purpose.⁶ A similar example in his annotated *Texts from LAC authors* is ignored in the notes.⁷ The utter subjectivity of his conviction that *yii* stresses the penultimate word can be seen from this example which he produces to support it:

今日病矣, 予助苗長矣... 苗則槁矣

'It has been a busy day *to-day*, I have been helping the young *shoots* to grow... but the seedlings *by that time* had withered' (Dobson).

Since there is no suggestion in the story that the peasant was not tired on previous days, why does he stress that he is tired *to-day*? Unless he has been in the habit of pulling up other plants to make them grow, why should he stress that it is the rice shoots that he has been helping to grow? Is it likely that *tszer* 則 could ever be stressed? If it were, could it possibly mean 'by that time'? On the other hand the explanation that *yii* is similar to *le* fits in each case.

The basic weakness of the book is that Dobson thinks in rigid categories and takes no account of the untidiness of languages. He assumes, for example,

¹ § 4.6, n. 8.

² As Dobson himself observes, § 4.13.

³ § 4.3.2, n. 3.

⁴ § 3.12, n. 74. The bibliography does not include the main Western contribution to this question: W. Simon, 'Die Bedeutung der Finalpartikel 矣', *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, XXXVII, 1, 1934, 143-68.

⁵ § 4.2.

⁶ § 4.3.1(d).

⁷ § 8.11.12.

that the Chinese verb must have *either* tense *or* aspect, in spite of the example of so many languages (including English) in which indications of the time of an event and its completion or continuance are almost inextricably entangled. If the accepted sense of a word refuses to fit his categories (or obstinately persists in fitting old-fashioned categories better), he alters it, and by way of evidence throws us half a dozen sentences which the alteration does not render unintelligible. However, this is a vice which often goes with the virtues of a system-builder. As a theoretical system Dobson's work is a pioneer enterprise of great interest, and it will clarify the questions for workers in this field, even when it does not provide the answers, for a long time to come.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

UKHDŪD

The martyrdom of the Christians of Najrān at the hands of the Jewish Dhū Nuwās has been a subject of discussion by scholars for some time, but there can be no doubt now of the historicity of the massacre of a group of Christians there. The word *ukhdūd*, however, associated with the massacre, generally rendered as 'trench', never seems to me to have been given any very satisfactory explanation. Madīnat al-Ukhdūd, the existence of which was made known to us by Halévy some time ago, lies on the south bank of the main course of the Wādī Najrān. H. St. J. B. Philby¹ has quite recently provided a map of the Wādī and a description of Ukhdūd itself.

The name Ukhdūd as applied to the old town of Najrān is not new, for al-Hamdānī² refers to it as *al-hajar al qaāmah marwī al-Ukhdūd* 'the old town, the site of al-Ukhdūd'. Philby reports that the castle of the old town is surrounded by a moat or trench, and we might indeed consider this as a likely site of the massacre. On the other hand from new data at my disposal I propose to offer some tentative alternatives to, or modifications of the traditional explanation.

There is the possibility that fire-walking was part of the old religion in Southern Arabia. Fire-walking still takes place, for example, at Sufyān near Lahej, the festival falling in 1954 on about 25 April.³ Bā Makhramah⁴ makes passing mention of *Qaryat al-shaikh Sufyān bi-jihat al-Yaman* 'the village of the shaikh Sufyān in the land of the Yemen'. If this locality is to be identified with the place a quarter of a mile from Lahej the name is then at least 400 years old. The name *mikrīb* is applied to this part of the *ziyārah* ceremony, or to the place upon which one fire-walks; on this point I am not quite certain. A fire is made of palm-trunks and the fire-walkers are said to walk over the hot embers. Perhaps the curious fate of the Christian martyrs was in some way connected with a *mikrīb*.

The *Tāj al-'arūs*⁵ discussing *ukhdūd*, reads, 'the flood (eas) *khadda* in the earth (*arḍ*) when it splits it by its running (flowing). The *mikhaddah* is an

¹ *Arabian highlands*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1952, 236 seq., 266.

² *Ṣifat jazirat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Muller, Leiden, 1884-91, I, 169.

³ My notes for 1954 mention a procession round Lahej town for the saint. There were three *bayāriq* with bells. The Manṣab belonged to the aboriginal racial group known as the Hijris. The *mikrīb* is outside Lahej and is attended by Majādhīb who would, for example, fall into a well in their state of ecstasy if they were not restrained. Women attend this festival as well as men. This *ziyārah* is specially favoured by Aden Indians, Muslims or Hindus, both men and women. *Al-Nahdah* (Aden, 21 December 1951), III, cv, p. 7, remarked folk (*sha'bi*) dances there, men and women dancing together, and the *funburah* (lute) playing. The description runs, *عابرة والمكريب عن حرق اعداء من الخشب الصلب حتى تصبح جمرًا احمر ثم يأتي المجاذيب ويلبسون على هذه الجمرات الحمراء بأقدامهم الخافية العارية كأنهم يدوسون على قطع من الثلج*.

⁴ *Fatāwā* in photocopy in SOAS, fol. 238b.

⁵ *Tāj al-'arūs*, II, 343.

iron instrument (*ḥadīdah*) with which one *khadds* the ground, i.e. splits it'. I have seen iron bars used to split the rock to make *naqābahs* in Ḥaḍramawt but do not think this name was applied to them. One might deduce then that an *ukhdūd* could also apply to a course carved out by flood-water. My field notes on irrigation in Dathīnah in fact record *khudūd* as 'a sort of furrowing in the ground by a *sail* (flood), a hole, always long-wise'.¹ Hirschberg² indeed states that a Monophysite author says the Christians were killed in a *wādī*.

The contemporary writer Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī³ has described al-Jurbah in Yāfi'i territory as situated on a *tell*, surrounded by *akhādūd* '*amiqah mal'ah bi-nabāt al-dhurah*' deep *ukhdūds* filled with the millet plant'. These are evidently not trenches in our sense of the word, though they might be long narrow fields. I think he may well mean something of this sort banked at the sides with great ranges of mud wall composed of the spoil removed each year from the fields and heaped on the banks at the edge. I have not asked Ṣalāḥ why he used *akhādūd*, but it seems strange that an Arab writer to-day should employ such a word if he had not heard it, or something like it, used in the colloquial language.

This root also does still exist in the agricultural vocabulary of Southern Arabia, and I first remarked it on Hermann von Wissmann's map of Wādī 'Amd. It also occurs, without comment or explanation, as a toponym in the near-by Wādī Rakhyah in the *Shāmīl* of 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir where Al-Khudūd li-'l-Baqqārah Āl Ballaith appears.⁴ I questioned the 'Aṭṭās Saiyids of Ḥuraidah about this name and was shown both diagrammatically and on the ground what a *khadūd* was. As it is intended to publish a short account of this irrigation system separately, let it suffice to say that the *khadūd* is the field in a series irrigated by a flood channel which is watered sixth and last in that series. The *khadūds* which I saw in the Wādī Tajrūb at Ḥuraidah were all surrounded by high banks. In the town of Shibām similar fields are often surrounded by banks of perhaps 15 ft. in height or even more, which must have been formed by centuries of dumping of the spoil of the flood-water at the side of the field.

If the *khadūd* and *ukhdūd* are to be made equivalent it might be that the Najrān martyrs were assembled in such a banked field with soldiers standing on the bank itself.

R. B. SERJEANT

¹ cf. article '*Khadda*' in *Gloss. dat.*

² J. W. Hirschberg, 'Nestorian sources of North-Arabian traditions on the establishment and persecution of Christianity in Yemen', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xv, 1939-49, 321-38.

³ *Fī sharq al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1374/1955, 37.

⁴ Microfilm in SOAS, p. 132. It is said that this vast work is about to be printed in Singapore in a somewhat revised form.

SAINT SERGIUS

In the Siḥīl Quarter or Ward of Tarīm is to be found the Masjid Nabī Allāh Jarjis—at least so the educated pronunciation of his name runs, but, said my informant, he is ordinarily called Sarjis.

The name appears, without vocalization of course in any of the sources I quote, in *al-Mashra' al-rawi*¹ in the form Sarjis, but reference is made to his mosque² *infra* as Masjid Jarjis. From a notice in the *Manāqib al-'Aidaris*³ we have the record of the existence of the Masjid Sarjis as long ago as the time of the famous Ḥadramī saint Sa'd al-Suwainī (ob. A.D. 1453).⁴ Again the Ḥuraidah MS of the *Manāqib Al Qushair* alludes to the *majrā sail Khailah taht Masjid Sarjis* 'the flood-course of al-Khailah, beside the Mosque of Sarjis'. Al-Khailah is one of the *wādīs* of Tarīm city, and I surmise that it may be this name that gives rise to the town's nickname, *khailah khailatain* 'a horse (nay!) two horses'. If so one may deduce that the Siḥīl Quarter is one of the most ancient parts of the city, especially as the nickname is said to be the exclamation of a Tarīmī on seeing the first Muslim forces camped outside its walls in pagan times.

The prophet Sarjis is generally reckoned in Tarīm to be pre-Islāmic, and *al-Mashra' al-rawi*¹ relates that many pious Tarīmīs have met with the prophet al-Khidr there. The name is immediately reminiscent of Sergius; that such foreign names were not unknown in ancient Arabia is proven from Hamdānī's⁵ reference to Romanus al-Kalbī, and it seems that the memory of such a name has even persisted down to our own times in the case of the ancient king Decianus in a local legend recorded by Philby.⁶ The name Sarjis itself appears in the *Strah*.⁷

My attention has been drawn by Dr. J. B. Segal to the statement of Henri Charles⁸ that the name Sergius has always been popular among Arabic-speaking Christians. The Bedouin, he thinks, would come into touch with sanctuaries of this saint, for from A.D. 354 oratories of Saint Sergius were very numerous in the western Limes, as well as churches and chapels. The splendid cathedral of Bosra was dedicated to the saints Sergius and Bakos, and there was a sanctuary of Sergius at the Ghassanid centre of Jabiyat. As late as A.D. 609-10 a church at Babisqa was dedicated to Saint Sergius, and both Justinian and Chosroes II

¹ Muh. b. Abī Bakr al-Shillī, *al-Mashra' al-rawi*, Cairo, A.H. 1319, I, 141. A list of mosques also occurs in the British Museum MS *al-Tiryāq al-shāf* of 'Umar b. Muh. Bā Shābān, f. 199a, but it adds nothing to the *Mashra'*.

² op. cit., II, 239.

³ Photocopy in SOAS, miracle no. 19.

⁴ My 1953 notes say that the Masjid Nabī Allāh Jarjis consists of seven mosques, and the last person who built it was a certain Ḥasan al-Warī'. Other mosques in Tarīm are said to be composed of several mosques, each named after the person who constructed or reconstructed that particular portion.

⁵ *Ṣifāt jazīrat al-'Arab*, op. cit., 180.

⁶ op. cit., 342, Dakyanus who flourished 300 years before Muhammad.

⁷ A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, O.U.P., 1955, 668.

⁸ *Le christianisme des Arabes nomades sur le Limes*, Paris, 1936, 29 seq.

who gave ex-voto gifts, had a strong interest in this sanctuary. Dr. E. Ullendorff has further pointed out to me that Saint Sergius is mentioned in Ethiopic sources,¹ Sergius and Bacchus having their festival on 10 Təḫəmt.

There is, however, a further possibility in that the *Book of the Himyarites*² alludes to the presbyter Sergios, a Roman,³ and again Sergius,⁴ perhaps the same person, was one of the Christians martyred by Masrūq. The Syriac name has exactly the same form as our Arabic Sarjīs.

In conclusion it seems that we have to do with a Christian saint whose memory, or whose name at least, has survived some fourteen centuries. A tradition has even survived, of course, that Ḥaḍramawt had itself been Christian⁵. The allusions to the lamps in the monk's cell in Imra'u 'l-Qais⁶ may, like his references to Dammūn and 'Andal, have specifically Ḥaḍramawt in mind, for the verse shows characteristically South Arabian diction. If the Sergius of al-Khailah be the same personage as the saint beloved by the northern Arabian Bedouin of former times, then his cult had surely extended a far cry to the south, but Tarīm is not so very distant from the Christian communities of Najrān which may even have survived as late as the thirteenth century A.D.⁷

R. B. SERJEANT

¹ William Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1877, p. 160.

² Ed. Axel Moberg, Lund, 1924, p. cix, MS f. 14b.

³ It is interesting to remark that there were also presbyters from Ḥirah and Abyssinia.

⁴ op. cit., p. cxvi, MS f. 24b.

⁵ C. F. Beekingham and R. B. Serjeant, 'A journey by two Jesuits from Dhufār to Ṣan'ā' in 1590', *Geog. Jour.*, cxv, 4-6, 1950, 197.

⁶ C. J. Lyall, *Commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta, 1894, Ar. text p. 26. *Aw maḥbiḥu rāhibin ahāna 'l-salīta bi-'l-ḥubālī 'l-mufattālī*. *Salūt* is said to be Yemenite for sesame-oil by the lexicons—which is still true to-day; both the other words are used commonly for 'wick', though one says *ṣalīlah* and not *mufattāl*.

⁷ Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Lofgren, Leiden, 1951-4, 209. The population consisted of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, each religion constituting one-third of the population, but Ibn al-Mujāwir does not reveal whether this is contemporary observation or merely quotation from earlier sources. A survival of the Christian community into the Middle Ages is a little unexpected, but the Jewish community, as can be ascertained from Philby, loc. cit., survived up till its final exodus a few years ago.

A 31 SYLLABLE POEM

<i>Megumi mote</i>	恵 持 て
<i>Hagukumi kureshi</i>	育 み く れ し
<i>Igirisu wo</i>	イ ギ リ ス を
<i>Kansha sasagete</i>	感 謝 捧 げ て
<i>Kare wa yukunari</i>	彼 は 行 く な り

An adopted son of Britain,
 To whom every kindness has been given,
 The time for him has come
 To join the great shadow,
 Full of gratitude he now bids farewell to
 this beloved land of Albion.

B. MATSUKAWA (1890-1959)
 Lecturer in Japanese, 1943-55

REVIEWS

CLAUDE SUMNER: *Étude expérimentale de l'amharique moderne (d'après la prononciation d'Abraham François)*. *Seconde édition*. [xii], xl, 90 pp., plate, map. Addis Ababa: The University College Press, 1957.

This experimental study ('experimental' in the sense of 'experimental phonetics') was first published in 1951. The second edition differs from the first only in the omission of an appendix containing a full exposition of the material on which the study was based.

The method employed—the detailed measurement of kymograph tracings, unsupported by other evidence—has severe limitations; we are presented, for instance, with a wealth of information about the duration of the vowels while their quality is merely indicated by dots on the traditional vowel diagram. Nevertheless there are many points of interest, notably concerning the voicing of *h*, the phonetic characteristics of the affricates, labiovelars, and geminated consonants, and the relative duration of vowels and the consonants that follow them. Some of the statements, however, are phrased in rather more precise terms than might be considered fully justified from kymographic evidence; the chief difficulty about the interpretation of kymograms is that of deciding the precise point at which a feature of the articulation begins or ends, and the measurement of such a feature cannot be more than roughly accurate.

The section on intonation is, perhaps, the most useful. The method of statement, in terms of intonation tunes, is far more appropriate to Amharic, which is not a tone language in the traditional sense, than the system of two syllable-tones used by R. O. Abraham (*The principles of Amharic*), though the simplicity of the latter may have a pedagogical advantage. The conclusion is that there are four tunes—1, rise-fall, 2, fall-rise, 3, rise, and 4, fall. That this conclusion is not easily deducible from the material presented is by no means a condemnation of it, but partly an inevitable result of a genuine attempt to base the statement on an attested text rather than upon utterances deliberately engendered for contrast and comparison. Yet further detail on two points is required. First, there is no statement concerning the limits of each tune. In the phonetic text the limits are marked by four vertical dots which, unfortunately, are used earlier in the book to indicate a kind of gemination that is shown in the text by the doubling of a letter; but, only reference to the appendix that appears in the first edition shows that these represent silence. Secondly,

many small rises and falls within the main tunes have been ignored. These can probably be dealt with in terms of juncture features of units smaller than the sentence; it is especially to be noted that a high pitch is often to be found on the final syllable of a word. It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the simplest intonational unit is not marked by silence on both sides, but rather that within silences we shall find combinations or sequences of tunes. Finally one must remember that the analysis is of a narrative text; it is extremely probable that the intonation patterns of ordinary conversation will be much more complex, and that the periods of silence will be fewer and less easily correlated with the grammatical pieces that in the written text are marked by the punctuation.

In spite of the great value of the information contained in this book, it is a disappointment that the author decided to republish it in its present form. In the preface there is a most tantalizing reference to the additional auditory and acoustic (spectrographic) material that he has obtained since the first edition appeared. It is sincerely to be hoped that this will soon be made available.

F. R. PALMER

WOLF LESLAU: *Ethiopic and South Arabic contributions to the Hebrew lexicon*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, xx.) [vii], 76 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958. \$1.75.

Two basic shortcomings of Semitic philology, Professor Leslau suggests, are the lack of adequate material from the spoken languages, and, where such material is available, its neglect in favour of the supposedly more important classical languages. This book has the limited aim of overcoming these shortcomings, as far as the Ethiopic and South Arabian languages are concerned, in the works of Ludwig Koehler and Frants Buhl.

Part of the reason for the neglect of the spoken languages is, undoubtedly, our ignorance about their comparative status within the Semitic field. It is not enough, therefore, merely to set out, as Professor Leslau does, a list of Hebrew words together with the related or tentatively related Ethiopic and South Arabian forms. For without much more general information the reader has little opportunity of judging the validity of the proposed etymologies. The only generalized statement in this book is in the form of a list of correspondences between the consonants of Hebrew

and Ethiopic, but in an oversimplified form; that the relationships are complex is both clear throughout the book and explicitly stated by Professor Lealau in his article 'Some mutilated roots in Ethiopic' (*Lingua*, vi, 3, 1957, 268-86). It is impossible, moreover, to establish correspondences within the Ethiopic field without dealing with the vowels, which in the South Ethiopic languages are often the only indication of the nature of an original consonant.

In relating the Ethiopic languages and Hebrew the problem is intensified by the fact that in addition to the genetic Semitic relationship, there are two other possibilities, first, that a word may have been borrowed into the Ethiopic from Arabic, and secondly that it may be a Cushitic loan, but still relatable to Hebrew through Cushitic-Semitic. Professor Lealau has, in a series of articles, dealt with Arabic loans in the Ethiopic languages, but with the exception of his 'Arabic loan-words in Geez' (*JSS*, iii, 2, 1958, 146-63) has given few criteria for the recognition of such loans. The reader is thus unable to evaluate his identification of words as Arabic loans, and all too often the identification is qualified by 'probably' or 'perhaps'. The problem of Cushitic cannot be thoroughly investigated until we have more information about the Cushitic languages; the recognition, for instance, that Bilin 'aya (p. 10) is of a common Bilin syllabic and morphological pattern rather than that of the numerous Semitic loans, suggests strongly that the similar Tigre form is borrowed from Bilin and only to be related to the Hebrew through Cushitic.

The first and greatest need, however, is for a detailed statement of the comparative relationships that link the spoken languages with one another and with the classical languages. Without this at least, the statement of individual correspondences cannot fail to remain inconclusive.

F. R. PALMER

VICTOR A. TOBERIKOVER and ALEXANDER FUKS (ed.): *Corpus papyrorum judaicarum*. Vol. I. xx, 294 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Magnes Press, the Hebrew University [Jerusalem], 1957. \$12.00. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 96s.)

Although the study of papyri can yield much evidence relative to Egyptian Jewry and its extra-territorial contacts, that evidence has been hitherto difficult to trace out for all who are not familiar with papyrological scholarship. Apart from the Aramaic letters from Elephantine virtually all the material is in Greek, scattered throughout the various collections

the arrangement of which, in publication, has naturally been determined by considerations other than the Jewish interest. This extremely valuable *Corpus* will bring together all known Jewish references, so that historians, economists, jurists, and those concerned with several other branches of Jewish scholarship will be able to exploit them. In 1924 a volume by J. M. Roth appeared entitled *Greek papyri lights on Jewish history*, and other publications have long since been following up so fruitful a mine of information: but the present *Corpus* is conceived on a monumental scale, and is thereby entitled to rank alongside such fundamental and indispensable tools of research as the *Wörterbuch* of Preisigke and Kieselring and Preisigke's own *Namenbuch*.

The *Corpus* is intended to be completed in three volumes; that here discussed includes the documents of the Ptolemaic period only (till 30 B.C.E.), but contains the *prolegomena* to the whole work, thus covering the early Roman period (to the Jewish revolt ending in 137 C.E.), and the late Roman and Byzantine (ending in 641 with the Arab conquest). The 6 sections in this volume (the whole work will contain 15) muster 141 main items, including some *ostraka*. One item only (No. 141)—an important, though enigmatic, early reference to antisemitism—has not hitherto been published. Of the remainder, all documents published in the early decades of papyrological studies have been freshly investigated, and substantial bibliographical references are given for all. Throughout, the editors have added valuable comments of their own.

The nature of the documents in which Jewish reference is explicit is such as to indicate that others, lacking specification, may well concern Jewish principals or third parties whose identification as Jews depends on considerations of nomenclature. The criteria for the determination of what are 'Jewish' names need to be carefully established, and the editors set forth (p. xvii ff.) the principles adopted. Since Christians as well as Jews bore biblical names, caution must be exercised in postulating Jewishness on the strength of a name taken from the Hebrew Bible; and the editors have rightly preferred to risk the error of excluding, perhaps, some genuine Jewish references to the compromising of the value of the *Corpus* by the inclusion of a mass of documents of doubtful Jewish connexion. Since, however, the earliest Christians to bear biblical names were ecclesiastics, and evidence for their occurrence among lay folk begins perhaps not before the fourth century, the editors have assumed that any 'Old Testament' name occurring before the death of Constantine (337 C.E.) and not borne by an ecclesiastic, refers to a Jew.

The present volume begins with Jewish items from the Zenon Papyri affecting both Palestine and the Fayûm in the third century B.C.E. Since Palestinian history for this century is scarcely known at all, the fact that these documents record an association of importance between Toubias, a rich Jewish landowner of ancient lineage settled east of Jordan, and the Ptolemaic court, is of considerable significance. Other sections deal with Jewish military settlers, peasants, artisans, tax collectors, etc., and a miscellaneous section includes, *inter alia*, an *ostrakon* of the first century B.C.E. (No. 139) that records contributors to a dining club that met on the 15th and 16th of an unnamed month (?Nisan, for the first two evenings of Passover). Other items that may be singled out are No. 19 (a civil action in 226 B.C.E. between Jewish parties before a Greek court); No. 33 (second century B.C.E., Jews and Greeks separately mentioned but equally taxed); and No. 127, a group of documents that authenticate the historicity of Dositheos, son of Drimylas, who according to 3 Maccabees was a renegade Jew who thwarted an attempt on the life of Ptolemy IV Philopator at Raphia in 217 B.C.E. The papyri show him to have been one of the two heads of the royal secretariat and, as eponymous priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies, to have occupied the highest priestly office in Hellenistic Egypt. In No. 1, l. 5, the name of the [Sid]onian (Tcherikover's restoration) slave-girl Σππαις (259 B.C.E.) recalls the maiden's request in Song of Songs viii, 6 to her lover to set her 'as a seal' (*hotham*) upon his heart. (A male name *hotham* occurs in the Hebrew Bible.) In No. 47 the name Θεόμητρος, alongside such translated Hebrew names as Θεότορος, perhaps renders Zechariah. The editors make out a plausible case for identifying the Onias to whom one Herodes wrote a letter on 21 September 164 B.C.E. (No. 132) with the high priest Onias IV, now taken to have been the founder of the Temple of Leontopolis rather than Onias III, although according to Josephus his flight to Egypt took place after 162.

The 111 pages of *prolegomena* to this work will be particularly welcomed. In them the editors have synthesized the papyrological data with the literary and archaeological, and have produced what is effectively a history of Egyptian Jewry from Ptolemy I until the post-Constantinian period. We are shown the Jewish integration into the totalitarian economy of the Ptolemaic period, in which a *gymnasium* education was the essential prerequisite to a career in the higher civil service towards which all aspired; the gradual disruption of the Jewish situation in early Roman times owing to the loosening of state control,

the hostile exclusiveness of the Greek population of Alexandria, and the failure of the Jewish revolt in 117 C.E. and the return, under the later Empire, of rigid state control into which extraneous elements could not any longer be harmoniously fitted. It is significant that, whereas the culmination of the first phase has a literary monument in the works of Philo, it is from the papyri that the story of the decline must be pieced together; and it is they, too, which give us, in two tiny scraps from Oxyrhynchus to be dated c. 400 C.E., written in Hebrew but referring to Jewish communal leaders as *prostatin* (προστάται), a glimpse of the Egyptian community turning back to its ancestral culture but bound, in spite of itself, to the Greek world in which it had lived for so long. In this connexion mention might have been made in passing of two further items, both in the Cambridge University Library, viz. an Aramaic (?) papyrus of the fifth-sixth century C.E. (MS Add. 1892), and the fragments of *papyrus* discovered by Dr. J. L. Teicher. The late Professor Tcherikover's scrupulousity as a scholar and an editor are in no way impugned if it is recognized that, writing in Jerusalem and as one of a generation into whose mind the history of post-emancipation German Jewry has been as it were seared, he has not been entirely able to insulate himself against the operation of the *Zeitgeist*.

The book is beautifully produced, although the English has in a few places been inadequately revised—e.g. p. 108, n. 48, *palaeographs*; and the rendition of Hebrew names, which generally appear in their conventional English forms, is not absolutely self-consistent (e.g. p. 230, *Ahashver*). But in the interests of the final indexing of the whole, this can scarcely be altered in future volumes.

RAPHAEL LOEWE

FREDERICK VICTOR WINNETT (ed. and tr.): *Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan*. (Near and Middle East Series.) ix, 209 pp., 10 plates. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 60s.

The 1009 inscriptions which Professor Winnett presents in this volume come from the desert of northern Transjordan and are the fruit of an expedition undertaken jointly by the Jordan Department of Antiquities and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1950. The present publication comprises an introduction, pp. 1-4, the texts of the inscriptions and their interpretation and individual commentaries and notes thereupon, pp. 5-135, and a word list, pp. 136-209.

This collection of Safaitic inscriptions shares with other previously known ones the main

characteristics of subject matter which make the 'content of the average Safaitic inscription not particularly exciting, consisting as a rule of the author's name and genealogy only'. But this collection has also its share of inscriptions which yield occasional information which 'imparts to them sufficient importance that the student of early Arabic or of early Syrian history cannot afford to ignore them'. Moreover, this collection happens to contain some new points of information to which Professor Winnett draws attention in his introduction.

Most important, with regard to the whole field of Safaitic studies, are two points which are in reality inter-related: first, that a number of inscriptions are written in a square type of script; and second, the fact that a number of such inscriptions contain references to historical incidents which may help to date these inscriptions and their script.

An inscription written in this square type of script, No. 688, mentions 'the year of the struggle with the people of the Jews'. Professor Winnett, who is of the opinion that the square script is older than the commoner type of script, comments that if this event 'be the revolt of Arabs of Trachonitis against Herod the Great sometime between 23 and 14 B.C., this type of script was current in the first century B.C.' (p. 3). Two of the new inscriptions refer also to a rebellion of the tribe 'Awdh against Rome 'the year the Persians came to Bozra'. The incident is also mentioned in previously known inscriptions. Professor Winnett, who had argued in 1951 in favour of the identification of the Persian invasion referred to with that of A.D. 614, says, 'A fact which I have since noted, namely, that most of the inscriptions referring to this revolt and the related Persian invasion are written in the old square script, makes it impossible to accept so late a date' (p. 12). He decides therefore that some invasion in the first century B.C. must have been referred to although 'it is difficult to identify it with any known Persian incursion of that period' (p. 3). He adds, however (p. 19), that Mr. G. Lankester Harding is not convinced that the square script is necessarily older than the more common type.

It is safe to presume that much of the argument for the antiquity of the square script is based in the reference to the 'year of the struggle with the people of the Jews' in No. 688 which Professor Winnett identifies with the incident in the first century B.C. referred to above. There is, however, another incident of a much later date which could possibly fit this reference. The event might have been the revolt of the Samaritans in A.D. 529, which was suppressed by Theodorus, the *dux* of Palestine, with the help of the phylarch of Palestine. This phylarch was the Arab

Qhasranid king al-Ḥārith b. Jabala, whose jurisdiction might well have extended over the region where these inscriptions were found and thus over its inhabitants, from whose ranks his forces must have been drawn. (Cf. Irfan Kavar, 'Arethas, son of Jabalah', *JAOS*, LXXV, 4, 1955, 205-16.) This date will bring this inscription within less than a century of A.D. 614. The same al-Ḥārith could have been *hr̥t* referred to in No. 296. In line with this late dating of these events one can suggest that No. 88, which mentions 'the year Caesar ejected the Persians', might refer to the defeat of the Persians and the reconquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 624. Both No. 88 and No. 296 are not in the square script.

Unfortunately it is difficult to be reasonably sure about which of the two dates is more acceptable because of the poor circumstantial and contextual information offered by these inscriptions. But if the later dates for these incidents were to be accepted, then it would mean that this script remained in use, and so did the form of language in which the inscriptions were written, right down to the very time of the Arab conquest of these regions. Such a hypothesis is remarkable indeed.

It is normally very difficult to dispute the validity of an interpretation given to the few occasional phrases that occur in these inscriptions since contextual evidence is mostly very scanty if not completely lacking. There is no apparent reason, therefore, why one possible interpretation, properly documented, should be more probable than another possible one. Professor Winnett has satisfactorily rendered most of the new words and terms, and one often feels that his efforts cannot be excelled or improved upon. But the rendering of *wkt* in No. 152 as 'store-house' by comparing '(Ar. wakkālah)', is unacceptable. This Arabic usage (*wakkālah* and not *wakkālah*; cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, II, 338) is a relatively modern Egyptian colloquialism for another relatively modern Egyptian term *dār al-wakkālah* 'factory'; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, *Supp.* The expression *gyb m̄n hukl* could be rendered 'he was absent because of illness'; cf. Ar. *wakāl* 'weakness, inability'.

The word list which Professor Winnett appended to his work is very well arranged and contains references to previous standard works on Safaitic inscriptions. And in spite of the shortcomings of producing such a work in typescript form, the outcome is pleasing to look at and easy to consult. In the foreword Professor Winnett finds it necessary to apologize for the delay in publishing these inscriptions, but one can only feel happy that the delay has produced this study which leaves hardly anything to be desired.

MAHMUD 'ALI GHUL

ANANIASZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI: *Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak de l'époque de l'État Mamelouk: Bulğat al-muštāq fī luğat at-Turk wa-l-Qifjāq. 1-ère partie. Le nom.* (Prace Orientalistyczne, Tom VII.) xxiii, 63, [i], 16, [i] pp., 28 plates. Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1958.

Though mentioned as early as 1921 by J. Deny this manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale of a Turkish vocabulary remained until recently inaccessible to investigators of the Turkish languages. However, Zajączkowski's foreword bearing the date of June 1938 reminds us that the delay in publication is not to be attributed only to lack of zeal on the part of our colleagues. The first part of the work was published before 1939, but the second part was delayed for 16 years by the war and following events so that it came out only in 1954. Now part I reappears with a new title-page and contents, an 'addenda' and a complete facsimile reproduction of the relevant section of the manuscript.

This Arabic-Turkish vocabulary is one of the manuals written in the domain of the Mamluks in order to teach the Turkish language spoken in Egypt and Syria in the twelfth-fifteenth centuries. A few books of this kind, including Abū Ḥayyān's important *Kitāb al-'Idrāk*, have come down to us from the same period and area and have mostly issued from Turkey. The publication of *Bulğat al-muštāq* increases the material available for comparison in this subject.

Essentially these books are produced by compilation from one or two original works which apparently have not come down to us. Such is also the case with the present one which was presumably compiled by the middle of the fourteenth century in Syria. Its author Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Abdullāh al-Turkī, states in the foreword that he selected material for his book from the works *al-Anwār al-mudī'a* by 'Alā' al-Dīn Beylik al-Qifjāqī and *al-Šahīh min al-durrat al-mudī'a* by 'Imād al-Dīn Dāūd b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq al-Miṣrī. We know that Abū Ḥayyān had made good use of the first work as well. Jamāl al-Dīn says 'he added many things which they had neglected'. In fact his book resembles in form the anonymous work called *Tarjūmānu Turkī* which was edited by Houtsma. Was it possibly one of his two main sources?

Two Turkish dialects, namely Kıpçak and Türkmen (Oguz) were spoken side by side in the Mamluks' court and army at that time. The grammars and vocabularies at hand reflect this duality in varying degrees. In *Bulğat*

al-muštāq we can establish the overwhelming Turkmen influence. The few grammatical forms it contains are mostly Türkmen. This book tells us even by its title that it is dealing with two dialects: *Turk* (Turkmen) and *Qifjāq*. Zajączkowski's correction of Deny's translation of *turk-kiptchak* is justified.

But according to this the new designation of the same book as *Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak* can hardly be right. Though already traditional we do not find it sufficiently precise to call the language of these philological documents of Mamluk origin simply *kiptchak*. The name of 'Kölemen Turkish' would be more suitable practically. In any case the content of these manuals needs careful analysis.

The writing of the Turkish words in the manuscript is very defective and the diacritics are often misleading. Nevertheless the editor undertook the heavy task of establishing a reliable text. The analytic index he made is also better than any of its half a dozen predecessors in the field of Kölemen Turkish.

We cannot, of course, always agree with the editor in the reading of difficult words. We give here some of our various suggestions:

1. p. 2, l. 9: أرز برجي = **urzi berici* ⇒ الرزاق (instead of *azuq bārīkī*) < Per. روزی = livelihood.

2. p. 3, l. 1: انم اخسكر قشطر = *anam* (or *ebem*) ax sešir(?) kuşatur = القوس قزح (instead of *ābām dēkisin goşu*) certainly < Anat. *kuşatmak* = to gird, cf. *SDD*, v, *aldımı sema* = *al kuşak, ala kuşak, yeşil kuşak, al yeşil kuşak, dede kuşağı, ebe kuşağı, ebem kuşağı, gelin kuşağı, gök kuşağı, yağmur kuşağı*, etc. It is a locution with a verb in the present tense just like *LATR*. *ibid.* Azer. *gar nānā örkān çākir* and Anat. *geylan kızını everiyor* = sunshine and rain at the same time.

3. p. 6, l. 6: سوار = *savur* = الرحيل الى القتال (instead of *sāwru*) < *LATR*. *savmak* = حوّل.

4. p. 7, l. 10: صانق = *saglık* (or *saglık*) = النجى (instead of *saylag*) < Anat. *sagılmak* = to be milked, cf. *LATR* and *HGLs*. *idem*.

5. p. 7, l. 12: ازك = *üzük* = الخصى من الغنم (instead of *örük*) < *LATR*. *uzmek* = انقطع, cf. Anat. *buruk, burma* = castrated.

6. p. 8, l. 10: سكرك = *sögrük* = القيد (instead of *sökrük*) < *TTS*, i, *söğürmek* = to roast < **söğümek*, cf. Kasg. *söğüş* (*MW* *süküş, suguş*... *yuzuz*).

7. p. 7, l. 15: سلنمش ات = *söğünmiş at* = الشرايح (instead of *söklänmiş at*) = *HGLs*.

sökilmis *di* (read *söğulmiş*) = الشرايح < TTS, I, *söğülmek* = to roast, Kagg. idem. (MW *sükülmäk* = braten) < **söğümek*.

8. p. 7, l. 15: سكلنجى = *söglünçü* = الشوى (instead of *söküncü*) < TTS, I, *söglünmek* = to be roasted < *söğülmek* < **söğümek*, cf. HGLs. *söküncü* (read *söglünçü*), Latr. *sövlünçü*, Kagg. *söglünçü* (MW *süküncü* = Braten), but TZ *sölençü*.

9. p. 13, l. 7: اينى كن = *önü kün* = بعدد (instead of *ajny kün*), cf. SDD, v, *evvelki gün* = *öndüğü*.

10. p. 15, l. 14: ايلدى جق = *eyle diyi çak* = لاقال (instead of *äjlädiçaq* = *ajytdyçaq*, *söjlädiçaq*) = lorsqu'il disait (comme ça) > Old O *äyicet*.

T. BANGUOĞLU

These remarks arise from a different subjective approach to the question of teaching Arabic. The authors have done us no small service in producing a book so attractive and so competent; their *Introduction* will be of very great use. The dust cover advertises a set of four long-playing records to accompany the book though it is not clear whether all the Arabic passages are included. Being the written word, perhaps some of these might not always be what one would say over the radio for instance though the difference is probably slight; what is more serious is that if the teachers should be speaking slowly for their students a certain artificiality often creeps into the material—it might be interesting to try teaching speed, followed by ordinary speed of broadcasting for example. One presumes also that the material will be fully vocalized as in the text.

R. B. SERJEANT

FARHAT J. ZIADEH and R. BAYLY WINDER: *An introduction to modern Arabic*. xii, 298 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 30s.

The xerographed version of this volume was reviewed in *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 377; the said version has been tried out, and a number of alterations made, but there seem to be no material differences. There is much that is attractive about the method which is an attempt at the presentation of, for the most part, the Arabic of the contemporary press, in the least painful way possible! Nevertheless the paradigms at the back of the book number no less than 52 pages, so that, in a sense, the trouble of learning them is merely shelved. The reviewer feels that the analysis is too slight in itself to enable a student to memorize grammar rules—perhaps a simple restatement in bold type to catch the eye, would drive home the grammatical rules which can be deduced from the lesson and commentary. For instance (p. 162) the rules for the use of the conditional particle *in* are given as part of the commentary, but while well presented, would it not help to restate these rules in simple formulae in summary at the end of the chapter for systematization in the mind of the learner? Another criticism that could be made is that the section 'The Arabic language in general' crams much of the structure of Arabic into 5½ pages, a miracle of compression, and, in its way, a *tour de force*, but is it strictly necessary to include so many pages of what is purely theoretical and not likely to be easily understood by a student, before the first examples are given? Much of what will be difficult reading to him might be picked up as he goes along.

HANS WEHR (ed.): *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Dritte, unveränderte Auflage. xi, 986 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 57.

HANS WEHR: *Supplement zum Arabischen Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. viii, 144 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959. DM. 20.

Professor Wehr's dictionary, completed by him in 1949, is now of course our standard work on contemporary written Arabic, and its great worth has been tested to his own satisfaction many times by the reviewer. Yet it is idle to consider it in any sense complete, and one may amuse oneself by looking up the neologisms which appear in the daily papers to see how many one can find missing in Professor Wehr's work, and point to deficiencies. The growth of the technical scientific vocabulary in everyday use since 1949 is of course partly responsible for this, and one might point for example to the fact that in neither dictionary nor supplement can one find *al-gamr al-ṣināʿī* for 'satellite', and while *al-khair al-ʿamm* is found, the *dawlat al-khair al-ʿamm* or 'welfare state' does not seem to have found its way into these pages. Of the technical vocabulary which varies sometimes from country to country, one might instance the case of the military vocabulary, Professor Wehr says in the *Supplement*, 'Auf dem Gebiete der Neuschöpfung technischer und wissenschaftlicher Fachausdrücke ist das Chaos noch immer nicht viel geringer geworden'. One may wonder, too, how many words in the paper on Arabic equivalents for the vocabulary of the oil

industry read by Dr. Speers at the recent oil conference in Cairo would figure in these volumes, yet this is the greatest industry of the Arab Middle East.

The *Supplement* is a useful and necessary addition to the materials of the original volume, though of course its 144 pages make no pretence at filling the ever widening gap between what has been recorded by contemporary lexicographers, and what is daily being invented. The actual sources utilized by Professor Wehr are described on p. vi of his introduction, and they include Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese novels; here also he defines the extent, and the limitations of his new work. The same conventions used in the original dictionary are also used in his new work, and where possible when the usage of a word is confined to a single country or group of countries this is shown. It is a pity that there is no organized method of recording new words as they appear or as they become established, for it seems more likely that words will be added to the language by this species of evolution rather than that they will come from the 'academic' activities of such learned and worthy bodies as the Egyptian Academy whose word-lists, as Professor Wehr remarks, are not really much used, whereas his entries are supported by usages reported from actual contexts in which they figure. However the time has come when one scholar so industrious, and with so many willing collaborators as Professor Wehr cannot cope with the output of current literature, to say nothing of the radio, and something on a more systematically and widely organized scale is patently necessary.

R. B. SERJEANT

WADIE JWAIDEH (tr.): *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān*. xvi, 79 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959. Guilders 15.

Wadie Jwaideh's slim volume is far more than a mere translation for it contains almost as much in footnotes as it does in text, though this does not infer, of course, that the text does not read well. It is in fact a thoroughly annotated rendering, fully documented with references to the Arabic, and even to the Greek sources from which the Arab writers derived their information, and which Yāqūt transmits. There is also appropriate documentation of modern authorities on ancient geography and allied subjects. From a perusal of this documentation of the ancient sources one is able to form a very fair conception of how Yāqūt compiled his invaluable *Mu'jam*, and even the non-Arabist could appreciate the extent of the Arab contribution to geographical knowledge very quickly, and evaluate Arab geography's

indebtedness to the classical writers before Islam. Yāqūt's preface seems to contain the complete sum of knowledge, according to the ideas of the time, of geography as it was known to the Arabs; this is of course the familiar blend of fact, legend, Muslim tradition, and Greek notions, to which one is accustomed in Arabic literature, a description of the Earth and its physical features, the seven climes, a definition of terms, of distances, of provinces, and even some legal matter on *fay'* and *ghanimah* lands, all of which winds up with proverbial sayings about specific countries.

The translation has been made on the basis of the German and Egyptian editions, but there is certainly some mystery about the Egyptian edition, for using the same recension of the Egyptian version as Wadie Jwaideh the reviewer finds on p. 44 that it reads 'Jarmā' and 'an-Nūbah' for the 'Jarmi' and 'an-Nabwah' given by him. The latter is certainly not to be explained by the translator's corrections or selective readings made as he considers fit. Of Yāqūt's achievements, Wadie Jwaideh says, 'Far from being an indiscriminate compiler, he has often proved himself to be a writer of considerable critical acumen. His spirited defence of Ibn al-Kalbi despite the fact that the latter's unorthodox methods of investigation were suspect to many leading scholars at the time, does credit to his sound sense of judgement'. The usefulness of the *Mu'jam* he makes clear also by the discussion of the numerous studies and monographs made on the basis of the data provided by Yāqūt. It is curious, however, that in so well documented a work it seems to have escaped the writer's notice that we have extant a manuscript in Yāqūt's own handwriting, not, unfortunately, a composition of his own, specimens of which have been published by A. J. Arberry, *A volume in the autograph of Yāqūt the geographer* (Chester Beatty Monographs, No. 3, London, 1951). It might be added that there is in Cambridge University Library a thesis biography of Yāqūt by R. M. N. E. Elahie. The following comments are offered on individual points in the text.

p. 11. An Egyptian edition of Hamdān's *Sifat* was printed a few years ago but is not available as the whole was removed to the Yemen, but the German version of Forrer should be noted.

p. 34. The picture of the earth resting upon a bull which stands on a *kumkum* which in turn depends upon a whale arouses vague recollections of Indian drawings, and it might be that an Indologist could identify the source of this notion of the world. Is it in fact better to read *kahṣib* for *kumkum*

with Ibn al-Wardī? It is true that it is a known word, but if the ultimate source of this cosmic system were discovered a correct interpretation might be found.

- p. 39. Dr. Hamdānī's edition of *K. al-zīnah* is now available.
 p. 41. A. Z. V. Togan's *Bīrūnī's picture of the world* was published about 1944.
 p. 58. For *baghar* cf. Jāhiz, *Bukhālā'* (Cairo, 1948), p. 106.

It is very pleasing to have Yāqūt's introduction presented to us in so satisfying an English form.

R. B. SERJEANT

PAUL NWYIA (ed.): *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (1333-1390): Lettres de direction spirituelle (Ar-rasā'il al-sughrā). Texte arabe.* (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tom. VII.) 15, 144, [x] pp. [Beyrouth]: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958.

This work consists of a critically edited text of the hitherto unpublished 16 letters of the important and famous Shādhilī Shaikh, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (A.D. 1333-90), called *al-Rasā'il al-sughrā*. In A.H. 1320, the bigger collection of Ibn 'Abbād's letters (entitled *al-Rasā'il al-kubrā*, containing 38 letters) was published at Fās, but apparently was not critically edited. The editor tells us that his separate study of the *opera omnia* of Ibn 'Abbād (including his famous *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, the commentary on the Alexandrian Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's *Kitāb al-hikam*) will be published soon. Of Ibn 'Abbād's letters M. Nwyia says in the Arabic introduction, 'The least that can be said of them—according to Asin Palacios—is that they are unique in the Sufi literature'. This opinion is not correct and stems from the unfortunate fact that the exclusive Arabist simply ignores the non-Arabic Islamic writings. In the case of Sufism, which flourished even more strongly in the non-Arab Muslim world, this self-imposed restriction is still less pardonable. The several hundred Persian *Makṭūbāt* of the Indian Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, for example, refute this dictum.

Ibn 'Abbād states (p. 126—in the fuller text of his letter to Abū Ishāq al-Shātibī) that, in his spiritual career, he has been guided more by Sufi writings than by a Sufi Shaikh. This is corroborated by his letters which reveal that he was most strongly influenced by two men—al-Ḡhazālī and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī. Al-Ḡhazālī's influence appears chiefly in determining the place of Sufism as being

central to Islam (over against, e.g., *Kalām*) while the author seems more indebted to the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī in the mysteries of Sufism itself. His general position on theological questions, such as *taqlīd*, etc., is therefore closely dependent on al-Ḡhazālī.

The text is the result of a collation of five MSS of which the Escurial MS has been taken by the editor as the basic one. The critical apparatus is not very full but is no doubt reliable and good. There is, however, considerable ground for improvement, arising chiefly, in my opinion, from the editor's misunderstanding of the Arabic text, but sometimes undoubtedly through imperfect understanding of the doctrines. I find the following occasions for correction in the first 26 pages of the text:

p. 1, l. 11: read لاستعانة for لاستعاية (probably a misprint).

p. 1, n. 5: read وما—for وما.

p. 2, l. 16: read هذه for هذا.

p. 3, l. 1: الالوهية must, I think, be read as الاولوية as four MSS have it. The doctrine, as is apparent even from the opening lines of the paragraph, is that whatever perfections man has, God has them in a higher, *prior* form. The editor's choice reveals a misapprehension of the doctrine plus a somewhat credulous reliance on his 'basic' manuscript.

p. 3, l. 11: read الحاضرة for حضرة, for ريوية, which follows, is not an adjective but a noun.

p. 4, l. 3: لقلبي should be لقلبي (else even the metre breaks).

p. 5, l. 4: لا تتمع should obviously be either لا يتمتع or لا يتمتع for its subject is the following clause.

p. 5, l. 4: يرد must be read as يرد.

p. 5, l. 18: read لحكم for بحكم for something محكوم بحكم but محكوم لحكم.

p. 7, l. 14: read اخابر for اخابر (plural of اخبار which is plural of خبر).

p. 8, l. 4: لا تاخذوا must surely be لا تاخذوا (even if this may require editorial emendation).

p. 13, l. 4: full stop is required after المضطر.

p. 13, l. 5: من is required after الحالة.

p. 13, l. 15: بوجود لطفه gives no sense; it should be بوجود لطفه or perhaps بوجود لطفه.

p. 14, l. 8: الى من اغفر is utterly ungrammatical and should be emended as لمن اغفر (again an example of exaggerated reliance on the 'basic' manuscript).

p. 16, l. 16: read ذبابة (ذبابة most probably is a misprint).

p. 16, l. 2: عليكم is wrong; for what is the subject of يعرض? (Again, 'basic' manuscript failure.) It must be لكم.

p. 17, l. 11: read استيلاء for استيلاء.

p. 17, l. 16: عماذكرناه مجردين must be read as عماذكرناه مجردين despite the 'basic' manuscript. Otherwise عما cannot be related to anything: it certainly cannot be related to anything: it certainly cannot be related to التوبة either syntactically or keeping the sense in view. The editor apparently did not understand what عماذكرناه refers to, which is the consciousness of God's mercy and bounty, which has been stressed earlier in the paragraph.

p. 21, l. 7: read الموالى for الموالى.

p. 23, l. 5: read نصحك for نصحك.

p. 24, l. 9: وهو must be وهو, referring to التقلید, not to البدع.

p. 26, l. 5: the full stop is wrong; what precedes is the protasis, what follows is the apodosis.

The editor is to be complimented on being able to identify the persons to whom the first 15 letters are addressed.

F. RAHMAN

J. D. PEARSON (comp.): *Index Islamicus, 1906-1955: a catalogue of articles on Islamic subjects in periodicals and other collective publications, compiled by J. D. Pearson with the assistance of Julia F. Ashton.* xxxvi, 897 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., [1958]. £5 5s.

The monstrous plethora of periodical literature in the past half century has made it well-nigh impossible for the scholar to keep track of every article dealing even with his own special subject, let alone those in adjacent fields, and the systematic index of such material here presented fulfils a long felt need. The magnitude of the task involved can be assessed from the fact that over 600 periodicals have been combed, and over 150 *Festschriften* analysed for the work, resulting in a total of more than 26,000 entries for individual articles.

It needs perhaps to be said that the scope of the work embraces only periodicals, etc., in European languages (including Russian), and excludes all those in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. This is clearly defensible. Yet there

are some fields, notably for instance that of Turkish history, where the exclusion of Turkish language articles does to some extent impair the value of the present work. It is difficult to see, however, how otherwise Mr. Pearson could have proceeded. If one extended one's purview to the oriental language sources, it would not only increase the bulk of the work out of all measure, but also one would require to plan the work on different lines, and compile a selective and critical bibliography, not a comprehensive one such as we have here; for many of the articles in oriental language journals are works of simple 'vulgarization' with no pretence to original scholarship.

A special word of praise is due to the extremely clear and practically fool-proof arrangement of the entries under subject headings (there is a combined index of authors at the end). This tricky task is one full of pitfalls, but Mr. Pearson is too experienced a bibliographer to be entrapped, and has accomplished it with brilliant success.

The whole of the vast work has been both compiled and printed with meticulous accuracy. The reviewer has succeeded in noting only one small slip: the siglum ZIVAN (= *Zapiski Instituta Vostochnovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*) is not entered in the list of abbreviations on p. xxx. A small cavil might perhaps be made too at the fact that, while the *Burlington Magazine* has been analysed, its sister-publication *Apollo* has not: whereby at least one useful article (B. W. Robinson, 'Persian miniature paintings at the British Museum', *Apollo*, 1949, 89-91) has escaped the compilers' net.

One must finally register one's gratitude to the Publications Committee of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Arabian American Oil Company, whose financial help has made it possible for this indispensable reference work to be sold at a price which puts it within reach of the individual scholar.

A. F. L. BEESTON

HENRY CORBIN and MOH. MO'IN (ed.): *Commentaire de la qasida ismaélienne d'Abū'l-Haiṣam Torjānī attribué à Mohammad ibn Sorkh de Nishapour (IV^e/X^e-V^e/XI^e siècles). Texte persan édité avec introduction et esquisse comparative en français.* (Bibliothèque Iranienne, Vol. 6.) [iv], 115, 126, 12, [ii] pp. Téhéran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1955.

According to the account given by the author of the commentary, who was a disciple of the

poet, an Ismā'īlī scholar called Abu'l-Haytham Jurjānī put a number of philosophical and theological riddles into verse, but was prevented by death from completing his didactic poem by answering the questions which he had propounded. We have a parallel to this in the long poem inserted in the fourth epistle of the fourth part of the Epistles of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (ed. Cairo, iv, 191-5) which contains a series of questions about Ismā'īlī theology to which no answers are forthcoming; and perhaps we may guess that also our author was not really very serious about his intention to add the answers in a second part but rather meant his collection of poems as a *jeux d'esprit* upon which his readers might exercise their knowledge. Be it as it may, a disciple of Abu'l-Haytham whom the editors propose to identify with Muhammad b. Surkh of Nishāpūr (named by al-Bayhaqī as the author of a commentary on Abu'l-Haytham's poem) undertook to write a running commentary in which he would solve the riddles posed. It is clear that Abu'l-Haytham and his disciple both lived in the fourth/tenth century, but further details are not known. The editors think that Abu'l-Haytham must have been a contemporary of the Persian poet Rūdākī (d. 329/940-1), because the commentator says (in connexion with a certain doctrine he quotes in the name of his master) that many have misunderstood his master's real meaning, yet nevertheless boast themselves as wise, citing a verse from Shahīd expressing the poet's self-assertion, another from Muṣ'abī, and a third ('To me belongs the secret of the wise in Khurāsān') from Rūdākī, with the comment: 'it was not so, because if it were so, he would have been pious'. From this, the editors deduce that these poets were amongst those who knew Abu'l-Haytham's theory but misunderstood it; thus Abu'l-Haytham must have lived at the very beginning of the fourth/tenth century. (On the other hand they consider it possible that the commentator, Muhammad b. Surkh, might be identical with a teacher of Niẓāmī-i 'Arūḍī—twelfth century—with a similar name. The two assumptions are obviously mutually exclusive; but the latter identification is improbable in any case.) I doubt whether this interpretation of the passage is certain, and would rather assume that the verses are quoted in a general way as examples of misplaced self-assurance; if so, we have no external indication about the exact date of the poet and his commentator.

We may assume that the explanations of the commentator, who for nine years was a disciple of Abu'l-Haytham, approximately correspond to Abu'l-Haytham's intentions; in any case it is rather the detailed commentary than the laconic text that is of interest to us.

The commentator's explanations provide precious materials for the knowledge of the ideas current among the Ismā'īlī circles of Persia in the fourth/tenth century. Abu'l-Haytham's poem, and in consequence also his disciple's commentary, deal without much order with various philosophical and theological problems. The philosophico-theological system professed by them is on the whole that of al-Nasafī and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī which was the standard system held by the Ismā'īlīs of Persia in the fourth/tenth century. (When we know Abū Ya'qūb's extant works in more detail we shall no doubt be able to examine the relation between his doctrines and those of Abu'l-Haytham and his disciple.) We encounter the main features of this system: the creation from nothing (*ibdā'*) through the divine command (*amr*) of the spiritual substances: intellect, soul, nature. Some details concerning these are discussed, but all kinds of miscellaneous problems are also introduced. Some of the questions concern rather elementary problems, for example logical notions derived from the *Isagogs* and the *Categories* and their commentaries; but even these are not without interest for the history of Islamic philosophy. In the eleventh century Abu'l-Haytham's *qasida* received another commentary by the hand of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, which in its turn sheds much light on that author's thought; Nāṣir-i Khusraw's commentary, entitled *Jāmi' al-hikmatayn*, was published in 1953 by the same editors, and the edition reviewed in *BEOAS*, xvii, 2, 1955, 398-9.

The literary problems are discussed in the Persian introduction (by M. Mo'in). The French introduction (by H. Corbin) contains, in addition to the discussion of the same subject, lengthy analyses and paraphrases of some of the main passages, which are often helpful in bringing out their intention. On the other hand it is not always easy to follow the style of this introduction and some of the ideas expressed there are rather far-fetched. The author of this introduction seems to despise the historical approach to the interpretation of ideas: many of his views on the history of Ismā'īlī thought seem to the reviewer rather doubtful, and in the cases where he attempts an historical analysis he is not always successful.

While the internal analysis of the text is, as I have said, often illuminating, little has been done in the way of annotating the philosophical terms and quotations and the sources of the philosophical notions used by the commentator. There is ample scope left for work of this kind, which alone can make the text really useful for the history of Islamic philosophy. Obviously this subject cannot be

pursued far in a review, but I should like to give at least a few examples.

The definition of intellect quoted by the commentator (p. 92) in the name of the philosophers: العقل جوهر بسيط مدرك لاشياء بحقائقها [read so for روحانيتها] 'the intellect is a simple substance which perceives things in their truth', is that given by al-Kindi (see *Rasā'il al-Kindi al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rida, p. 165, and S. M. Stern, 'Notes on al-Kindi's treatise on definitions', *JRAS*, 1959, 1-2, p. 34, n. 1).

Similarly there is some need for clarification when, in order to show that the philosophers acknowledge the existence of angels, the commentator quotes (p. 32) the definition of man by Aristotle (in fact by the commentators of Aristotle): 'rational and mortal living being'; 'living being' indicates the genus, 'rational' the differentia distinguishing man from the animals, 'mortal' the differentia distinguishing man from the angels. In effect, in some of the Alexandrian commentaries on the *Isagoge* we find this distinction (see Ammonius on the *Isagoge*, *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, iv, 3, p. 100, ll. 13-15; Elias on the *Isagoge*, *ibid.*, xviii, 1, p. 82, ll. 14-17; Philoponus on the *Categories*, *ibid.*, xiii, 1, p. 159, ll. 7-8 [the editor considers this passage to be an interpolation]). From such commentaries the distinction passed into Arabic philosophical literature and we find it already in al-Kindi (ed. Abū Rida, p. 179). An unknown Alexandrian commentator—so we have to assume—realizing that one combination, namely 'irrational and immortal living being' was still missing in the division, discovered this fourth kind of 'living being', which had been neglected by his predecessors, in the demons who are immortal but not endowed with reason. This hypothetical commentator seems to be the source of Abū Bishr Mattā, a passage of whose commentary on the *Isagoge* (preserved in the citation of Ibn Matrān, *Bustān al-atibbā*, MS U.S. Armed Forces Medical Library, near the end of the book) reads as follows: 'Irrational and immortal—this refers to the *jinn*s about whom Plato said that they are organs of evil and punishment for the wicked' ملحة من تفسير متى لاساغوجي).

ففروريوس قال وغير الناطق غير المائت مقرران للجن التي قال بها افلاطن انها آلات للشر (وعذاب للفسقة). We may quote a parallel passage from the philosophical introductory part to the medical encyclopaedia (*al-Mu'ālayāt al-Buḡrāṭiyya*) of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī (tenth century). In ch. 20, on good and evil, he quotes some ancient philosophers who acknowledged the existence of these principles: Proclus, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates,

and Galen (whose passage has been published in the *Classical Quarterly*, NS, vi, 1-2, 1956, 91-2, 97). Plato supposedly said that 'rational mortal living being' denotes man, 'rational immortal living being' denotes the angel, 'irrational (im)mortal living being' the evil living beings through whom the wicked are punished; another passage by him is quoted in which he says about the 'satans' that they are the breed of evil, while the angels belong to the good living beings (و جميع من تقدم من الفلاسفة وارباب الشرائع فقد اوموا الى هاتين القوتين ولبرقلس مقالة (شرح) فيها طبيعة الخير والشر وبرهن على انها متضادان متقابلان وانها قوتان وان لكل قوة منها افعال وتأثيرات ولا فلاحن كلام في الخير والشر واضع حتى يقول ان الحي الناطق الميت هو الانسان والحي الناطق غير الميت هو الملك والحي غير الناطق (غير) الميت هو الحيوان الشرية الذي هو جزء اهل الشر والفسقة وله مقالة يذكر فيها الشياطين (ويقول انها من تولد الشر والملك من حيوان الخير).

[The idea of demons of punishment is not Platonic, but it occurs in later Greek philosophy. Plutarch (*Quaest. rom.*, 51) ascribes to Chrysippus the belief in evil demons appointed by the gods to punish evil-doers and the theme was elaborated by the Neoplatonists; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyklopädie des klassischen Altertums*, Suppl., III, 298 (Chrysippus), 304 (Plutarch), 313-14 (Plotinus), 314, 315-19 (Porphyry), 321 (Proclus).] These passages were worth quoting at length not only for the interest which they have for their own sake, but because they are also necessary for the explanation of a text which forms a close parallel to the passage in the commentary of the *qasida*. When the philosopher Miskawayh was asked (in the middle of the tenth century) by his friend Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī about the proof for the existence of the angels, he gave the following answer (*al-Hawāmīl wa'l-shawāmīl*, 363-4): Firstly, the Qur'ān and the Sunna are full of references to angels. Secondly, their existence is also proved by reason. 'When the intellect makes a division, the things contained in it must be existent if this involves no absurd statement. . . . As the intellect divides the substance to living and not-living beings; the living being to rational and irrational; the rational being to mortal and immortal—there result from this division four things: rational mortal living being, irrational immortal living being, rational immortal living being, and irrational mortal living being. The third item in this division consists of the angels.' Miskawayh then explains that there are differences among

the angels as to their rank; and finally says that there is another proof for the existence of the angels from their actions, which are manifest in the world, but that this proof would require lengthy prolegomena, for which he has no space in that book. It is obvious that the proof from the division is identical with that quoted by the commentator of the *qasida*, who may have taken it either from Miakawayh himself, or from a common source.

Many passages would need similar commentaries; these two examples must, however, suffice here. [For a study of the antecedents of the idea [pp. 5, 51] that of spiritual beings one can ask only two of the four 'types of inquiry'—whether a thing exists, its quiddity, its quality, and its purpose—see A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, Oxford, 1958, 13–23.] When put into their proper context, many passages will, in their several ways, add to our knowledge; and students of both Ismā'īlism and Islamic philosophy are greatly indebted to the editors for making this interesting text available.

As regards the text, it is based on a unique MS in Istanbul, and the editors have done a great deal to correct it. There is, however, perhaps occasionally still scope for further improvements; e.g. on p. 2, l. 8, کفایت seems wrong (the translation on p. 21 is hardly acceptable)—read perhaps کفایت; on p. 3, l. 3, a whole sentence seems to have fallen out—read پدید بود (هم با بسیاری) . . . شخص هر شخص را هیئت آمد تا از شخص دیگر پدید بود; on p. 5, l. 8, read تا for ما; in l. 11 چگونگی is wrongly supplied by the editors; in l. 12 read تا for با; on p. 58, اندر صنعتی, put the comma after وزن and remove it after این (this changes the meaning completely; the words are left out in the translation, p. 38).

S. M. STERN

Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958.

This is the eighth volume to appear under the auspices of the Institut Franco-Iranien, and again it is M. Henry Corbin who has already done much to bring little-known mystical treatises written in the Persian language to our attention, who appears as the principal editor: and his collaborator in this task is again Professor Moh. Mo'in who has done more than almost any other living Iranian to re-publish in critical editions the often almost forgotten classics of his language. M. Corbin's name has hitherto been principally associated with the works of the *Shaykh al-Isrā'ī*, Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, and it is with some relief that we are allowed to pass on from that thinker of literally 'fantastic' difficulty to Rūzbehān Baqlī whom hitherto we have only been able to know as a source for al-Hallāj and his contemporaries through Massignou's numerous monographs. This is not to say that Rūzbehān is an easy author: far from it. Both editors are agreed that both his thought and his expression of it are elusive in the extreme: 'his discourse is like a flower which crumbles away no sooner do you touch it, or like a chemical substance which evaporates the moment it comes into contact with a little heat', says Professor Mo'in (p. 100), and we can but agree.

It might be asked why the two distinguished editors insist on publishing works so difficult and abstruse as to be unlikely to attract all but an infinitesimal minority of either French or Iranian readers for whom the series is presumably intended. Their justification is that not only have the works of such writers as Rūzbehān and Yahyā Suhrawardī been almost totally neglected in the past, but that their writings form a bridge between the earlier mysticism which culminates in Muhammad al-Ghazālī, and the later specifically Iranian mysticism of Sanā'i, Irāqī, Rūmī, and Jāmī, to mention only the biggest names. Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and Hallāj are without doubt the twin seeds from which the later and openly unorthodox mysticism grew, and the later Persian poets are its copious fruit. The task that M. Corbin has set himself and to which he has dedicated himself with such enthusiasm, is to throw what light he can on the transition period of flowering between the seed-time and the harvest.

If this was his aim (as I am sure it was), he did well to select the *Abhar al-āshiqīn* of Rūzbehān as the next text on his list for publication, for, like the volume that precedes it in this series, it too is a *Jāmi' al-hikmatayn*, a bringing together of two 'sciences', in this

HENRY CORBIN and MOH. MO'IN (ed.): *Rūzbehān Baqlī Shīrāzī* (522/1128–606/1209): *Le jasmin des fidèles d'amour* (*Kitāb-e 'Abhar al-āshiqīn*). *Traité de soufisme en persan publié avec une double introduction et la traduction du chapitre premier*. (Bibliothèque Iranienne, Vol. 8.) [iv], 129, 244, 113, [ii] pp., 6 plates. Téhéran:

case of human and divine love. It belongs to the same tradition as the *Kitāb al-Sawānīh* of Ahmad al-Ghazālī and forms a bridge between him and the seemingly scandalous 'Irāqī. It is not possible in a review to give even a synopsis of Rūzbehān's particular brand of mysticism, and it can only be said that, unlike the majority of his predecessors, he regards Platonic love between humans as a *propaideutikon* to the more serious business of the love of God: it is the philosophical justification of the *nazar* 'alā'l-murd' in which the early Sūfis had seen nothing but 'a plague of the Sūfis' and 'a sure road to disaster' (Sulamī)—the justification of the contemplation of human beauty as being a mirror of the divine. It is a natural development of Ḥallāj's main theses (i) that God is love, (ii) that man is made in the image of God and is therefore in a sense divine, and (iii) that the human soul is uncreated in the sense that it has its existence outside time. All this and much more including the legitimacy of the *nazar* 'alā'l-murd, had already received the sanction of Muhammad al-Ghazālī, particularly in the Persian *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādāt*.

Rūzbehān takes over the Neo-Platonic ideas of Universal Mind and Universal Soul from Ghazālī's *Risālat al-ladunniyya*, as also does Sanā'ī, and like Sanā'ī, he subconsciously resents them: in so far as they fit into his scheme of things at all, they are there only to be transcended (or ridiculed). It is, then, perhaps rather a pity that the editors decided to publish the 'Abhar before Rūzbehān's *diarium spirituale*, the *Kashf al-asrār*, which presumably gives the facts of his own experience on which the metaphysical superstructure of the 'Abhar is based.

It can be assumed that the main purpose of this admirable 'Bibliothèque Iranienne' is to make the major works of Iranian mysticism and idealist metaphysics better known to Western readers. If this is so, the present publication seems to fall between two stools, for we have two introductions, one in French and one in Persian, which largely overlap, but a French translation of only the first chapter of the Persian text. The Western student of comparative mysticism (unless he is lucky enough to know Persian) would have welcomed a full translation rather than a massive French introduction which (following the Persian one) is so largely devoted to biographical detail that is only of interest to the historian of Iranian mysticism.

It is perhaps a sign of the times that Professor Mo'in's Persian introduction should stick so largely to the external facts connected with Rūzbehān and his work, while M. Corbin should see himself rather as the defender of Iranian mysticism against what he calls

'profanation' (p. 109). This seems strange in the editor of a work devoted to what might be called the 'marriage of love sacred and profane'. As a corrective to a too 'starry-eyed' approach to Sūfism M. Corbin might care to re-read the later parts of Sanā'ī's *Ḥadiqat al-haqīqa* which denounce the open immorality connected with the so-called *nazar* 'alā'l-murd and Ibn Munawwar's *Tawhīd al-asrār*, which exhibits the Jungian 'shadow' of the movement at its silliest.

R. O. ZAKHRE

DONALD N. WILBER: *Iran past and present. Fourth edition.* xi, 312 pp., 12 plates. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 40s.)

The fourth edition of this work contains new material and much of the old has been recast. It is marred by numerous inaccuracies and some rather sweeping generalizations. The historical review contains some questionable statements. The term 'feudal system' is loosely used and the author shows little awareness of the differences between Sasanian feudalism and the situation which prevailed in the Islamic middle ages in Persia. He is indeed perhaps too ready to accept Persian nationalist interpretations of history, such for example as the claim that the Saffarids and Samanids favoured Shī'ism. His treatment of religious questions is not always happy. It is not clear, for example, to what he is referring when he states that the sixth imam 'codified the obligations and ritual of Qoranic law'. Further 'A Moslem cleric... who has studied at such a higher institution as the Sepahsalar Theological College' does not always become a *mujtahid*, while from another passage the unsuspecting reader would suppose that the twelve imams were descended not from Fatima but from a Sasanian princess, and he might also be puzzled to learn that Ghāzān, the Il-Khān ruler, 'was successively a Hanefi, a Shī'a, and a Sunni'. The statement that the population of Persia has decreased by at least 50% since 1700 can be little more than a guess, and a somewhat startling one at that, unless the reader's attention is drawn to the considerable losses of territory suffered by Persia in the nineteenth century. Similarly the statement that 91% of the present population of Persia are Shī'i would seem to be an exaggeration if it is assumed that most of the Kurds and Baluchis and some of the Turkomans are Sunni. Coming to contemporary events there are some curious omissions. No mention is made of the Independent Kurdistan movement

of 1946, or of the special status of American troops in Persia during the Second World War. It is misleading to say that West Germany holds first place in the foreign trade of Iran unless it is pointed out that this excludes oil products. Nor is Mr. Wilber a wholly reliable guide on contemporary administrative and social conditions. The police in the provincial cities are not under the municipal authorities; nor does every village have a bath. In spite of these and other inaccuracies Mr. Wilber gives a readable and informative picture of a country undergoing rapid changes. His assessment is, on the whole, an optimistic one; but he points out that in the field of social reform progress has been slow; and also notes the reluctance of the Persians to co-operate and the prevailing drive to accumulate wealth.

A. K. S. LAMPTON

BJÖRN COLLINDER: *Survey of the Uralic languages, compiled by Björn Collinder in collaboration with other scholars*. xxii, 539 pp. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957. Sw. kr. 68.

This book is a companion volume to the author's *Fenno-Ugric vocabulary* (reviewed *BSOAS*, xxi, 2, 1958) and is meant as a *prodomus* to a comparative grammar of Uralian (Finno-Ugrian and Samoyede) languages, which it is the author's intention to publish. As indicated on the title-page, the volume is the fruit of collaboration with other scholars whose names are given in the introduction. It is, however, clear that their rôle, valuable though it may have been, was, on the whole, limited to the revising of some chapters and the reading of proofs. Only the chapter on Estonian is essentially the work of another scholar, J. Aavik; whilst György Lakó and Matti Luimola have prepared respectively the commentaries for Zuryene and Vogul texts.

There are thirteen chapters, each devoted to a different language. They are constructed on the following pattern: phonology, morphology, texts with translations, followed by commentaries, grammatical, lexical, and etymological, which, in themselves, are sufficient for an understanding of the texts. Finnish 'as the most conservative of those Uralic languages which have attained a high level of literary development' receives a favoured treatment. The grammar and the texts of this chapter—the author claims—'would enable any studious reader to achieve a good reading ability in Finnish'. Indeed, this chapter covers 131 pages, whereas Hungarian has 53 and the other languages some 20–30 pages each.

The first question that comes to the mind is this: for whom is this work intended? The

compiler provides no answer to this, but it seems fairly obvious that the specialist in Uralian languages will hardly need an instrument of this kind. It will, however, prove very useful to students reading Finno-Ugrian or Uralian subjects at a university; their number, though limited, is far greater abroad than it is in this country—where there are none.

As is only to be expected, the specialist in each of the languages described will find a number of points on which argument is possible or even necessary. But in judging the work the essential point is to ask whether the facts presented are accurate from the descriptive, synchronic point of view. By and large, the answer to this question must be affirmative. Each chapter, taken on its own, can be considered as a convenient means of becoming acquainted with the language concerned. Collectively, the chapters give a picture of Uralian languages, the outlines of which the author does not, otherwise, attempt to draw. His work is not one of synthesis, but a collection of analytical studies. Wisely, Professor Collinder keeps to well-tried techniques in his method of description and to a terminology not meaningless to everyone but the author. Though one tends to blink at the sight of a Hungarian 'declension' of 18 cases (which neither correspond to the traditional presentation nor are of any practical use), on the whole, his traditional, 'old-fashioned' descriptions have the merit of being understandable. A description of a more modern type would probably have needed a commentary as long as the grammatical sketch itself, without necessarily providing a better understanding of the language. There is some disadvantage in putting all the languages into the same mould—the above-mentioned Hungarian case exemplifies this; but the languages under consideration are sufficiently close to each other not to suffer undue distortion under this treatment, though the pictures given are more uniform than the reality they represent. The advantage of this procedure is obvious: it provides the reader with a basis for comparisons. These are also encouraged by a great number of cross-references in the commentaries. These are, not surprisingly, the most controversial parts of this solid textbook. It is probably the difficulty of handling syntactical facts in a uniform manner which prevented Professor Collinder from treating them except in the notes. This is perhaps the greatest defect in a book destined to become an important factor in the spreading of Uralian studies, and probably to remain, for many years to come, the only handbook of its kind.

D. SINOR

ERNEST N. MCCARUS: *A Kurdish grammar: descriptive analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya, Iraq*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series B—Aids—No. 10.) xi, 138 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 25s. 6d.)

This work of extraordinary scholarship was first made public, on microfilm, as a Ph.D. dissertation. It is the fruit of three months' field work in Iraq, undertaken in 1951, and subsequent 'filling in of the data' in Ann Arbor. Lest any reader should be misled by the *imprimatur* of the ACLS, or by the masterly circumlocution with which the study is presented, it is perhaps worth while listing a few shortcomings.

The last typist (for the book is reproduced by offset lithography from a typescript) might have been blamed for the unusually high proportion of seeming misprints, were not most of them monotonously repeated, and had they not been reproduced entire from the dissertation.¹ 'itnografiðeskiy oðuk' (p. 119), with a plural 'oðerku' (p. 124) [i.e. oðerk, oðerki], and 'Genannt Mälä'i Gizri' (p. 120) [genannt Mala'i Gizri] brighten the very full bibliography, but such gay abandon is less welcome in the body of the work. Moreover, a vocabulary of most of the words quoted in the examples now being provided, it is quite clear at whose door the errors, simple and sublime, are to be laid. They have entered 'the data' at an early stage² and petrified. Of some 750 entries 18% are patently wrong. The following are but a few typical examples:

brin to wound [a wound]³

dorj degree [dorjê, Ar.]

gobkê (a kind of flower) [gopkê a budding twig]

hesîñ (hel-) to permit [hesîñ (hel-) to let, leave. NPers. *hiştan*, *hił*]

iðbilyê Lisbon [Seville, Ar.]

¹ The proof-reader, however, is to be thanked for the following information: 'Wahby has two special symbols and for and respectively' (p. 17, n.).

² Through no fault, be it said, of the author's defenceless informants, with two of whom (Messrs. Fuad Reshid and Mejid Said) the reviewer has had the pleasure of working.

³ Hereafter correct forms and/or translations are given in square brackets, in the author's transcription to avoid confusion. All italics are the reviewer's.

jêñ noise [battle, NPers.]

klaw shoe [cap, NPers. *kulâh*; cf. *kolâf* cotton shoe]

krin to buy [k(i)řin]; passive (p. 19), /'akiřrê/ 'it will be sold' [it can be bought]

křin to rub [k(i)řanřn to scratch, shave]

malin to throw [to sweep, NPers. *mālidan*]

řamazân Ramadan [řmāzân, Ar.]

sardâ cold (noun) [sarmâ or sardî]

zewî ground, as contrasted with /sêwi/ 'his apple' (p. 17) [zewî, NPers. *zamin*].

To make up for these casualties there are such valuable items as:

ciryô cheerio! (a toast)

kánt straight (in poker)

sinemâ the movies.

With 'pulbâz [an invention, *pul + -bâz] miser (p. 134), spendthrift (p. 88), stamp collector (p. 28)' we seem to have a new version of the old students' joke that 'every word in Arabic means itself, the exact opposite, and some part of a camel'.

We all tend to enrich a language with ghost-words in the first few weeks of our acquaintance with it, but to stand by such as these through seven whole years seems misplaced fidelity:

agadând 'alertness', with a morpheme '-dând (quality or state)' (p. 88) [agadarî]

buk.u.şuşê 'toys' ('bridegroom and glass') (p. 86) [buk-şuşê 'doll' ('bride (of glass)']

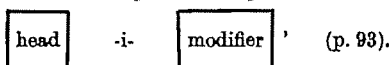
hemanê leather [a bleached skin bag for flour, NPers. *anbāna*]

klawřên shoe thief [k(i)law-řîfên (a wind) snatching (one's) cap]

zir.brâ 'step-brother' ('tree-stump brother') (p. 84) [zir.brâ ('barren brother')].

If the examples so far have been mainly from the vocabulary it is not because morphology fares any better. The faculty with which categories are created to fit single examples is breath-taking. *gâ* 'ox', we are told, 'shows reduplication plus addition of extra element' in its plural: *gagûl* 'oxen' (p. 48). Alas, it merely takes a collective morpheme [-gûl], seen in [gagûl 'herd of oxen', megûl 'flock of sheep'], and a common plural sign in Southern Kurdish dialects. Again, 'with the exception of the verb /kuřan . . . zew; kuřên . . . zew/ "to extinguish", all past stems show the past tenses morphemes /d/ or /t/ (p. 56). But all causative verbs in [-and-] (including the three quoted on p. 91), and not only [kuřan(d)-], lose the *d* in this dialect, a process described correctly in § 2.323.(2)(b)3b)!

The 'izafa' is called 'the endocentric liaison morpheme /-i-/', and its function, treated under syntax, 'diagrammed thus:



There follow five miscellaneous examples. And this superficiality, veiled in verbiage, is the rule throughout. Anyone wishing to express, say, 'the black cat' in Kurdish will search in vain for a word of guidance.

Coming to the phonology, it is surely no coincidence that the 'linear phonemes', right and wrong (and in company with a number of pseudo-morphemes), should have 'a one-to-one correspondence' with those found in 'the best grammar of Sulaimaniya Kurdish' the author has seen (p. 13, n. 2). Only the 'non-linear phonemes' are his own invention, as the higher degree of fantasy betrays. Note:

(p. 31) *fəs.trə* 'is more correct' [*fəs.tʃr.ə*]

(p. 34) /*homána*/ 'we have' [*hámána*]

(p. 35) The subjunctive prefix /bi-/ is usually not stressed [is *always* stressed]

(p. 64) *xwərdəbim*, etc. [*xwərdəbim*]

(p. 65) *pfi kə* 'Fill it up' [*pfi kə*].

In the light of all this, and much more of the same sort, we may perhaps be permitted to hope that Dr. McCarus's interest in Iranian matters will deepen before it widens.

D. N. MACKENZIE

GORDON H. FAIRBANKS and EARL W. STEVICK: *Spoken East Armenian*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series B—Aids—No. 15.) xxiii, 403 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 42s. 6d.)

GORDON H. FAIRBANKS: *Spoken West Armenian*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series B—Aids—No. 16.) xvi, 204 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 30s.)

Each of these volumes is intended to be used in conjunction with a native speaker for private study or in the classroom and consists of Armenian sentences and conversations arranged as a progressive course of one or the other form of standard modern Armenian. The lessons comprise basic sentences, pronunciation and reading practice, grammatical

notes, variation drills, memory drills, and conversation practice. *Spoken East Armenian* contains also continuous prose passages on Armenian geography, industry, agriculture, literature, and history the sentences in this book were prepared by S. Karapetian (Tabriz) and S. Gracian (Yerevan).

The description of various points of Armenian grammar errs on the side of over-simplification, in *SEA* particularly. The Armenian genitive/dative is invariably called *genitive*, hence inadequately described as 'the equivalent of the English "s" or "of" construction' (*SEA*, p. 30); the Armenian equivalent of 'to your brother' is thus dubbed *genitive* (*SEA*, p. 60). How, without having recourse to some such term as 'dative', can one refer to such alternative constructions as *kez hamar* and *ko hamar* 'for thee' (see A. Abeghian, *Neuarmenische Grammatik*, p. 133)? The analysis of the first-two words in the phrase *jez c'acotacnel paron Eminin* as 'to introduce—c'acotacnel', 'you to—jez' is irritating (*SEA*, p. 10). The distinction between nominative and accusative is obscured, the phrase 'he sends greetings' (*SEA*, p. 43) figuring as an illustration of the use of the nominative plural. It is true that the nom. and acc. pl. of a word such as 'greeting' are formally identical, but such is not the case with the feature referred to in *SEA*, p. 58: 'if the direct object is something animate... then in Armenian the *genitive* case is used'. I think this feature in Eastern Armenian can be better described in terms of the accusative. It does not appear to be stated anywhere that an animate direct object is not 'in the genitive case' when undefined, as e.g. in the phrase *hyar unent* 'we have a guest' (*SEA*, p. 178).

The system of transcription is sensible and economical. In *SEA*, p. xviii, it could have been explained that the sounds transcribed as *b, d, g, j, ʃ* are in fact not voiced by some Eastern Armenian speakers (they are called 'potential voiced aspirates' and transcribed *b̥, d̥, g̥, j̥, ʃ̥*, etc. by W. S. Allen, *TPS*, 1950, 199), particularly since examples of such pronunciations occur in the book: *ax̥ik' (աղջիկ)* p. 13, *šap̥at (շաբաթ)* p. 37: the transcription *d̥erc'ak' (զերճակ)* p. xvii must be a mistake for *d̥ercak'.* There are more typing errors than there should be in a manual for beginners, and these cannot, of course, be blamed on a printer ignorant of Armenian, since the text has been reproduced by offset lithography. There are two errors (*երեկոյ* for *երեկոյ, պերան* for *պարան*) on p. 1 of *SEA*, and seven can be counted in the continuous prose passage, *ibid.*, pp. 344–5. In *Spoken West Armenian*, *gene*

means 'it makes', not 'it takes' (p. 4), *genal* means 'to go', not 'to do' (SWA, p. 19). In West Armenian the name of the letter լ is *hyun*, not *hyur* (SWA, p. 79), while the spellings զրիչ for զրիչ 'pen' (SWA, p. 139) and տըրիւ for տըրիւ 'rain' (SWA, p. 139) are no better for looking like native Western Armenian attempts at spelling reform. In SEA, which clearly has the language of Erevan in view, one might have expected the orthography to have been that of the present day, or at least to find a reference to it.

Despite these criticisms these manuals may be put to good use in conjunction with a conventional grammar. As collections of colloquial Armenian sentences and exercises they are up to date—'the hydrogen bomb is no use' (SWA, p. 189)—and satisfy a long-felt need in English-speaking countries.

O. J. F. DOWSETT

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA: *The development of the Kharoṣṭhī script*. xvi, 469 pp. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958. Rs. 40, 75s.

This book discusses the whole range of the Kharoṣṭhī script from the Aśokan inscriptions until the latest published documents from central Asia. In its conception it is admirable, in its execution deplorable. The author has expended a vast amount of labour on a task for which he is quite unfitted, and the sole consolation we can offer him to compensate for the waste of effort is to recognize that the book has some merit as an industrious compilation of the opinions of earlier scholars, and to this extent provides a convenient bibliographical guide. As a palaeographical study, which it claims to be, it is without value.

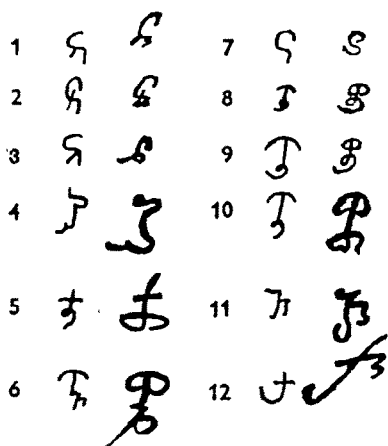
The discussion of individual characters is dominated by an obsession concerning 'new' and 'old types'. No systematic thought has been applied to this question, and 'new types' are liberally recognized whenever, for example, a scribe lifts his pen late and produces a tail-drag at the foot of a vertical stroke. There is, however, no consistency in applying this method. In the Endere document 661, for example, the scribe has adorned most of his vertical straight strokes with a small serif at the lower end. Dr. Das Gupta writes (p. 223), 'There are two different types of the letter *na* of which one is an old type and the other, the new type. . . . The new type has a base added to the stem of the letter'. Correspondingly, his table (XI, 24, p. 417) shows the first example as sans serif, in contrast to the second. But in the published photograph (*Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions*, ed. Boyer, Rapson,

and Senart, part II, 1927, plate XII) the serif is present in both instances. In the same document, the serif in 'i' is hailed as a 'new type'; but *kpi*, *ji*, *ṇa*, *ṭha*, and *pa*, which also have the serif in the photograph, are passed as 'old types', and are sans serif in the table. On the other hand, the form of *ya* in this document shows no remarkable feature; but it is called an 'absolutely new type'. We are not told why. 'There are two different types of the letter *kha*' (p. 219); and they are indeed different in the table. In the document itself the two are as nearly identical (apart from the vowel strokes) as any two instances of the same character written by the same scribe could be. (These are examples 1 and 2 given below.) At the same time, palaeographically important matters are neglected. No mention is made of the fact that the curve of *kha* here, as also in the Khotan *Dharmapada* (MS Dutreuil de Rhins), rises well above the line of writing, whereas in most of the Niya documents of which photographs have been published the whole character is contained within the line. Document 661 contains nine lines of writing, and one might have thought that there was little opportunity for error or oversight within this brief compass.

If the discussion of the palaeography is thus uninformative, misleading, and frequently erroneous, the reader might at least hope that the 17 neat tables would provide a useful conspectus of the history of the script. But neatness is not accuracy. The author indeed warns us that the letters shown in the tables are eye-copies, and refers us back to the previously published photographs; and the warning is necessary. The marvel is that an eye so inaccurate should ever have contemplated the exacting study of palaeography. The drawings are frequently so wrong that, without the key, they would be read as quite different characters. In table x, for example, *di* could be read as *ji*; *ta* is more like *ba*; what is called *ni* is clearly *ṭha* (but perhaps the printing plate broke here); *bhu* appears to be *ka* (example 11 below). Of the six examples called *r*, the first two are *v*, the remainder *b*. Three examples of *y* are unambiguously *ṣ*. In the *m*-line, the second character is invented, and the fifth, transcribed as *mu*, could only be *mo*.

The following tracings, with all the defects of tracings, will nevertheless allow the reader to judge the value of such eye-copies for serious palaeographical work. I have taken the characters in the left-hand columns from Dr. Das Gupta's tables, and those on the right from the corresponding characters in photographs of the original manuscripts. It should be noted that, except in the case of No. 12 (where, for ease of reproduction, it was

necessary to take an almost identical example a few lines distant in the same manuscript), these are the actual individual instances of the characters which Dr. Das Gupta claims to have copied.



The references to the tables in the book are :

1 kha XI.6	7 kha XIII.9
2 kbi XI.6	8 rpa XIII.56
3 kha XII.8	9 rpa XII.48
4 oya X.45	10 rpa X.44
5 riha X.44	11 bhu X.30
6 sha X.45	12 rma X.44

J. BROUGH

ĀSUTOṢ DĀS (ed.): *Dvij Rāmadev: Abhayāmāṅgal*. lxxxvii, 472 pp., plate. Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1957. Rs. 7.

Dr. Āsutoṣ Dās's edition of the medieval Bengali text *Abhayāmāṅgala*, which is printed from a successful D.Phil thesis of the University of Calcutta, is commended in a short foreword by Professor Sukumār Sen. The introduction to the text (pp. xiii-lxxxvii) contains an account of the manuscript (pp. xiii-xvii), a biographical note on the poet, Dvija Rāmadeva (pp. xviii-xx), an analysis of the place of the *Abhayāmāṅgala* in the *mangalakāvya* tradition (pp. xx-xxvi), a synopsis of the poem (pp. xxvii-xlvi), and notes on the poet's art and religion (pp. xlvii-lxxxvii). The text of the poem (pp. 1-410) is supported by a list of variant readings (pp. 412-32), certain related verses from other sources (pp. 433-80), and a glossary (pp. 461-72).

As so much of the wealth of medieval Bengali literature lies unknown in unedited manuscripts, the publication of an edition of an early text is always welcome. Dr. Āsutoṣ Dās is to be congratulated in having rescued

from oblivion an important poem in the *mangalakāvya* tradition of the goddess Caṇḍī, especially as this text being of East Bengal origin bears traces of the dialect of the Chittagong district.

A few comments on his handling of the introductory and later notes are, however, called for, in the hope that they will be of service to the editor should he feel disposed, and I trust he will, to continue his researches in this field. As his text is based on a comparatively recent manuscript copy of an earlier manuscript which is now almost completely destroyed, and as there seems no possibility of reconstructing the text in anything like its original form, the variant readings which must have taken long to compile serve no apparent purpose. The synopsis of so long a text is valuable, but it would have been easier to operate had it been linked to the text by sectional references. Most serious, however, from the point of view of other scholars, particularly students of language, is the fact that he has chosen to amend the text by modernizing the spelling and eliminating certain dialectal forms, on the ground that the modern reader may have difficulty in understanding. Such difficulties are best dealt with in footnotes. Changes of language have undoubtedly taken place during the period of the transmission of the manuscripts, but it is most undesirable that the modern editor should add to them. Such obsolete and dialectal forms as have survived are valuable and should be scrupulously preserved.

T. W. CLARK

J.-C. GARDIN: *Céramiques de Bactres*. (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tom. xv.) 131 pp., 23 plates, table. Paris : Librairie J. Klincksieck, 1957. Fr. 3600.

Between 1947 and 1952 the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan made no less than 71 *sondages* at chosen spots in Balkh, finally excavating two larger pits on the Tope Zargaran. The story of these excavations is told with candour by Daniel Schlumberger in introducing the main subject of the book. We should like to congratulate M. Schlumberger, and his assistants, MM. Casal and Gardin, on the outcome of their researches: we look forward to another no less valuable instalment when M. Le Ferre's report upon the architectural remains and their succession appears.

The present volume contains primarily a classification of the pottery recovered from the excavations: only that from the two Zargaran pits can properly be called stratified,

and thus it is used as a yardstick for that from the remaining sites. The classification is chiefly descriptive and only superficially technological, and herein lies the main weakness of the book. For the results of several recent American surveys to the south have shown how a rigid technological analysis can provide significant descriptive differences between the closely allied products of a kiln from period to period.¹ To exemplify the approach of the present report we may cite two examples. The white wares are admitted to include those of several periods, from an early pre-Kushan group to a post-Mongol. These subdivisions are later differentiated on grounds of stratigraphy, provenance, and comparison with forms from other sites, but they are not satisfactorily differentiated in terms of manufacturing techniques, although it is evident that they are also amenable to such treatment. The grey wares present a similar problem. I suggest that it should be possible to recognize two if not three distinct traditions in the group. First is the finely made grey ware of the kind Ghirshman found in Begram I (this ware sometimes occurs with a fine black *engobe*); second come the earlier coarse grey wares having, as M. Gardin skilfully argues, nomadic, even 'Scythic' associations; and third is a later group of somewhat similar coarse grey ware which, one may suggest on the basis of many analogies at such sites as Pandjikent, must date from post-Kushan to early Muslim times.

Once the above-mentioned limitation is admitted the remaining analysis is excellent and affords this reviewer considerable personal satisfaction as it coincides so well with his own study of surface collections made in northern Afghanistan in 1951, a study which is unhappily still unpublished, except in most summary form.² The use of the massive comparative material appearing from Soviet Central Asia is now an essential part of any work upon this area and M. Gardin has given it the attention it deserves. What is the outcome? What do we learn of Balkh, *umm-al-bilad*? We find traces of the first settlement in the Bala Hissar, dating perhaps from not earlier than the middle of the first millennium B.C.; this is followed by a prolonged 'Kushan' period which we feel must ultimately be further subdivided; followed in turn by a 'Sassanian' period with its own distinctive wares; and finally by a whole series of Muslim wares, mostly well datable, and amenable to chronological subdivision. A special word

must be reserved for the admirable treatment of the Islamic glazed wares, for they so often evade study at the archaeological level.

Many problems remain and point out the need for further planned research. One may ask with justification, where is Alexander, and where are the Greeks? One may also ask for more information regarding the Parthian contacts which must have been evident during the long 'Kushan' period. But in the end one must applaud this workmanlike classification which puts on record, for the first time, the bones of a pottery sequence for northern Afghanistan and Bactria.

F. R. ALLOHIN

BAIJ NATH PURI: *India in the time of Patañjali*. [iii], xvii, 260, 27 pp., 7 plates, map. Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, [1958]. Rs. 20.

It is a sad comment on the inadequacy of the sources for many periods of early Indian history that a grammatical text has achieved the status of a major historical record, but such is the case with Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, which has long been recognized as throwing valuable light on the political and social history of the second century B.C. in its examples illustrating the application of Pāṇini's rules. Not long ago, in a valuable monograph, Professor V. S. Agrawala extracted useful historical data even from the terse *sūtras* of Pāṇini himself; now a younger scholar has done the same with the work of Pāṇini's most important commentator.

Dr. Puri's work, based on an Oxford B.Litt. thesis, consists of a detailed analysis of the *realia* referred to by Patañjali, preceded by a study of the date and work of the grammarian and a survey of the very uncertain history of the period. Dr. Puri concludes that the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Yoga sūtras* are the works of different hands, and strongly supports the generally accepted view that the author of the former text was the contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śūṅga. We suggest that the evidence for this is not quite as conclusive as it seems, for it rests entirely on Patañjali's grammatical examples, among which are one or two sentences referring to Puṣyamitra and Yavana invasions. But in other examples the grammarian also refers even to legendary incidents as if they were comparatively recent events, and the possibility of his having lived somewhat later cannot be entirely rejected.

The fact that Patañjali mentions the Śakas along with the Yavanas is hard to explain on the assumption that he was the contemporary of Puṣyamitra, since at this time the Indo-Greeks were thoroughly established in north-western India, and were only gradually ousted

¹ W. A. Fairservis, *Excavations in the Quetta Valley*, 1958; L. Dupree, *Shamskhir Ghar: historic cave site in Kandahar province*, 1958.

² 'The culture sequence of Bactria', *Antiquity*, xxxi, 123, 1957, 131-41.

by the Śakas at a much later period. The difficulty is briefly recognized by Dr. Puri, but might have been given much fuller treatment. We suggest the possibility that Patañjali lived not in the second but in the early first century B.C., when traditions about Puṣya-mitra and the Yavanas were still current, but when the Śakas had already penetrated the north-western frontiers of the sub-continent of India.

No doubt many authorities would disagree with us on this point, and even if it were granted this would not diminish the value of Dr. Puri's work. His treatment of the history of the period, to which he adduces important archaeological and numismatic evidence, is very sound, though in a work published so recently note should have been taken of Dr. Lohuizen's *Scythian period*, if not of Dr. A. K. Narain's *Indo-Greeks*. The body of the work elucidates Patañjali's references to the life of his times in the light of other evidence. While no strikingly new theories are put forward, and no important fresh information is given, the book forms a very useful study of the social history of the period. It is unfortunate that it contains so many typographical errors, few of which are noted in the list of corrigenda at the end of the book. In Professor Burrow's introduction we read that '... Dr. Puri has set himself the task a [sic] complete account of such material', and that '... it is significant the [sic] memory of the Śunga Agnimitra should have remained alive over the centuries significant because the number of ancient Indian monarchs to whom this happened is singularly small'. These errors are evidently the results of careless proof-reading on the part of the author and the printers, for they can hardly be the fault of the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, who ably reviews the significance of the Śunga period in the history of India as a whole.

A. L. BASHAM

R. A. STEIN (ed. and tr.): *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling*. (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Études, Tom. 61.) [iv], 401 pp. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956. Fr. 2000.

The chief part of this book is an edition of the first three volumes of a version of the Gesar epic which was produced in Gling during the last century. Unable to photograph them, Professor Stein patiently copied them by hand while staying at Chengtu in Szechwan. This particular edition of the epic was quite unknown previously to Western scholars and it has the special merit of coming from the region

which is traditionally associated with the kingdom of Gesar himself. Although only produced in the last century, it is quite clearly compiled from local traditional material, which is itself the accumulation of earlier centuries. The Gesar epic is in fact a vast storehouse of historical and legendary matter, which is ever on the increase. Professor Stein has certainly done well to set down some small part, voluminous even as this is, for were we to wait for the *Corpus Gesaricum*, which he mentions as a hope for the future, we should certainly have to wait at least so long as living Tibetan traditions persist. Moreover many more than one devoted worker would be required for such a project.

The first volume provides for a prelude in heaven under the auspices of the *sNin-ma-pa* hierarchy (Samantabhadra, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Padmasambhava) and for preparations on earth in the vale of rMa and the land of Gling. The second volume tells of Gesar's miraculous conception and birth, of the attempt of his wicked uncle *Khro-thun* first to poison him and then to have him killed by a sorcerer. Gesar is unaffected by poison, and having himself destroyed the sorcerer in a great magic fight, he assumes the other's form and so gains possession of the magic bag and sacred staff which he claims as his reward from *Khro-thun*. Later he is falsely accused (although the facts are against him because of his own magic tricks) of having killed and eaten some hunters. He is banished from Gling, and travelling northwards with his mother, establishes himself in the valley of rMa, where he constrains merchants, whom he has assisted against robbers, to build him a palace. So his dominion, based upon trade, is established. By another magic trick, he covers the land of Gling with snow, so when his fellow-countrymen come looking for pasture, they are led eventually to accept his sovereignty. The third volume tells of the great race, how Gesar by a trick deludes his uncle *Khro-thun* into arranging it, how he gains possession of his magic horse, and how by a whole succession of more tricks, he wins the race and so gains possession of the beautiful bride '*Brug-mo* (a manifestation of Tārā) and the throne of Gling.

Professor Stein has given a résumé of the first volume with a few translated passages, and has translated most of the second and third volumes with occasional résumés. He has provided an index of proper names, without which this complicated tale would be scarcely manageable. He has also provided three vocabularies, a general one, one of religious terms, and one of epithets. This is unnecessarily cumbersome, for one vocabulary would have sufficed and been much easier to use.

But in any case he presents us with interesting collections of new and little known terms.

The French translation is a sufficient guide for following most of the Tibetan, many difficulties of course remaining. There are points that might be argued, but this is not a work where criticism is fair; it is rather collaboration which is needed. It would certainly have helped greatly, however, if the Tibetan and French could have been set on opposite pages throughout, but this would have added greatly to the cost, for the original requires almost twice as many pages as the existing translation. This is still primarily a work for Tibetan scholars rather than for the historians of religion and sociologists, to whom Professor Stein also commends it in his introduction, and I welcome it as by far the most valuable contribution to the study of the Gesar epic which has so far appeared.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

MAURICE FREEDMAN: *Lineage organization in southeastern China*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 18.) ix, 151 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1958. 25s.

This book, written by a social anthropologist with a knowledge of Chinese communities outside China but little sinological background in the narrow sense, represents an important development in anthropological studies. The traditional anthropological techniques of personal interviews and the intensive study of small groups in the course of prolonged face-to-face contact could not be employed in the collection of the material on which the author's analysis is based. The approach, on the other hand, is that of the social anthropologist, and the theoretical interest of the book lies in the author's attempt to answer questions on the structure of a society and on the interaction of its various components with the help of literary sources, many of which emanate from authors without any specific anthropological knowledge or point of view. Dr. Freedman's task was facilitated, however, by the existence of a limited number of works by Chinese anthropologists and sociologists, and it is to his credit that in the depth and range of analysis he has gone considerably beyond the point reached by these scholars. Anthropologists interested in cross-cultural comparisons will greatly benefit from his concise and penetrating study of the lineage system as it prevails in the Chinese provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung.

The book begins with the discussion of the

relations between village and lineage, the latter term being synonymous with what in the literature is often called 'clan'. Though many village communities consist of the members of a single lineage, village and lineage do not necessarily coincide. There are villages which include two or more lineages, while a single descent group may spread over more than one village. The second chapter, entitled 'The economic basis of village life', deals with the various types of land-tenure, and demonstrates that membership of a lineage involves in many cases a preferential right to the holding or acquisition of land. The restriction on the sale of land outside the lineage as well as the distinction made between the rights in the subsoil and rights in the surface, recall similar features of certain land-tenure systems of India and Nepal, and it would be interesting to investigate on a cross-cultural basis the possibility of correlations between these features and certain types of social and political structure.

The chapter on 'The hierarchy of agnatic units' is basically an interpretation of data contained in the writings of Lin Yueh-hwa, a Chinese anthropologist best known as the author of *The golden wing*. Dr. Freedman deduces from this book a picture of descent groups somewhat different from that presented in an earlier Chinese article of the same author. Indeed it is significant that this book written in novel-form, conveys a fuller understanding of social realities than the earlier theoretical article written under the direct influence of Radcliffe-Brown. Among the most interesting chapters in the book are those on 'Social differentiation within the lineage' and 'The distribution of power within the lineage'. In these the author examines the problem of social mobility not only within individual lineages but within the context of general Chinese society. The anthropologist familiar with other parts of Asia is reminded of significant parallels in such countries as Nepal, where a named lineage may also comprise families of high rank and great political influence as well as humble peasants. There, as in China, an egalitarian principle of lineage organization, particularly in the ritual sphere, is compatible with great differences in social status, official rank, and wealth among the individual members of lineages. Another parallel is the integration of married women into the husbands' groups, which acts as a bar to a widow's marriage with any member of her late husband's agnatic group. Levirate and widow inheritance seem to be as foreign to the Chinese family system as they are to that of Hindu India, and Dr. Freedman's warning that these should not be thought of as necessary accompaniments of agnatic systems is

certainly justified. Equally relevant is the suggestion that in societies without effective primogeniture lineages can accommodate class differentiations cutting across the genealogical system because ascription of high status and authority to men on a non-kinship basis does not conflict with any privilege vested in a particular segment of a lineage.

In a brief review it is not possible to follow up all the stimulating hypotheses contained in the final chapter of this book. Though modest in its aim, it leaves the non-sinologue reader with the impression that the application of an anthropological approach to data culled from a wide range of sources has been definitely successful. An important aspect of Chinese society has been clarified for those thinking in anthropological and sociological terms, and sinologues may find it stimulating to look at contemporary Chinese society from a new angle. We would be over-optimistic, however, if we regarded this book as proof of the general practicability of anthropological studies of complex advanced societies from a distance. Though Dr. Freedman has not been to south-east China, he has personal experience of Chinese communities in other parts of the world, and he was able to draw, moreover, on works of Chinese writers in Western languages, as well as on the great volume of sinological writings on China. In relation to many other parts of Asia we are not as favourably placed, and it would be impossible, for instance, to write a comparative study on Tibetan social organization. Yet there undoubtedly exist comparable possibilities elsewhere, and anthropologists interested in advanced societies may find them well worth exploring.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

P. G. O'NEILL: *Early nō drama: its background, character and development 1300-1450*. xiv, 223 pp., front., plate. London: Lund Humphries, 1958. 45s.

This work covers the history of the *nō* drama from 1300 to 1450, and has as its basis diaries, chronicles, and critical writings of the period. After an introduction explaining the song, dance, and drama forms before 1300, it describes the great popularity of *dengaku* in the fourteenth century, and its replacement by *sarugaku* under the masters Kan-ami and Zeami. There is an account of how the 'jazz of its day', the *kusemai*, was absorbed into the *nō* plays, of the types of performance in which *sarugaku* and *dengaku* were presented, and of what could be seen at these performances. Dr. O'Neill then turns to the plays themselves,

discussing the nature of *sarugaku* plays before Zeami and those of Zeami himself, and making an attempt to discover what *dengaku* plays were like. There is a chapter on artistic standards in *nō* performances, and four appendices, the first having translations of a *kusemai* (*Hyakuman*) and a *rankyoku* (*Tōgoku-kudari*), the second being a list of plays known to have existed before the time of Zeami, the third a list of plays by Zeami, and the fourth, translations of the *dengaku* plays *Kikusui* and *Jisei*. There is a glossary of Japanese words used in the text, a bibliography, and an index.

This is a book for the specialist student of Japanese drama. A successful attempt has been made to fashion a complete picture of the early development of *nō* from the sources available, which are sometimes meagre, and always difficult to interpret. Apart from the solid information that he will gain, there will remain in the reader's mind an interesting impression of the early days of *nō*, when acrobats were likely to take over the stage, when stands might collapse, and the whole thing was to be taken in a much more light-hearted way than in the quasi-religious atmosphere of the *nō* theatre to-day. He will discover what has been gained, and lost, by the transfer of the performance from out of doors to the interior of an electrically lit hall. He will see that the mystic mumbo-jumbo with which some would like to surround the *nō* is a late invention, and that great though Zeami's role is as a reformer, he was a practical man giving practical advice, not an airy-fairy purveyor of symbols and mysteries.

C. J. DUNN

RYUSAKU TSUNODA and others (comp.): *Sources of the Japanese tradition. Compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene*. (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, No. LIV. Introduction to Oriental Civilizations.) xxvi, 928 pp. New York: Columbia University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 60s.

This very solid piece of work is one of a three-volume sub-series whose other two volumes deal with China and with India and Pakistan. The preface describes it as containing 'source readings that tell us what the Japanese have thought about themselves, the world they lived in, and the problems they faced living together. It is meant to provide the general reader with an understanding of the background of contemporary Japanese civilization, especially as this is reflected in

intellectual traditions which remain alive today'. It is very much more than a compilation of pre-existing translation in English, a large proportion of the translated material being new.

The treatment is chronological. The main division of the work is into five parts covering respectively: ancient Japan (5 chapters), the Heian period (4 chapters), medieval Japan (5 chapters), the Tokugawa period (9 chapters), and Japan and the West (6 chapters). Two-thirds of the total space is devoted to the last two periods. A list of dates and events precedes each of the parts. These lists, explanatory introductions to the chapters, and—at the head of the extract or extracts from each writer—brief biographical and critical sketches, these being generally translated from Japanese secondary sources, help to put the 'source readings' into perspective. The readings range over such varied fields as politics and ethics, religion and aesthetics, economics and scientific knowledge. There is a full bibliography and a good index.

Some scepticism seems justified about the assumption that reading what Japanese have written about themselves, their world, and their problems within the limits set will provide an understanding of the background of contemporary Japanese civilization, without, that is to say, some clearer idea than can be obtained from this work of the structure of the society as a whole. There is a partial recognition of this in the preface. It is stated: 'Considering the strangeness of the setting and the complexity of some subjects not readily presentable in translation, we have found it necessary to include far more historical and explanatory material than usual in a set of source readings'; and this is followed by: 'Nevertheless the reader unfamiliar with Japanese history who seeks a fuller knowledge of historical and institutional background will do well to supplement this text by reference to a general or cultural history'.

Actually, the first extracts in the book are of notices of Japan in the Chinese dynastic histories. We need not be bothered by the slight inconsistency in including these as 'source materials' on the same level as the extracts from Japanese writings, when *vis-à-vis* these writings they belong rather to the 'historical and explanatory background'. But there seems to be a real danger that a reader may conclude from the introduction to the first chapter that these Chinese notices tell us more about Japan in the first few centuries A.D. than is in fact the case. No doubt they are better historical 'sources' than the Japanese myths, but at least some of their historical 'facts' are uninformative without interpretation—the uncertainty as to the whereabouts and extent of

Pimiko's territory, not mentioned in the introductory chapter, being a case in point. Nor, except for some rather scrappy details, do they give any clear idea of Japanese society. The editor, in fact, seems to have deliberately avoided any reference to archaeological and anthropological evidence such as would have enabled early Japanese society to be described rather more adequately.

A similar restraint seems to have been exercised in describing social structure at later periods; such description as there is mostly incidental and legalistic. In particular, almost nothing is said of peasant culture. Yet the traditional culture of the peasants, intensely conservative on most points but not unchanging, is surely the ultimate ground of much of the 'Japaneseness' in Japanese thought. To attempt to understand the 'intellectual traditions' without knowing anything of the ways of thought and behaviour—the social customs, seasonal rites, oral literature—of the greater part of the population seems rather like studying the behaviour of an iceberg without taking account of its submerged portion.

Now it is realized that this is hardly fair criticism. The work does not pretend to be a social history. Moreover, if the Japanese had been more given to metaphysical speculation, this work would very likely have taken the much more 'up-in-the-air' form of a pure history of Japanese thought, or of Japanese philosophy. It is a merit of the work that it gives much more than this. It gives so much in fact that the reader is almost inevitably caused to ask questions which it cannot really be expected to answer.

There is one legitimate criticism to be made of chapter iii, which is entitled 'Prince Shōtoku and his constitution'. It is now very generally accepted that the so-called Seventeen-Article Constitution was concocted after Prince Shōtoku's death and ascribed to him probably from pious motives. True though it may be to the spirit in which he inaugurated his reforms, it should not appear with no hint of its probable spuriousness.

The chapters on the Nara, Heian, and Medieval Buddhist sects are good. The considerable space in particular given to the writings of Kūkai (Kōbō-daiishi) are a welcome recognition of the immense influence exerted by this truly great man. The account of the interrelations between the Tendai and Shingon sects seems to this reviewer the clearest and most informative he has seen.

Standing somewhat apart from the other chapters are three on 'The vocabulary of Japanese aesthetics', as well as one on 'The haiku and the democracy of poetry in Japan'. If there is nothing much new in what is said

here, the essentials are well and persuasively expressed. 'It may be impossible to explain *yūgen*', we are told, 'but we can intuitively sense it'; and what is said about it here very nearly achieves the possibly impossible. There are translations of *haiku* done with the felicity we have come to expect from Donald Keene. (But why, oh why, the ornithological intransigence of 'skylark' for *hototogisu* and 'swallow' for *suzume*?)

In the long Tokugawa section the more familiar didactic writers are well represented by examples. Here the reader can follow the battles of the Confucianists first with one another and then with the champions of 'Native Learning'. In a chapter entitled 'Reformers of the late Tokugawa period', the not so well known Satō Nobuhiro is presented together with Honda Toshiaki and Ninomiya Sontoku.

It is no doubt in the last part of the work, covering roughly the last hundred years, that the most troublesome problems of selection arose. To say that the selection actually made is ideal would be presumptuous. But it can be said that it has obviously been made with great care, and that at least the main currents of thought on political matters and some important ethical and religious thinking have been presented. Even as regards the post-war period, where the problem of selection might appear to be insoluble, the mere three writers chosen do seem to cover between them in a surprisingly adequate way some of the chief intellectual problems which have recently been agitating Japanese minds.

All in all, this is a notable contribution to the understanding of Japan. It is at the very least a valuable work of reference. It marks, too, a remarkable advance in Japanese studies, for who could have envisaged the possibility of such a work before the war? The compilers are to be warmly congratulated on an imaginative and even hazardous venture carried through with, on the whole, remarkable success.

F. J. DANIELS

GEORGE SANSON: *A history of Japan to 1334*. (The Cresset Historical Series.) xi, 500 pp., front., 12 plates. London: Cresset Press, 1958. 63s.

This is the first of three volumes in which Sir George Sanson plans to survey Japanese history down to 1854 and it covers two main phases of Japanese development: first, the influence of Chinese ideas and institutions on the primitive indigenous society; second, their gradual decay and replacement by feudal institutions. The two themes are treated at approximately

equal length. This in itself deserves comment, for it has been a feature of most writing in English on early Japanese history—and of much Japanese writing as well—that the feudal period has been comparatively neglected. Sir George has now helped to redress the balance. To some, no doubt, the Japan of Nara and Heian, of the *Manyōshū* and *Genji monogatari*, will continue to hold greater interest. They might object that it gets less detailed treatment than it deserves. On the other hand, in a comparatively few pages (such as in the chapter entitled 'The rule of *haste*', for example) the book gives a picture of this society which is vivid, sympathetic, and as urbane as one imagines the Fujiwara nobles to have been in their greatest days. It is in this sort of writing that the author is at his best. One suspects that passages of literature, on religion, on ideas and attitudes, gave more pleasure in the writing than those on politics in the stricter sense.

Yet it is a political history that the book claims to be and it is as such that it must be examined. Its virtues in this respect are considerable. The narrative is painstakingly accurate, based on the most reliable Japanese materials, including contemporary chronicles—and if the student sometimes sighs for a footnote reference, the general reader will doubtless welcome the lack of interruptions to his concentration. Detailed anecdotes are used sparingly as illustrations. They are not allowed to become ends in themselves and so blur the pattern of the story, as happened so often in Murdoch's work. In fact, comparison with Murdoch's first volume, published over 30 years ago, shows how much interpretation has changed in the interval. Chapter ii, for example, gives an entirely different account of the founding of the Yamato state from that which was current then, moving it to something more like the fourth century A.D. than the first century B.C. One can identify other topics, too, of which we are given a new or fuller picture: the position and activities of the Soga clan in the sixth and seventh centuries; the agrarian history of the Nara period; the nature of Fujiwara control at Court in the ninth and tenth centuries; the government by 'cloistered' emperors which followed soon after; and in general a great deal of what is said about Kamakura feudalism and its origins. For these reasons, as well as for the quality of its writing, this book will undoubtedly become the standard work on the subject for the Western student.

To set against this, from my own viewpoint, are the limitations which Sir George has chosen to impose upon his book. One is the subordination of economic to political history, or, to put it differently, rather too strict a

definition of what is political. Economic factors are by no means ignored, but they are for the most part stated, not discussed. The result, sometimes, is to do less than justice to certain developments that are of the greatest importance in the growth of feudalism and the political authority which went with it. For example, it is never very clear what part was played by the *shōen* in the relations between Court and feudal nobility in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the growth of trade and of feudal indebtedness to merchants in the same period are both rather briefly dismissed in considering the possible causes of the decline of Hōjō power. The similarity to the circumstances which brought about the fall of the Tokugawa regime in the nineteenth century is, if only superficial, striking enough to call for comment. But it is just this kind of comment which the book avoids. In the preface it is stated that the author's task has been 'the mere collection and arrangement of facts' with 'a few matter-of-fact interpretations'. This, one feels, is too modest. It robs us of the full benefits of Sir George's wide reading and perceptive judgment. On the other hand, it does enable one to identify—ruefully, indeed—the enormous amount of work that remains to be done before explanations of even approximate validity can be offered for most of the major developments in early Japanese history. The fact that this book often describes, when one would wish it to explain, is in itself a stimulus to further study.

W. G. BRASLEY

WILLIAM S. CORNYN (ed.): *Burmese chrestomathy*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series A—Texts—No. 4.) [ix], 393 pp. Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1957. \$4.50. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 40s.)

WILLIAM S. CORNYN and JOHN K. MUSGRAVE: *Burmese glossary*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series A—Texts—No. 5.) [v], 209 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. \$3.50. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 32s.)

In a letter written in 1814 by the wife of Adoniram Judson, American missionary in Burma, we read:

'We are still going on in the language,

though our progress is so slow that it is hardly perceptible. You can form no idea of the difficulties of acquiring a language, like this, without a dictionary, grammar, or even teacher, who understands both the English and Burman.'

To-day the student of Burmese is, of course, in a much better position, but his task is still made more difficult than it need be by the lack of a satisfactory grammar and an up-to-date dictionary. The most recent complete Burmese-English dictionary is the 1921 edition of Judson's work. Thus this collection of passages in modern Burmese, together with the accompanying glossary, is a very welcome and much-needed aid to teacher and student alike.

The *Chrestomathy* presents 'a survey of various styles of spoken and written Burmese, and has two aims: to provide an opportunity for the student to become acquainted with several levels of language and style; and to present certain aspects of Burmese life as seen through Burmese eyes'. The accompanying *Glossary* has been prepared as a handbook for use with the *Chrestomathy*, and not as a general dictionary.

The selections are accompanied by only two pages of introduction and explanation; we are told that they have been grouped into seven sections, entitled: 1, Colloquial narrative; 2, Colloquial conversation; 3, Mixed colloquial and literary; 4, Radio; 5, Literary; 6, Newspaper (older); and 7, Newspaper (modern). The sources are also briefly indicated: stories, descriptions, and conversations recorded on tape; short stories and sketches containing a considerable amount of dialogue, written and published both before and after the war; news broadcasts and a broadcast stage show (*anyemi*) similar to a music-hall programme; some short essays on aspects of Burmese history; and extracts from the pre-war newspaper *Thuriya* and the post-war newspaper *Hanthawaddy*. No indication of the content in English and only the briefest title in Burmese are given to help the student in selecting which passages to read, with the result that only the teacher or advanced student can find it easy to choose the most suitable or interesting pieces. The student who has not progressed far in the language (who may be assumed to be acquainted only with Mr. Cornyn's earlier work, *Spoken Burmese*: New York, Henry Holt & Co.) needs to be given some description of the characteristics of the different styles, and of the various influences that have helped to mould them, and some guide to the language and style of the piece he is reading. The student is not given the information that he needs if he is reading the book without a teacher.

It would be helpful for the student to have the fundamental difference between spoken and written Burmese pointed out clearly and then illustrated by reference to the relevant sections. Sections 1 and 2, for example, contain nothing but examples of spoken language, either in the form of a monologue delivered to a listening audience, or an actual conversation; they all exhibit the grammatical system of the spoken language, though the idiom, vocabulary, and style vary according to the occasion—bed-time story or political speech. Section 5, entitled 'Literary', contains examples of the written language, in the shape of short essays which illustrate clearly the grammatical system used in sentences constructed to be written down and later to be read. (The passages in this section, being written in an unusually clear and simple style, are not very typical of modern Burmese prose.)

The basic difference between spoken and written can be best seen in the third section, called 'Mixed colloquial and literary'. By this expression the editor seems to refer merely to the fact that, in the short stories and sketches, the narrative passages are in written Burmese, whilst the dialogues, or the actual words uttered by the characters, are in spoken Burmese. The sections which could accurately be labelled 'mixed' are those containing broadcast radio material and extracts from newspapers; in these two media, understandably enough, the older distinction between the written and the spoken word is becoming blurred. Newspapers use the written grammatical system but include quite a number of spoken particles, as do many modern short stories and novels; their idioms and vocabulary are, however, heavily influenced by English.

The most confusing section linguistically is the fourth, as the language of the news broadcasts is a mixture of written and spoken Burmese, reflecting the conflict between the writer of the bulletin on the one hand, and the reader on the other hand, who is at the same time reading the written word and speaking to an audience. In addition the *anyei* stage show contains bantering jokes and slangy dialogue mixed with songs in the poetic style, which can only be understood with reference to Burmese verse-literature (not included in the *Chrestomathy*).

The *Chrestomathy* should not be regarded as a series of graded texts for the beginner, but rather as a collection of readings of very varied style and origin, which, when fully understood and appreciated by the Western reader, give a fascinating and revealing picture of the Burmans as they see themselves. The large number of passages dealing directly or indirectly with the growth of Burmese

nationalism is especially interesting. Unfortunately the accompanying *Glossary*, although excellent in many respects, does not adequately explain many difficult constructions, phrases, and passages; this, together with the fact that no attempt has been made to normalize the spellings of words or to indicate major word and phrase groups by spacing the texts in the *Chrestomathy*, means that the beginner, and even the fairly advanced student, needs considerable assistance in order to read many of the passages. The majority of Burmese words have a correct or accepted spelling, and, since it is especially the chaotic spelling and printing of Burmese newspapers that makes them difficult to read, it would have been preferable if the selected passages could have been correctly spelt and spaced for the student who is starting to read.

The lexical content of the *Glossary* is on the whole accurate, though some glosses are incorrect (e.g. /ka'pya:/, *you'soun*!/, /loun: hwe:/ :-/), some are correct but not full enough to enable the reader to grasp the significance of the passage in which they occur (e.g. in the short stories by U Kha and U Sein Tin); others are spelt wrong or not classed under the correct head-word (e.g. /yo :-/, /the'tha-/). Some passages from the final newspaper sections seem to have been almost entirely overlooked by the compilers of the *Glossary* (as has become apparent to the reviewer when using the work with students). The inclusion of place and personal names (but not all of them) and the few but excellent explanatory notes on various manifestations of Burmese life certainly increase the usefulness of the *Glossary*, but its efficiency as a handbook is marred by the inadequate treatment accorded to the grammatical particles. Several, especially from the written language, have been omitted altogether (e.g. /-ya/ in the phrase /hso-ya-dhi/, /-ka/ meaning 'if, when'); others appear to have been transferred from the previous work *Spoken Burmese* and not re-analysed in the light of the much larger body of language-material in the *Chrestomathy*. Others again have been listed, but only one of two or three functions described. The *Glossary* will be of most value because of the large number of modern terms it contains from the fields of politics, government, administration, and military affairs, as these are not yet in any dictionary.

Considerable economy has been achieved by the systematic use of hyphens to indicate the categories of noun, verb, and particle; thus: /ka/ shield, /ka-/ to shield, /-ka/ particle. The indication of pronunciation in roman letters, which accompanies every entry, has been carefully devised to use no symbols not found on an ordinary typewriter (an

important advantage in a transcription). As a result it is not the same as that used in Mr. Cornyn's or any previous work on Burmese, and the *Glossary* does not contain a full guide to the value of the symbols employed. Throughout both works a certain number of typing errors has crept in, and the short introduction to the *Glossary* explaining the alphabetical order of the entries contains three mistakes. The text has not been printed, but typed and reproduced lithographically; it is as clear and readable as the nature of Burmese type-writing permits.

In conclusion, even though the two works under review have certain imperfections, it is a great advantage for the teacher and student of Burmese to have such a wide selection of modern material assembled in book form. No such selection has been prepared before, and the reviewer has already found it very useful in teaching; though with regard to the *Glossary* it has been disappointing to find that, in spite of the care and effort that have gone into its compilation, it cannot be used satisfactorily by a student on his own.

ANNA J. ALLOTT

R.-Y. LEFEBVRE D'ARGENÔÉ: *Les céramiques à base chocolatée au Musée Louis-Finot de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient à Hanoi*. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XLIV.) [iv], 30 pp., 15 plates, 5 figs. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1958.

Our knowledge of the ceramics of South East Asia which were produced from Chinese operated kilns, or from kilns which produced wares of a Chinese type is curiously limited. Yet these wares were not only significant in the countries where they were manufactured, but also played an important part in South East Asian trade in the centuries about the time of the arrival of the Europeans in this part of Asia. (In recent excavations at Calatagan, Batangas, Luzon, it was interesting to note that Siamese and Vietnamese wares formed a significant proportion of the grave-goods in addition to Ming blue-and-whites and local, more utilitarian wares. It was also interesting to see that these South East Asian exports were, relatively, of higher quality than those of Chinese origin.) Monsieur Lefebvre d'Argenôé has now devoted a brief but informative paper to the study of one particular group of such wares which forms part of the collections of the Musée Louis-

Finot, Hanoi. His concern is with the chocolate-base wares (the term is due to Hobson) of which he was able to study 223 examples covering a period of about three centuries. He is able to show three main groups: conventional monochromes, but with the chocolate base (79); white (9) showing forms which, in shape and paste, provide a transition to the third group; and blue-and-white (153). These last fall into four categories which may also form a chronological sequence, though this is by no means certain.

Monsieur Lefebvre d'Argenôé is able to show definitely that this characteristic base is not confined to certain blue-and-white wares as has been believed until now. Further, the Louis-Finot collections contain a number of examples of blue-and-white which are identical with those under study, except for the absence of the base in question. In view of the long use of this curious feature, it seems clear that it was neither a potter's mark nor a structural feature (of a protective nature) this being precluded by its erratic distribution. He concludes that the decoration and the inscriptions of the great majority of the pieces indicate that they were destined for religious use, and that the chocolate base was of religious significance also, or that the pieces thus marked were reserved for religious use. This hypothesis finds some support from the fact that from the earliest periods for which we have information it has been the Vietnamese practice not simply to throw away damaged or outmoded religious articles. (I have myself recovered such objects from the roots of banyan trees, where, if they cannot be thrown into fast-flowing water, they are usually deposited.) This explains why so many pieces have been preserved although badly damaged, and therefore likely to have been thrown away if their destination was secular.

The author notes that wares from such widely distributed places as Istanbul and the Philippines have similar features but wisely declines to draw any conclusions from this fact in the absence of detailed field-work and investigation. The great problem is to locate the kilns in which they were manufactured. In the meantime we must be grateful to Monsieur Lefebvre d'Argenôé for his brief but illuminating study which is illustrated with good line-drawings of forms and decorative motifs as well as 13 plates of photographs. The bibliography, while comprehensive, is somewhat carelessly compiled. The necessary basis is here for further research: the author poses the right questions, and it is to be hoped that circumstances will allow him to continue his work and produce the answers.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

The Indonesian town: studies in urban sociology. (Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Vol. 4.) xxxvi, 379 pp., plate, 4 maps [2 in end-pocket, 2 on front endpapers]. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, Ltd., 1958. Guilders 17.50.

Studies of Asian urbanization have been rapidly increasing in the last 15 years, stimulated by the interest of both sociologists and those responsible for economic development programmes. The decision to publish four pre-war Dutch articles on urbanization in Indonesia gives this contemporary material an added perspective.

The first paper is a memorandum prefacing a draft town planning ordinance in 1938. Here, we are given a broad view of the social and a detailed survey of the technical problems to be overcome. At that time, to establish the importance of town planning was more necessary than to find answers to problems of refuse disposal or traffic control. Some Dutch residents viewed towns as aberrations of the 'Indies atmosphere' which should as far as possible be ignored; others considered the town as a temporary home towards which they need feel none of the public spirit they would have had in Holland. The Indies town had therefore grown up haphazardly and needed comprehensive plans to meet the needs of its culturally and economically diverse communities. This essay gives such a framework as well as arguing for its importance and will interest those with experience of any Asian town.

The second contribution is a meticulously detailed study of the living conditions of a sample of PWD coolies in Jakarta in 1937. To indicate its thoroughness, there are 139 tables in 125 pages, dealing with patterns of consumption, conditions of housing, etc. It is only a pity that the data cannot give one a more general picture of the economic conditions of these workers. This is largely because no assessment of debt was possible. We are told that 63% of wages went to repay debts and that it is probable that debt was increasing, but this cannot be confirmed, so that the survey is necessarily a limited one.

The article on differential mortality rates between European, Chinese, and native communities in Bandung is also a thorough piece of work by Professor W. Brand, in which the social and economic concomitants of the demographic data are considered. But as soon as such cultural factors as child-rearing habits are recognized to be significant for mortality rates, one would wish to know to what extent

each category is culturally homogeneous. Professor Brand is aware of this problem, and remarks on the variation of custom within the 'European' category, for example, which includes such elements as Chinese with European status, Japanese, and 'Indo-Europeans'. A refinement of the categories is not possible, since these are enshrined in the census figures on which the study is based. The writer can only indicate some suggestive lines of research, and be skilful in pressing his statistics as far as they will allow. But the essay poses the problem of how far the sociologist can deal with material which has not been collected with his own approach in mind.

Last, Dr. H. J. van Mook has given us a study, made in 1926, of a Javanese town in indirectly administered territory. Both his analysis of the traditional system of hereditary apanages, and his account of the change to a system based on cash payment is of comparative value for students of similar situations elsewhere in Asia. One can only regret that the study was not extended to show the way in which the reforms here outlined were accepted.

The four papers thus deal with widely differing topics within the broadest focus of 'the town', and consider specific problems without discussing their place in the theory and development of urban sociology at that time. For this reason, the book will be of greatest interest to specialists on Indonesia. But others will be glad to consult it for comparative data translated for the first time into English.

ADRIAN C. MAYER

K. G. TREGONNING: *Under Chartered Company rule (North Borneo, 1881-1946)*. ix, 250 pp., front., 2 plates. Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1958. (Distributed by Oxford University Press. 30s.)

North Borneo with 334,000 people and an area of 30,000 square miles contains about one-tenth of the island's people in rather more than one-tenth of its total surface. It is (with the exception of Brunei) the smallest of the Borneo territories, and the least significant in terms of natural resources. Its main exports are rubber and timber. In 1881 its population was probably not much more than 100,000, it had no important exports, and was chiefly remarkable for the pirate communities sheltered around its coasts and estuaries, and the

head-hunting tribes of its little known and physically unattractive interior. The British government had no interest in it, except to ensure that no other power established itself there on the flank of the China trade route. The chartering of the British North Borneo Company in 1881, and the declaration of a protectorate over it in 1888 were expedients whereby Britain kept out potential rivals without herself incurring the responsibility and expense of administering the area. Over all this Professor Tregonning passes very lightly. His theme is the way the Company turned a wilderness into 'a prosperous little country with a favourable balance of trade' (p. 78). It is the story of a few European officials—45 in 1912, and still only about 60 in the 1930's—'working hard on a shoe-string' (p. 169) to foster development. The Company did not engage in trade or industry but limited itself to encouraging and regulating the efforts of private enterprise. Its officials were mainly concerned with providing facilities for traders and planters—developing communications, encouraging immigration to provide a labour force, maintaining order, and instituting public health measures. Professor Tregonning has had the rare good fortune to secure unrestricted access to the records both of the Company and the Colonial Office over the whole period of his book. This enables him to speak with unusual authority about the Company's activities. But it has not been an entirely unmixed blessing, for in making use of his material Professor Tregonning seems to have become in some measure its prisoner. He sees North Borneo through the eyes of the Company, adopts their priorities, and confines his interests to theirs. Though he tells us that rice was the basis of local society, and its cultivation the chief industry of the native peoples, he devotes only half a page to it (pp. 93-4). He equates 'economy' with import and export figures (p. 101), and 'labour force' with estate labour (p. 144). He has a well documented chapter on immigration (which he entitles 'Labour') but his treatment of total population growth is confined to a number of unrelated and often contradictory references scattered through the book, and since there is no entry under 'population' in the index it is extremely difficult to gain any coherent picture of this factor. He has taken a great dislike to the Brookes of Sarawak, who committed the enormity of supporting independent chiefs in their 'dislike of European government' (p. 144). His book is in fact a study of the Company's administration rather than a history of modern North Borneo. But within these narrow limits it is a sound and rewarding piece of work.

O. D. COWAN

EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ: *The Akan of Ghana: their ancient beliefs*. 164 pp., 54 photos. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1958. 45s.

In her first book, Mrs. Meyerowitz gave us her interpretation of the *Sacred state of the Akan* and the metaphysical concepts which lie behind their political and religious usages. The Queen-mother (Ohemmaa) is regarded as the daughter of the Moon 'who symbolises the female characteristics of Nyame, the Supreme Being'. She is held to be the founder and owner of the state. Her 'son', the King, is the earthly representative of the Sun, which embodies Nyankopon, the male aspect of the Deity. Odomankoma—God considered as the creator of all things—makes up the divine triad. Public worship is offered not to the High God but to the lesser *abosom* and to the immortalized royal ancestors. As Mrs. Meyerowitz indicated in that book, she believes that she has been able to distinguish the broad course of the historical development of Akan beliefs through what she calls four cult phases. Now, after a further period of field-work, mostly it would seem in the Brong country of north-western Ashanti, she has published in the present work her account of that development.

In the period of Cult Type I, Nyame was the moon, personified as a mother-goddess, with the clan *abosom* as her intermediaries, the embodiments of her *kra* or creative power. In Cult Type II, Nyame shared the rule of the sky with Odomankoma, a Father-creator god, with whose worship is associated the introduction of the seven-day week, each day under the influence of its own astral deity. The *abosom*, formerly regarded as female, now became bi-sexual, and a sacred marriage, symbolizing the union of the god and goddess was the central act of the fertility rites enacted at the New Year festival. Cult Type III is that of the worship of the divine king, the son of Nyankopon, the Sun-God, who underwent a ritual death and resurrection before consummating the sacred marriage at the autumnal equinox. Period IV was characterized by the emergence of the patrilineal *ntoro* cult which gave the father priestly authority in the family and which led, for example, to the substitution of patrilocal for matrilocal marriage.

These four cult phases are correlated with a parallel development of socio-political relations. Cult Type I represents the religion of a primitive hunting and food-gathering society based upon matrilineal clans and ruled, it would seem, entirely by queens and women elders. (The author throws out this extraordinary claim in passing, as it were, without any attempt at substantiation.) Cult Type II

marks a stage in which the queen ruled through a male subordinate and in which agriculture was of growing importance, while Cult Types III and IV belong to the period of the full elaboration of divine sun-kingship. This thesis is supported by a chapter devoted to the traditional histories of the kings and queen-mothers of Bono-Mansu, and another chapter on 'Analogies to Akan beliefs in Libyan North Africa' is held to demonstrate the derivation of Akan culture from that of Carthage and ultimately from ancient Egypt.

Mrs. Meyerowitz has been quite admirably successful in gaining the confidence of her illiterate informants, and she undoubtedly possesses unusual discernment where matters of religious and artistic symbolism are concerned. There are some interesting passages of description of Brong festivals, richly illustrated with excellent photographs. It has to be said, however, that there is much in her method of collecting and presenting her evidence which is incompatible with accepted standards of historical scholarship. Her narrative frequently fails to make clear distinction between rites she herself witnessed and those which she can describe only at second hand, between those still practised and those which have fallen into disuse, and, among the latter, between those of which she has definite accounts from trustworthy informants and those of which the former practice can only be inferred from vestigial survivals or the implication of tradition. Established fact and highly controversial interpretation seem to be inextricably blended throughout, although the writer must be aware that her picture of Akan religious culture is altogether at odds with that of such hitherto accepted authorities as Rattray and Busia.

It is precisely where she brings forward entirely new concepts, notably the annual 'sacrifice' of the king and the 'sacred marriage', that her field evidence is weakest, resting upon the supposititious interpretation of secret rites or upon the indirect evidence of informants about matters which they were admittedly unwilling to discuss openly. (The reader will find a criticism of this material from an anthropologist's point of view in an article by Dr. Goody in *Africa*, xxviii, 1, 1958.)

It is clear that Mrs. Meyerowitz has attempted a task beyond the powers of any single scholar in the present state of our knowledge. Akan culture, whatever its origins, cannot be considered adequately in isolation from that of such other West African peoples as the Dahomi and the Yoruba with which it has marked affinities. A careful reading of the Bono traditions, moreover, shows that, even on the author's own reconstruction, the political and religious structure of that state had more or less assumed its latest form (i.e. Cult Type

IV) by the time of the fourth of her kings, Takyi Akwamo, who is here ascribed to the middle of the fifteenth century and who appears to have been the first genuinely historical king of Bono. It is surely fantastic to suppose that a valid reconstruction of a series of complex social changes which culminated 500 years ago can be based solely upon oral tradition and the kind of superficial anthropological inquiry here described.

The truth would seem to be that Mrs. Meyerowitz's interpretation of Akan history has been shaped by her impressions of ancient North African religion, but here again she has seriously underestimated the hazards of her undertaking. The history of Punic religion is extremely imperfectly known, since no indigenous documentation has survived, and we depend upon doubtful interpretations of the highly ambiguous evidence of archaeology and epigraphy. In giving flesh to these bare bones, secondary writers have frequently had recourse to analogies with cult practices known to survive in negro Africa, so that there is inevitably a measure of circularity in any argument which seeks to derive West African religion from Carthaginian origins.

In her chapter on North African religion, Mrs. Meyerowitz has selected precisely that evidence, and precisely that interpretation of it, which serves to strengthen her thesis and passes in silence over all else. She does not make consistent use of the best authorities (even the magisterial chapters of Gsell have been in some measure superseded by more recent finds), and the reader should be warned that the authorities she cites do not in most cases support the view of Carthaginian religion here presented. The account of the 'death and resurrection' of the Punic god Baal Haman given on p. 140 is a good example of Mrs. Meyerowitz's historical method. The rites described are taken from an account by Diodorus Siculus (Book xvii, § 50) of the mode of consulting the great oracle of Jupiter-Ammon at Siwah. It is by no means certain that this god was originally identical with the Carthaginian Haman, and Diodorus gives no hint either that the rites constituted the 'funeral' of the god or that they were the same as, or in any way related to, any religious ceremony ever observed at Carthage.

This is not to say that Mrs. Meyerowitz has not adduced some telling parallels that will serve to strengthen the already accepted impression that the cultures of the forest belt of Guinea preserve clear traces of the influence of the ancient Mediterranean world, but she has weakened her own case by reckless overstatement and by permitting herself an unacceptable degree of freedom in the manipulation of her evidence.

For the African historian, the most interesting part of the book is the long traditional history of Bono-Mansu. There are, however, a good many indications that it would be misleading to take this narrative at its face value. It must be recognized that the chain of Bono tradition was seriously broken when the old state was destroyed by the Asantehene Opoku Ware in the middle of the eighteenth century. A good deal must have been lost, and what remains must be subjected to the most rigorous analysis and criticism. It seems probable that a good deal of what is here published lacks the support of the independent testimony of more than one informant and, as in the case of other traditions recorded by Mrs. Meyerowitz, it is often impossible to distinguish between traditional text and editorial gloss. An observable anachronism which has passed unnoticed is a reference to Danish merchants on the coast in about 1600, and Mrs. Meyerowitz's cavalier treatment even of documentary sources entitles one to suspect that the notices of Gonja, for example, have been expanded by the editor in the light of those very traditions from Gonja itself which they might be taken by the unwary reader to confirm.

D. H. JONES

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM: *Islam in West Africa*. x, 262 pp., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. 30s.

On receiving this book one wishes it had been published before one's own visits to West Africa, for, until now it has been impossible to discover any volume providing a conspectus of Islam in so concise and useful a form—and this notwithstanding the importance of so very large a territory. Books there are in plenty on West Africa but they are either too detailed for the newcomer, or too superficial to convey any real information introducing him to the Muslim peoples of this part of Africa.

Mr. Trimmingham's monograph surveys a truly immense area, so despite his own year's visit, it is inevitably founded on the more detailed researches of others. While a year would enable contacts to be made, and no doubt preserve the author from the elementary mistakes and misconceptions of one who has not visited the territory it could not enable him to acquire the multitude of languages spoken, or visit more than a representative number of centres. Any really intimate contact with West African Muslims must have been ruled out by the briefness of his tour, and, furthermore, by the great difficulty of establishing any sort of intimate contact, outside that of the office, factory, or hospital. This

is true of Muslims in Northern Nigeria at least, because of the separate way of life of European and African, and despite the lack of colour bar. The fact alone that Nigerian Muslims do not invite the European to eat with them as Arab Muslims do, is a bar to intimacy only slowly breaking down in the most advanced circles. This difference from other Muslims must surely be due to some fundamental underlying food taboo rather than European remoteness or African diffidence? So if this book displays no profound personal knowledge of Africans it does seem to offer a valid survey of the forms of Islam where the process of its displacing paganism is at all stages of development.

In no Muslim country of course has Islam completely prevailed over the substratum of pagan belief; in Africa one can see the transformation from its earliest stages where often the Muslim is such in name only and everywhere around him African rites survive side by side with the first outward forms of Islam.

Mr. Trimmingham's method is to describe the geographical and social setting before turning to study the process of religious change, the influence of Islam on the conception of the supernatural, and on local institutions, its effects upon the social and economic structure of the country. He also gives an account of the influence of Westernism, and concludes with some speculation on the influence of Western secularism. From a great variety of information drawn from a respectable range of sources Mr. Trimmingham has created a useful well indexed handbook which is a very significant contribution to the understanding of West African Islam, and it is a book upon which the reader feels that he may confidently rely. Bibliographical material is given in footnotes, and though a bibliography is lacking it may be hoped that this will appear in the promised history of the same territories.

With regard to the content of the book there are several observations which seem worth recording. Firstly, in the statement (p. 148) 'A feature of West African Islam is its flexibility in practice in regard to African custom, and its immobility and rigid opposition to change when subject to pressure from outside', the author seems to express a fundamental truth the validity of which one immediately recognizes, but yet French West Africa can produce a scholar of the depth, tolerance, and receptivity of Amadou Hampaté-Ba, though he may be exceptional. On the other hand the reviewer has heard one of the Emirs of Nigeria criticize the broadcasting of the Qur'an from Arab countries, and learned that the writings of Muhammad 'Abduh are considered, at least in certain quarters, as dangerous, even heretical.

There are, too, certain points of criticism which can be made concerning an otherwise satisfying book. The diagrammatic schematization of culture contacts (p. 21) is irritating and difficult to understand, and it seems unnecessary to reduce to near-mathematical formulae what can be conveyed in readable straightforward prose. The use of 'clerk' and 'cleric' for the West African *mallam* does not appear a very happy choice of words, although Mr. Trimingham does explain exactly what he means, and it cannot be denied there is much to justify what he says; yet the general effect is misleading, and to retain *mallam*, even if sometimes not quite accurately, would have been preferable. The term 'cleric' would itself seem offensive to Muslims. The explanation of the lack of saint cults is enlightening, but there is something very much of a saint cult at the tomb of 'Uthmān dan Fodio in Sokoto which the reviewer has visited; here many features of saint-worship such as exists in Arab countries are to be seen.

In some respects Mr. Trimingham's assumptions on Islam itself seem a little erroneous. For example (p. 105) he speaks of intercession as being 'offered to ancestors' whereas it is sought in popular Islam through ancestors, and to state that Islam has nothing in common with the family particularism of the ancestor cult is a rash statement, certainly where the popular religion is concerned. Nor does the distinction which as Mr. Trimingham says, is found in all Islamic countries as between *sharifs* and other Muslims, seem irrational as he has it, for it is part and parcel of the very substance of Islam. In a statement (p. 137) which seems to apply to the caste system, he says, 'There is nothing in Islam to support this system'. If this is so then why do we find the term *al-ashīh al-daniyah*, the despised crafts, which taken in conjunction with the fact that crafts are hereditary, perpetuates an old Arabian system very effectually? In actual fact the caste-craft structure Mr. Trimingham describes is very similar to that of Arabia, and furthermore those who know the belt of territory extending from Nigeria to Arabia maintain that the material culture is very similar. Another extraordinary assertion is that 'Islam has taken little interest in agriculture which has no essential place in legal texts'. This is controverted by the existence of works on *ḥarāj* and by the place given in every book of law to sections on *muzāra'ah*, *masāqāh*, *masāḥqah*, etc. Every volume of *fatāwā* shows the preoccupation of Muslims with agriculture in all its aspects. The disadvantageous comparison of the Muslims with the Portuguese in this field cannot be sustained though no doubt the activities of the latter were on a wider scale; to take examples

known to the reviewer, the Rasūlids made considerable experiments in agriculture in the middle ages, in East Africa the Muslims made the Lamu region grow large quantities of *dhurah*, with slave labour, and in Zanzibar they introduced the clove. It is really important to guard against assuming that Islam as a culture or religion is unprogressive, and it is not always safe to rely on the generalizations of popular manuals of Islam; current research is showing that these are not infrequently incorrect.

R. B. SEBRANT

JOHN MIDDLETON and DAVID TAIT (ed.): *Tribes without rulers: studies in African segmentary systems*. xi, 234 pp. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958. 28s.

Almost 20 years have now passed since Professors Fortes and Evans-Pritchard edited the first comparative study of political institutions in Africa. In *African political systems* the view was advanced that three types of such system could be distinguished: firstly, that of small societies, such as the Bushmen, in which political units at all levels are also kinship units; secondly, that of uncentralized or 'stateless' societies, such as Nuer, in which, though the political units are contraposed lineages, one can distinguish spheres proper both to political and non-political relations; finally, there are societies like the Zulu, with some form of centralized authority, an administrative organization to maintain it, and some judicial institutions by which it may be expressed.

The years since the war have seen a great expansion of anthropological studies in Africa, so that some refinement of the earlier classification may now be attempted. The editors of the present volume have collected six essays by young British and American anthropologists to illustrate some important variants within the general category of 'uncentralized' societies. With one partial exception all the peoples dealt with are from the more northern, non-Bantu speaking parts of Africa: the Dinka and Mandari of the Sudan, the Amba and Lugbara of Uganda; the Tiv of Nigeria; and the Konkomba of northern Togoland.

In their introduction the editors distinguish political relations and political units. Relations are political when individuals or groups 'exercise power or authority for the maintenance of social order within a territory'. This definition seems more properly applicable to the 'internal' relations between components of a unit, which Dr. M. G. Smith has aptly

described as commonly 'administrative' in character, rather than to the 'external' relations between structurally equal units, which are characterized by competition or overt hostility. In societies lacking any centralized political authority, such as those under discussion, both internal and external political relations may be conceived and effected in lineage terms. This probably explains why in several of the studies internal political relations in particular emerge less clearly than the lineage structure in which they are embedded. Undoubtedly there are difficulties in trying to abstract a specifically 'political' element from a particular relation, and, in Dr. Bohannan's view (p. 64) such attempts are artificial, since 'If we try to isolate certain attributes of the roles of elders . . . as political, we falsify their true social and cultural position . . .'. On the other hand, in the interests of presentation, or, to quote Dr. Bohannan again '... a definition of "political" ' then some degree of abstraction is probably desirable.

The 'basic' political unit of all the societies under discussion is the 'joint or extended family based upon three or four generation lineage': it is referred to as the 'nuclear group'. An aggregate of several such groups constitutes the 'widest' political unit, being the widest grouping within which '... there are a moral obligation and a means ultimately to settle disputes peaceably'. This unit, the largest autonomous group in political contexts is referred to as the 'jural community'. This, one gathers indirectly, varies widely numerically, from a few hundreds in Mandari and Amba, to several thousands in Dinka. The six societies are divided into three groups. In Group I, exemplified by Tiv and Lugbara, the jural community is 'pyramidal', built on a framework of agnatic lineages with a single 'all-inclusive lineage genealogy', and relatively independent. By contrast, in Group II, exemplified by Amba and Konkomba, the political units—jural community is not mentioned, nor would it appear to be applicable—are interdependent, are not linked by a single genealogy, but consist of small descent groups, often shallow in depth. In Mandari and Dinka of Group III, the jural communities, like those of Group I, are relatively independent, but contain components from other clans—Dr. Lienhardt refers to the Dinka lineage as a 'compound' structure—and at no level above the nuclear group is there a comprehensive lineage genealogy.

The differences between the three groups appear fairly straightforward from the introduction, but it is not always easy to see how they operate from the illustrative essays. In Bwamba, for example, the 'basic' political

unit is also the 'largest unified political entity', that is the village, and does not seem to be co-terminous with the editors' nuclear group under the 'domestic authority of a single head'. Indeed Dr. Winter expressly differentiates between the head of an elementary family, a residential leader, and the village elders. Which of these constitutes the head of the nuclear group is hard to see. Again, among the Dinka, while the 'tribe' is the jural community, the sub-tribe, consisting of groups of members of several extended families, is commonly the only political 'segment', so that the basic political unit seems commonly larger than the nuclear group. Reference is certainly made (p. 20) to an intermediate political unit, but in view of the political importance of the Amba village and the Dinka sub-tribe this might well be amplified. Finally, it appears that the tribe in Konkomba, Lugbara, and Dinka may be equated with the jural community, but such a restricted usage is not consistently maintained throughout, as can be noted from the title of the volume. Tiv society, for example, appears to constitute a single tribe, but not, it seems, a single jural community. It would seem preferable to restrict the use of 'tribe' to the largest political unit in a society, leaving a term such as 'people' for the cultural and linguistic unit.

An interesting point, made explicitly by most contributors, is the need to provide adequate contextual definitions for important anthropological concepts: Dr. Lienhardt states expressly, of the term for 'cattle-camp', 'An understanding of the ranges of meaning of this word is the key to the understanding of the Dinkas' view of their political organization'. There is here a fruitful field for further documentation, which has received too little attention in the past.

The volume as a whole makes difficult but stimulating reading, and should prove a most useful addition to the literature. In these times of high printing costs such essays may well prove a more practicable proposition than the traditional monograph, enabling field-workers to provide some account of their study, not too long after its completion.

W. H. WHITELEY

R. C. ZAEHNER: *At sundry times: an essay in the comparison of religions*. 230 pp. London: Faber and Faber, 1958. 21s.

This book on comparative religion is an expanded version of a series of five lectures delivered before the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth by the Spalding

Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford.

That the book is ultimately a piece of Christian apologetics is obvious from its proclaimed thesis, which is 'that Jesus Christ fulfils not only the prophets of Israel but also the Prophet of Iran and the sages of India' (p. 184). This, however, is less obvious in the course of the exposition, which, although carried out with a foregone conclusion, shows not only a profound familiarity with the material, and originality in its interpretation, but also displays a sympathetic and intellectually honest attitude to a degree uncommon among religiously committed writers.

Having made the 'enormous assumption' of a progressive revelation of God 'at sundry times and in diverse manners', the author proceeds to give a comparative account of the development and spiritual meaning of the great living religions, devoting the bulk of his space to Indian religions.

The author displays a good deal of ingenuity and scholarly depth in his contrasting analysis and classification of various types of mysticism, carefully drawing upon textual evidence. Following Jung he translates the monistic utterances of the Upaniṣads from the realm of metaphysics, where they make little sense, to that of psychology; but for reasons of his own he excludes the 'love-mysticism' of the Christian saints from such treatment.

Throughout the account two fundamental types of all higher religious attitudes are confronted:

- (a) the prophetic or Judaic type, which is concerned with a personal God experienced as an objective fact by the prophets of Israel as well as by Muhammad and Zoroaster;
- (b) the mystical or Indian type, which is concerned with the eternal as a state to be experienced within the human soul.

There is much to be said for this study in contrasts. As such the book develops the attack already launched by the author in his earlier work *Mysticism, sacred and profane* against the 'indifferentists' of the kind of Professor Radhakrishnan, who would over-emphasize the similarity of religious experiences and concepts in the various religions of the world wishing to demonstrate that all religions are equally true. At least in this respect the present book is a timely corrective.

This highly stimulating demonstration of contrasts, which is undoubtedly an excellent *propaedeutikon* to any study of religion, is not, however, achieved without the high cost of over-simplification, particularly where the bewildering and inconsistent complexity of Indian religious thought is concerned. The

portrayal of the latter is often conditioned by over-emphasis of the contrasting types of religion as well as by the preconceived scheme of the progressive unfolding of a Christian-like theism. Contradictions thus become unavoidable. For instance, we read: '... whereas the Christian starts with the idea of God, the Hindu and Buddhist do not: they start with the idea of the human soul' (p. 16); or: '... with the single exception of the *Śvetāśvatara* they (the Upaniṣads) teach us very little that is significant about God' (p. 171); but, as the author himself realizes in another chapter, 'the Upaniṣads... are primarily theological treatises if by God we understand the Direct Cause or Divine Ground of the universe' (p. 58).

The author observes at one place (p. 20) that 'Hinduism and Buddhism are ways of life'; nevertheless throughout the book the term 'Hinduism' is used as a caption for a selection of aristocratic theological texts, ignoring the more popular aspects of non-Brahmanic Hinduism, such as the theism of the medieval hymn-cists.

It is rather surprising that the author, when dealing with Buddhism, harks back to Mrs. Rhys Davids' improbable theory that Buddha's teaching was merely another variation of Advaita-Vedānta, and the doctrine of *anattā* was only a negative way of expressing the permanence of the Ātman (p. 98 seq.). It is one thing to see the logical implications of *nairāmya*, which indeed were thought out by later Buddhism, and quite another thing to regard such speculations as the explicit teaching of the Buddha. Such a theory runs contrary to whatever passages may be regarded as Early Buddhism.

The author bases his argument on textual evidence, citing from the Pāli Canon passages where *attā* is referred to in an affirmative manner. But, as Buddhist tradition itself has it, the text speaks sometimes on the level of the ultimate truth and at other times on the level of ordinary discourse (*vyavahāra*). Most of such occurrences of *attā* are to be found in ethical rather than philosophical contexts and there should be no difficulty in taking them as common parlance. Here indeed the common sense of Buddhist tradition cannot be set aside by scholarly pedantry. Moreover, the use of *attā*, when not a mere reflexive, can often be taken in the negative sense of disparaging reliance on any external entity, and should not necessarily be taken to convey the positive conception of 'Self'. Lastly and above all, even granting that the cited passages do have a non-Buddhist purport, to argue from such unavoidable foreign accretions in the gigantic body of the Pāli scriptures against the central concept of Buddhism should have no more

force than, say, bringing forward the fiercer and more vindictive passages from the Psalms or Christian hymns as evidence for the true spirit of Christianity. Exceptions in such cases at best only emphasize the rule.

It is regrettable that the author should himself commit the same methodological error of which he accuses the 'indifferentists', whom he opposes, when he uproots concepts from their native contexts and makes the rather bizarre identification of the Catholic Trinity

of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost with the Advaita-Vedāntic *sac-cid-ānanda* (p. 193).

The book being based on lectures, a certain amount of repetition was unavoidable. This is, however, hardly annoying in view of the originality of the author's thought and the forcefulness of his style. As in his earlier works the author is lucid in the exposition of matters which by their very nature defy lucidity.

T. GELBLUM

SHORT NOTICES

T. F. MITCHELL: *An introduction to Egyptian colloquial Arabic*. xii, 285 pp. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1956. 20s.

This is an excellent book. It breaks new ground in that it is written by a general linguist who is not an Arabist in the conventional classical tradition. It is firmly based on analysis of how Egyptians speak, not how they ought to speak, or think they ought to speak. Previous writers on this subject have invariably had a Classical Arabic background which colours their whole attitude to the Colloquial. Such people assume, more or less explicitly, that spoken Arabic is a degenerate form of the Classical and in this they are abetted by Arabic speakers themselves, who will often make dogmatic statements about grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary which are belied by their own speech. It is a great pleasure to have a section on pronunciation written by one who really knows what he is talking about and has no classical prejudices, and appendices on accentuation, long vowels, and elision where these (in a spoken language) prime topics are shown to be subject to clear rules and not simply ignored or dismissed with vague generalities.

The book is divided into four parts: I, introduction and grammar (the latter divided into 35 sections, each with exercises); II, texts (with translations); III, Arabic-English and English-Arabic vocabularies of about 2,000 words; IV, key to the exercises.

The layout and general presentation are very attractive.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

EWALD WAGNER (ed.): *Der Diwān des Abū Nuwās. Teil 1*. (Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 20a.) x, 363, [xv] pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1958. DM. 32.

The preliminary groundwork to this first volume of a definitive edition of the *Diwān* of Abū Nuwās has already been published by Dr. Wagner under the title of *Die Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Diwān und seine Handschriften* (Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz. Abhandl. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., Jahrg. 1957, Nr. 6). In this latter publication he has already set forth an analysis of the principal MSS of the works of Abū Nuwās, a study in itself most interesting and instructive; though in the Arabic preface to the edition Dr. Wagner's initial monograph is summarized in outline it is still indispensable and it is therefore much to be desired that it will be reprinted with the final volume of the Arabic text. It seems that Dr. Wagner's teacher Schaade, to whom he pays tribute, commenced work upon an edition half a century ago in 1909!

There are, it appears, two recensions of the *Diwān*, that of Ḥamzah, and that of al-Ṣūlī; Dr. Wagner has altogether used 10 MSS of the *Diwān* though not all of these seem to be complete. Other sources upon which he has relied are Abū Hiffān's *Akhbār Abi Nuwās*, and Ibn Jinnī's commentary on the *urjūzah manhūkah* in the British Museum. This present volume contains only 5 *bābs*, *naḡā'id*, tales of Abū Nuwās and the *ḡiyān* or singing girls, panegyrics, elegies, and *'itāb*. Several more volumes therefore remain to be issued, and it must be confessed that this first group of poems makes much less interesting reading than the satire, the *ḫamrīyāt*, and the hunting ditties which are to appear in later volumes. Where the reviewer has sampled the text of this excellent edition it appears to be edited with precise and accurate scholarship and accompanied by an ample critical apparatus. To make this edition of a fundamental work render its fullest service to Arabic scholarship we trust that Dr. Wagner will provide us with a series of indices as detailed and thorough as the rest of his labours.

R. B. SHELFRANT

'ABD AL-MAJĪD 'ĀBIDĪN and IHSĀN 'ABBĀS (ed.): *Faṣṭ al-maḡāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-amthāl* [of Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī al-Awnabī]. (Publications of the University of Khartoum, Faculty of Arts, Arabic Language Division, Vol. III.) xxii, 517 pp. Khartoum: Maṭba'at Miṣr, 1958.

The author of the *K. al-amthāl*, Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (*GAL*, I, 107, *Sup.*, I, 166) who died circa A.H. 223 (A.D. 837) is an early collector of proverbs, but few will have seen Bertheau's edition of 1838. The commentary of the Andalusian al-Awnabī (ob. A.H. 487) to the original collection greatly increases its usefulness. This is very much an Arabist's book, a valuable aid to the explanation and editing of texts, and what is most pleasingly utilitarian is the indexing, which, beside the usual materials such as indices of *qāfiyah*, poet, metre, etc., includes an index of the proverbs listed under their opening word with cross-references to the proverb as it figures in the works of al-Dabbī, al-Maidānī, al-'Askarī, Ibn Duraid, and the *Fakhr* of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah. Proverbial sayings in verse or taken from the Traditions are starred. The editors have provided the usual apparatus criticus with a discussion of the author, his sources, and appreciation of his achievements in this genre. The whole edition is a tribute to the erudition of the Khartoum editors, but the rather long list of corrections at the end which might have been taken up in the proof stage, is a physical blemish all too common in texts printed in Arab countries!

R. B. SERJEANT

EBERHARD KUHN: *Syrisch-arabischer Sprachführer*. [vii], 147 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 8.80.

For German travellers this seems quite a useful little book. The pronunciation and grammar of the colloquial language are handled in 36 pages. This is followed by a glossary, German-Arabic, and by special sections on Syrian money, weights and measures, clothing, food and drink, greetings (a section which might to advantage have been longer), a vocabulary relating to sects and religion, and a short item on calendar reckoning, the latter not really so useful nowadays since calendars or almanacs are to be found in every Arab house. Transcription is used for the Arabic words but with only two symbols not to be found in the ordinary alphabet.

R. B. SERJEANT

ULRICH THILO: *Die Ortsnamen in der alarabischen Poesie: ein Beitrag zur vor- und frühislamischen Dichtung und zur historischen Topographie Nordarabiens*. (Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Ht. 3.) 122 pp., 4 maps. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. DM. 18.

This published dissertation is a competent piece of work, though its original content is somewhat slight; for the only really new contribution lies in the identification of ancient place-names with places reported by modern writers. The identifications are confined to places in northern Arabia, and some 500 place-names from the poets are treated. References are given to the Arabic sources, to the Arabian geographers, generally Yāqūt, and to European maps or sources by which the places are identified. The works of Philby and Musil are specially used, and it is on their cartography that the maps at the end are no doubt largely based. There is a list of toponyms on pp. 22-3, and some interesting dialectal variants of place-names which were apparently current in ancient times. The author is to be congratulated on a sound first piece of research.

R. B. SERJEANT

FAHIM I. QUBAIN: *The reconstruction of Iraq: 1950-1957*. (The Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania. Foreign Policy Research Institute Series, No. 3.) xxi, 277 pp. London: Atlantic Books, Stevens & Sons, Ltd., [1959]. 35s.

This is a detailed and sober account of the economic and social developments which were made possible in Iraq by the rapid increase in oil revenues during the past decade. The first part gives the social background, and describes the creation of the Development Board in 1950 and its radical reorganization under political pressure in 1953. Apart from this the book is not concerned with politics: its later parts describe with abundant statistics the development of agriculture, industry, and human resources. A concluding chapter indicates the economic, social, and political impact of the development programme. Written before the revolution of 1958 (which is, however, alluded to in Robert Strauss-Hupé's foreword), the work remains of unimpaired utility as a study of a brief but important phase in Iraqi social history.

P. M. H.

GEORGE L. HARRIS and others: *Jordan: its people, its society, its culture*. [By nine authors.] (Survey of World Cultures, [2].) [x], 246 pp. New Haven: HRAF Press, [1958]. \$5.50.

GEORGE L. HARRIS and others: *Iraq: its people, its society, its culture*. [By seven authors.] (Survey of World Cultures, [3].) [xv], 350 pp. New Haven: HRAF Press, [1958]. \$7.

The intention of this series is thus described in the common preface:

'The focus of the book is a society as it functions, the interrelationship of its parts and of the parts to the whole. . . . Containing a great deal of information, and thus useful as a reference, it is not merely a collection of data. Covering the political, economic, and sociological aspects of a society, it presents no minute analysis of any element within these categories. Asserting as valid only what has stood up to the simultaneous and systematic challenge of the various social science disciplines represented by the persons who wrote it, the book has no recourse to the citation of authorities'.

The validity of the sociological units may be queried. Can either Jordan or Iraq be regarded as a 'society'? As the books themselves show, many aspects of society within the political boundaries are common to the whole Arab world, while, on the other hand, each state is a complex of heterogeneous social groups. The method of compilation also arouses misgivings. The substitution of material 'challenged' by experts for the citation of authorities sounds scientific, but it assumes for the contemporary content and techniques of social studies a degree of finality which may be queried. The resulting product tends, furthermore, to be a flavourless synthesis.

At the level of description, these works are useful handbooks, and some passages give a valuable insight into the structure and problems of the two states. The description of Iraq antedates the revolution of 1958, which is briefly noticed in a prefatory note.

P. M. H.

T. S. WILLAN: *Studies in Elizabethan foreign trade*. ix, 349 pp. Manchester: Manchester University Press, [1959]. 35s.

A large part (pp. 92-312) of Dr. Willan's book consists of a monograph entitled 'English trade with Morocco', which, over a more limited period, performs the same function as A. C. Wood's *History of the Levant Company*. Based largely on archival and other sources in

English, this account deals with the origins of Anglo-Moroccan trade in the 1550s, the foundation of the Barbary Company by charter in 1585, and subsequent developments until 1603, when the deaths of both Elizabeth I and Mawlāy Ahmad ended a phase in the relations of the two states. The political and diplomatic background is lightly sketched. To an orientalist, the monograph suggests that possible Moroccan influences on the development of Arabic studies in England might be a suitable field of investigation.

P. M. H.

LEON NEMOY (comp.): *Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library*.

(Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 40.) pp. 1-273, 8 plates. New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956. \$6.50. (Obtainable from Yale University Library.)

Once again a major library has found when desiring to make known to scholars its collection of manuscripts in a language using a script other than the roman that the high costs of printing make it possible to publish only a handlist, rather than a catalogue, which can include 'only the barest essentials of information which would be sufficient to identify the author, title, date, and subject matter of each manuscript work'. Which, be it said, is all that can reasonably be expected of them in these days, and librarians whose hankering after the detailed descriptive catalogues of an earlier era prevents them from providing lists of their collections, even if it is necessary to dispense with the Arabic script, the quotation of incipits and explicits, and other similar features, are doing a disservice to modern scholarship.

Mr. Nemo's 'checklist', with its items arranged in tabular form, with authors' names and titles all in transliteration, and the frequent use of the threefold dash to indicate 'the same', presents a somewhat forbidding appearance, but the descriptions are adequate, references are given to Brockelmann and other authorities, and carefully compiled indexes are provided. The general austerity of the volume is relieved a little by the inclusion of eight plates (of the oldest dated MS in the collection—A.D. 1096, a Qur'ān in the microscopic handwriting of the calligrapher Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī, autographs of Ibn Hajar, Ibn Jamā'a, al-Subki, Ibn al-'Arabī, and al-Zabidi, and a MS of Balādhuri's *Futūḥ al-buldan* doubtfully assigned to the twelfth century A.D.).

The manuscripts catalogued are all in the Sterling Memorial Library, the main library

of Yale University (those of the American Oriental Society, on permanent deposit at Yale, and those in the Cushing Collection in the Historical Library of the Yale Medical School being briefly described elsewhere), and stem from three main sources: the Salisbury Collection presented by E. E. Salisbury in 1870 with a number of MSS derived from the private library of Silvestre de Sacy; the Landberg Collection, one of several put together by that scholar and purchased from him and presented in 1900 by Mr. Morris Ketchum Jesup; and the 'open Arabic Collection' containing those manuscripts acquired by gift, purchase, or exchange, from various sources, among which are some 300 volumes purchased from a collection of some 600 Near Eastern manuscripts formerly in the Woburn Museum in London. In all, a total of 1682 MSS is catalogued, of which there are two each in Samaritan (Nos. 1663-4) and Karshuni (Nos. 1681-2) and 16 in Judaeo-Arabic (Nos. 1665-80). To the indexes of authors and titles are added lists of autographs and illustrated manuscripts, a chronological conspectus of dated MSS down to 1599, and a list of undated MSS.

J. D. P.

GUSTAVE E. VON GRUNEBaum (ed.): *Unity and variety in Muslim civilization*. (Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations, [No. 7].) xii, 385 pp., 12 plates, map [on endpapers]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. (English agents: Cambridge University Press. 45s.)

This volume contains the text of papers read, with summaries of discussions on them, during a conference on 'Unity and variety in Muslim civilization' held at Liège and Spa in September 1953, with the support of the Ford Foundation and attended by the following scholars: Armand Abel, J. N. D. Anderson, Robert Brunschvig, Claude Cahen, Werner Caskel, G. W. J. Drewes, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Richard Ettinghausen, Francesco Gabrieli, G. E. von Grunebaum, Roger Le Tourneau, Bernard Lewis, Fritz Meier, Vladimir Minorsky, Joseph Schacht, and Bertold Spuler. Those papers originally composed in French and German are given here in English translation. The general theme underlying the conference was the relation between Islamic civilization and the local cultures of the areas which became more or less 'Islamized'.

The papers are grouped in four sections: 'Islam as religion and as civilization' (von Grunebaum, Meier, Brunschvig); 'Modes of expression of the cultural tradition' (Schacht,

Gabrieli, Ettinghausen, Cahen); 'Regional evolutions' (Spuler, Minorsky, Abel, Le Tourneau, Anderson, Drewes, Bernard Lewis); and 'The challenge', which consists of a single article on 'Western impact and Islamic civilization' by Caskel. The results of the conference were summed up in an 'introductory review' by Duchesne-Guillemin entitled 'Where does Islam stand?' a not too felicitous translation of the title of his article on 'Oh en est l'Islam' published in the Belgian journal *Synthese* for April 1954. A brief appendix gives a note on an exhibition set up in the Liège University Library to commemorate the great Islamic scholar and bibliographer, Victor Chauvin, and a brief summary of a paper on the *Tacuinum sanitatis* of Ibn Butlān offered to the conference by the head librarian, Dr. Jeanne Gobeaux-Thoret.

J. D. P.

RUDI PARET: *Symbolik des Islam*. (Symbolik der Religionen, II.) 96 pp. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1958. DM. 18.

This is the second in a series 'Symbolik der Religionen' now being issued. The books are on a small scale (90-100 pp.), but it is clear that the author of the present number found this no disadvantage so poor does symbolism in Islam appear to be. Indeed the title the series compelled him to adopt seems to have embarrassed him, for even when he does run up against undoubted cases of symbolism as in the rites associated with the pilgrimage, he makes no attempt to explain them, but contents himself with Ghazālī's conclusion that, though senseless, they should nonetheless be performed as an exercise in obedience to an arbitrary divine command. This amounts to saying that there is no such thing as a symbolical act, and it is not surprising, then, that this book is little more than a descriptive catalogue of cult practices, no attempt being made to correlate them with spiritual experience. As a compendium it has some value (though it says nothing new): as a treatise on symbolism it is literally a non-starter.

B. C. ZAHNER

I. MAHMUD: *Muslim law of succession and administration: a comparative study of the principles of Muslim law (Shari'ah) relating to succession and administration of the estate of a deceased Muslim person and its application in Pakistan and India*. [xi], v, 237 pp. Karachi: Pakistan Law House, 1958. (Agents in U.K.: Sweet and Maxwell. 30s.)

The publication of this book will be widely welcomed. Originally composed as a doctoral thesis prepared under the supervision of the late Professor S. Vesey-FitzGerald, it represents the only comparative study in English of the principles of Islamic law governing the administration of a deceased Muslim's estate, on the one hand, and the application of these principles (or, in many respects, the failure to apply them) in the 'Anglo-Muhammadan law' of India and Pakistan, on the other. As such, it has been necessary for students of this subject, for some years, to consult the typescript thesis in the London University Library (under the name of I. Mahmud Zagday, as the author was then named).

Although the author has no very extensive knowledge of Arabic he has based his lucid treatment of a rather complex subject on copious quotations from the classical texts; but he has never allowed himself to lose sight of the wood for the trees.

The major blemish in an otherwise admirable work is the appalling number of misprints—in Arabic script, in its transliteration, and in ordinary English spelling and syntax. This seriously detracts from the value of the book.

J. N. D. ANDERSON

FELIX TAUER (tr.): *Kniha tisícé a jedné noci. I-II.* (Československá Akademie Věd. Sekce Jazyka a Literatury.) 359 pp. + errata sheet, 315 pp. + errata sheet. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1958. Kčs. 29.50, 26.50.

As a result of his work on Persian history, Professor Felix Tauer has long occupied a distinguished place among Czech orientalisks. He is now providing his fellow-countrymen with a scholarly yet readable version of the *Thousand and one nights*, of which these volumes are the first instalments. The translation is based on W. H. Macnaghten's Calcutta edition of 1839-42 and the Būlāq edition of 1279/1862-3. Professor Tauer has furnished his translation with a business-like and concise set of notes; the books are most attractively printed and bound.

D. M. LANG

HELLMUT RITTER: *Das Meer der Seele: Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn 'Attār.* ix, 777 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955. Guilders 49.

It is impossible within the scope of a short notice to begin to do justice to Professor Ritter's monumental analysis of the thought

and ideas of the great twelfth century Persian mystic Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār, the forerunner of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. The details of the life and work of 'Attār are more than usually obscure; it is impossible accurately to fix the dates of his birth and death, and the problem of deciding which of the vast number of works attributed to him are genuine has occupied not only Professor Ritter but also Professor Said Nafsy for a number of years (Professor Ritter's present views on this subject are embodied in his article on 'Attār in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*). The problem lies mainly in the wide differences of style and content which exist in the works attributed to 'Attār. *Das Meer der Seele* is a profound and detailed analysis of 'Attār's mystical thought, based on four of his greatest (and indubitably genuine) epics, *Manṭiq al-tayr*, *Muṣibat-nāma*, *Ilāhī-nāma*, and *Asrār-nāma*. An introductory chapter contains synopses of these works.

Professor Ritter illustrates by means of copious quotations from these four epics 'Attār's views on the ascetic life and the relationship of the mystic with God and man, and his exposition of the various stages on the path of the mystic who, in his quest for ever closer proximity to God, eventually reaches the ultimate goal of dissociation from self and identification with the Godhead. In addition, Professor Ritter has enriched his work with quotations from and references to innumerable other mystical works in Persian and Arabic, including the *Sawānīh* of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ghazzālī and the 'Awārif al-ma'ārif of al-Suhrawardī, to name but two. The exhaustive bibliography and index enhance the value of this impressive work, which will be a *terminus a quo* for all future studies in twelfth and thirteenth century Persian mysticism.

H. M. SAVORY

MUNIBUR RAHMAN (comp.): *An anthology of modern Persian poetry. Vol. 1.* (Institute of Islamic Studies Publications Series, v.) xv, 321, [xxiii] pp. + errata slip. Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1958. Rs. 10, 15s.

Dr. Munibur Rahman, in his preface to this volume, rightly says that modern Persian poets can be divided into two main groups: those who consider that the traditional poetical forms are 'capable of satisfying the poetic demands of our time' without modification, and those who feel that the old forms are too rigid and inflexible, and that the new themes of modern Persian poetry demand new poetic

forms for their satisfactory expression. This volume is devoted to selections from the work of poets in the first category, that is to say, those who write poetry in the classical style. 39 modern poets are represented in this volume; Dr. Munibur Rahman has given an excellent and comprehensive selection of their work, and has appended brief biographical notes on each poet. The poems are arranged by *genres*, namely, *qasida*, *ghazal*, *mathnawi*, *qit'a*, *musammat*, *tarkib-band*, *tarji'-band*, and *mustazid*. The eminent Persian scholar Professor Said Nafey has written (in Persian) an interesting foreword to this anthology, which is, in his opinion, superior to any similar anthology so far published in Persia. Dr. Munibur Rahman has in hand a second volume, which will contain selections from the works of modern Persian poets who have broken with the classical tradition and adopted new poetical forms and metres. If he maintains the high standard of critical appreciation which he has displayed in making this present selection, he will have produced an admirable and valuable work.

R. M. SAVORY

ERROLL F. RHODES: *An annotated list of Armenian New Testament manuscripts*. (Annual Report of Theology, Monograph Series, Vol. I.) xiv, 192 pp. Ikebukuro, Tokyo: Department of Christian Studies, Rikkyo (St. Paul's) University, 1959. Y. 900.

To quote the foreword, 'the present list is a survey of those Armenian manuscripts which contain the text of the New Testament or its parts, whether complete or fragmentary'. The manuscripts are listed under the countries in which they are or in some cases were once to be found, a short bibliography is provided for each manuscript when possible, and there are three indexes of dates, places, and persons.

The descriptions of the manuscripts and their contents are brief, but a skilful use of abbreviations has permitted the author to provide within a small compass a large amount of information hitherto scattered. Since collections of Armenian manuscripts, however small, usually contain a gospel, the work has become a useful list of major and minor collections throughout the world. That some collections find no place in the volume is not altogether the fault of an author who has had to rely in most instances upon printed catalogues and notices. The absence of any mention of the Bzommar (Lebanon) manuscripts, for example, which comprise also manuscripts

formerly in the library of the Antonine Congregation at Ortaköy, is due to the fact that no catalogue of these has yet been printed. In the case of the important collection of manuscripts in the Matenadaran at Erevan the author has had to rely in the main upon the out-of-date catalogue of Karinean (1863), although attempts have been made to add to this information from mentions in later works; L. A. Durnovo's *Hin haykakan manrankarçut'yun*, Erevan, 1952, and L. S. Xadisean's collections of Armenian colophons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (. . . *Hayeren jerageri hstatakaranner*, Erevan, 1950-), might have been of some use in this respect, but only a (long overdue) catalogue of the Erevan manuscripts will give entire satisfaction. With regard to Russian collections, R. R. Orbeli briefly mentions a few gospels in his account of the Armenian manuscripts contained in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences (*Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, VI, 1953).

It is clearly a difficult task to keep track of all Armenian gospel manuscripts. The author has been assiduous in his attempt to supplement the information in print by means of personal correspondence with a large number of persons and institutions, but gaps, as he foresees in his foreword, remain. Until more information becomes available, however, the present list will serve both those concerned with Armenian manuscripts in general (the indexes are very useful) and those whose main interest lies in the study of translations of the gospels.

O. J. F. DOWSETT

ROBERT AUSTERLITZ: *Ob-Ugric metrics: the metrical structure of Ostyak and Vogul folk-poetry*. (FF Communications, Vol. LXX₂, No. 174.) 128 pp. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1958. Fmk. 600.

This is a competent and clearly presented description of the metrical structure of Ostyak and Vogul folk-poetry. Ostyak and Vogul are closely related Finno-Ugrian languages, spoken in Western Siberia by some 22,000 and 5,000 individuals respectively. They possess an extremely rich folk-poetry which has been collected by European scholars for over a century. Dr. Austerlitz's metrical analysis is thus based on considerable material of which he makes excellent use. His analysis is so designed as to proceed from established linguistic procedures and to adopt only such notions above and beyond those of linguistics as necessarily present themselves in the material. No similar work has hitherto been

attempted for any of the non-literary Ural-Altaic languages. Dr. Austerlitz is to be congratulated on the successful completion of a difficult task of a pioneering character.

D. SINOR

SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA: *Ollari: a Dravidian speech*. (Department of Anthropology, Government of India. Memoir No. 3, 1956.) x, 78 pp. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1957. Rs. 6, 9s. 6d.

The present treatise is the result of field-work undertaken by S. Bhattacharya, under the instructions of the Department of Anthropology, in the Koraput district of Orissa. This region, which until that time had remained linguistically unexplored, is singularly rich in aboriginal languages, both of the Dravidian and Kolarian variety. Two new Dravidian languages, of which previously there was only the barest mention in gazetteers and census reports, the language described here and that of the Konda Doras, were discovered on that occasion. Later, in 1957, another Dravidian language, Pengo, was discovered by Mr. Bhattacharya and myself in the mountains to the north of Jaypore bordering on Kalahandi.

We also made further investigations among the speakers of the present language, which have further clarified the situation. It is now clear that the 'Poya' language referred to here spoken in the neighbourhood of Salur, is not a sister-language, but a dialect of the same language differing only superficially from that described in these pages. Furthermore the name 'Poya' was not confirmed by these people whose own name for themselves in the region of Salur was given as Konḍekor. On the other hand, the name 'Ollar' used by the western members of the tribe is unknown to those round Salur. There is therefore no other name applicable to the whole tribe except that of 'Gadba', a name universally applied to them by their neighbours and normally accepted by themselves. In order to avoid confusion we may speak of Dravidian Gadba to distinguish them from the Kolarian-speaking tribe of the same name (in their own language 'Gutob'). How two tribes of such diverse origin came to share the same name remains obscure, but it should be noted they live in the same areas and share certain cultural traits of which the most obvious is the distinctive dress of the women. It is interesting to note that in spite of this symbiosis which must have existed for a considerable time, the two languages, Dravidian and Kolarian respectively, have remained totally without influence on each other.

Further investigation showed that the morphological analysis given in the present work was in all essential points correct, and the same applies to the vocabulary. In the latter sphere further material was gathered, all of which served to emphasize the close connexion that exists between this language and the Parji or Durva of Bastar. In illustration of this point the following words may be quoted, which are additional to those given in the book: *ādur* 'hail', *umbl-* 'to urinate', *urv-* 'to comb', *uluk* 'plantain', *ēi bām* 'cobra', *kigub* 'Colocasia antiquorum', *kurium* 'leech', *sinup* 'bracelet', *podul* 'flour', *porc-* 'to be got, obtained', *mindil* 'black gram', *mursund din* 'rainy season', *meykom* 'cucumber', *sarpi* 'cow-dung', *suluskur* 'pus', *soyyel* 'fireplace'.

It is hoped that this material will be published before long. Also the field is open for further investigation by Dravidian scholars. In the meantime S. Bhattacharya's book gives a reliable and well-arranged account of the material with which it deals, and should be acquired by all interested in comparative Dravidian studies.

T. BURROW

W. NORMAN BROWN (ed. and tr.): *The Saundaryalahari or flood of beauty, traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya*. (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 43.) ix, 249 pp., front., 4 plates, 147 photos. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £3.)

The *Saundaryalahari*, a poem consisting of 100 verses in Śikharipiṇī metre devoted to the praise of Devī and embodying the principles of the Śākta or Śrīvidyā system, is one of the most popular of Hindu devotional texts. It has frequently been published in India, both with Sanskrit commentaries (of which 36 are known) and also with renderings in all the major vernaculars. Manuscripts are abundant in all parts of India, and one important result of its popularity has been that some of these are accompanied by paintings.

Professor Brown, in undertaking this new and handsome edition of the work, provides two things which have been lacking in previous editions: in the first place a critical edition of the text based on a very wide selection of manuscripts, and secondly, in the 49 'plates', a reproduction of the illustrations with which two of the manuscripts are supplied. He also provides a translation designed to be as literal as possible, and in addition to the critical

notes a short section of explanatory notes dealing with the interpretation of the text. In the introduction he gives a concise account of the principles of the Śrividya in so far as they are reflected in this poem, without an understanding of which many of the verses would not be intelligible.

The poem is ascribed to the great Śaṅkarācārya, but this is exceedingly improbable since there is no indication in the genuine works of that author that he adhered to the Śākta system. Indications of style would suggest that it was not written earlier than A.D. 1000. A mention of Draviḍa-śiṣu in one verse quite probably refers to the author of this poem, and, if so, we can state that he originated in the Tamil country. Professor Brown suggests that the *Saundaryalaharī* shows a less developed form of Tantrism than that found in the standard treatises on the subject, but in view of the small compass of the work it may be doubted whether there is sufficient basis for such a conclusion.

T. BURROW

ANANTALAL TEAKUR (ed.): *Ratnakīrti-nibandhāvalī (Buddhist Nyāya works of Ratnakīrti)*. (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Vol. III.) [vii], 36, 166 pp. Patna: Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1957. Rs. 4.

This is an edition of one of the many manuscripts of which photographs were brought from Tibet by Rāhula Śāṅkṛtyāyana. (This is the reason for the rather misleading title of the series, which has so far been concerned only with Sanskrit texts.) It contains the following short treatises: 1, *Sarvajñasiddhi*; 2, *Īvarasādhanaśūṣa*; 3, *Apohasiddhi*; 4, *Kṣanabhaṅgasiddhi (anvayātmikā)*; 5, *Kṣanabhaṅgasiddhi (vyatirekātmikā)*; 6, *Pramāṇāntarbhāvaprakaraṇa*; 7, *Vyāptinirnaya*; 8, *Sthirasiddhiśūṣa*; 9, *Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda*; 10, *Santānāntaradūṣaṇa*.

Of these, 3, 4, and 5 were published by Haraprasad Shastri in *Six Buddhist Nyāya tracts* (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1911, and the remainder are now printed for the first time. The volume thus contains much new material which will be of importance for the study of the development of Indian philosophical controversies.

It is regrettable that the quality of the printing has so much deteriorated since the first volume of the series. In addition to poor type and bad inking, there is a list of errata of 179 entries for 142 pages of text, and this is

not exhaustive. Further, 44 of these entries concern the omission or insertion of negatives—a matter of some importance in a philosophical discussion. The editor ought to have made it clear which of the items in the errata are his own editorial emendations of the manuscript. A curious misreading in the *Apohasiddhi* which has escaped the eyes of both editors is *prasahya rūpa-* (p. 54, l. 12, altered in the errata to *prasahyarūpa-*). The following sentence, beginning *pariyudāsarūpa-*, makes it certain that *prasajyarūpa-* should be read. (Cf. also p. 97, l. 21, *prasajyavṛtityā*, *pariyudāsavṛtityā*.)

J. B.

HANNIS-PETER SCHMIDT: *Vedisch vrātā und avestisch urvātā*. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, hrsg. vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg, 9.) 157 pp. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 25.

PANDURANG VAMAN KANE: *History of dharmaśāstra (ancient and mediaeval religious and civil law in India)*. Vol. 7, Pt. 1 (*vrātas, utsavas and kīla* etc.). (Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6.) [v], 718 pp., 3 plates. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1958. Rs. 25.

Dr. Schmidt examines with care and thoroughness the sense of the important term *vrātā* in Vedic literature, together with Avestan cognates. If his conclusion, that the word already had the fundamental sense of 'vow' in the R̥gveda, seems at first sight to be trite, his work nevertheless has the merit of being a systematic investigation of the situation and points the way to the abolition of unsatisfactory renderings produced *ad hoc* for individual passages. His theory that the term expresses in particular a relationship between subject and ruler (human or divine)—a sort of feudal 'vow of fealty' (Treuegelübde)—is worthy of serious consideration.

The first part of the final volume of Mm. Kane's vast work on *dharmaśāstra* is also largely concerned with *vrātas*, and is of particular value as a thorough compilation of the material, particularly in the post-Vedic period. It will be most useful as a source-book for the student of Hinduism. Other subjects treated in this part are festivals (*utsava*), astrology, and astronomy in so far as it is connected with religious questions.

TH. STOCHERBATSKY: *Buddhist logic*. (Indo-Iranian Reprints, iv.) 2 vols. : [ii], xii, 560 pp.; [ii], vii, 469 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958. [Original edition, Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad, Academy of Sciences of the USSR), xxvi, 1932, 1930.]

Since its publication, Stocherbatsky's great work on Buddhist logic (vol. i), together with his English translation of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāya-bindu* with Dharmottara's commentary (vol. ii), has been of fundamental importance for all students of the history of Indian philosophy, and not merely of Buddhism; and for Indian philosophy generally, and not merely logic, since, in spite of the title, almost as much space is devoted to ontological and epistemological questions as to purely logical. The fact that it has been out of print in recent years has been a serious handicap in this field of study, and its re-issue now in the series of Indo-Iranian Reprints is most welcome.

SUNIL CHANDRA RAY: *Early history and culture of Kashmir*. xxv, 241 pp., front. (map), 8 plates. [Calcutta: S. C. Ray], 1957. (Obtainable from U. N. Dhur and Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Rs. 20, 35s.)

This work gives a general survey of the history of Kashmir down to 1338, when the throne was seized by the upstart Sahamira, who became the first Muslim sultan of Kashmir under the name of Shams ud-din. The book is based on a successful doctoral thesis of the University of Calcutta, and is a standing condemnation of the practice of many Indian universities, which allow their research students to embark on projects of very wide scope, the results of which are often little more than compilations of existing knowledge. Dr. Ray is evidently an able scholar, and had he concentrated on a particular period or aspect of the history of early Kashmir he might have produced a much more valuable monograph. As it stands the work under review is little more than a convenient and well arranged collection of the chief known facts and theories about pre-Muslim Kashmir. As such it has its uses, and is not to be disparaged; but the student who searches for fresh light on certain basic problems of Kashmirian history, such as the origin and true character of the *dāmaras*, and the effects of non-Indian contacts on Kashmirian culture and life, will be rather disappointed by this volume.

Like many other regional histories which have appeared in India in recent years the

work is divided into chapters dealing with political history, society, economic conditions, administration, religion, literature, archaeology, and everyday life. Again like numerous similar productions, it contains many platitudes, for example: 'The brāhmaṇas were definitely the more [*sic*] privileged and honoured caste in the country' (p. 84), which is true of practically the whole of India, and 'dancing and singing . . . were widely appreciated' (p. 211), which is true of nearly every society at all periods of human history. Nevertheless the individual character of the culture of Kashmir is very evident from Dr. Ray's pages, and, if not very original, his work forms a well written and useful survey of the early history of one of the most interesting regions of the Indian sub-continent. It contains a lengthy bibliography and a detailed index, and is remarkably free from the typographical errors which are so frequent nowadays in works in English published in India.

A. L. BASHAM

JONAS THALIATH: *The Synod of Diamper*. (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 152.) xx, 238 pp. Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958. L. 3000.

The Synod of Diamper (Udayamperūr) which commenced on 20 June 1599 was long regarded as having rectified the alleged errors due to Nestorian and Hindu beliefs that the Portuguese missionaries claimed to have found in the tenets of the Syrian church in Malabar. The Synod was convened at the instance of Archbishop Menezes of Goa, and the participation in it of the local Syrian clergy was enforced in many cases by him with the connivance of local Indian rulers.

In a scholarly work that receives the Imprimatur, Father Thaliath has critically examined the legality of the Synod, and he concludes that the claims of Archbishop Menezes to convene the Synod were without foundation in church law. He shows how canons were added to the text of the Synod after its conclusion, and that it was this revised version that was sent to Pope Clement VIII. He questions whether the papal brief *Divinam Dei* of 1601 was in any way an approbation of the Synod as such. He concludes that, while the Synod was of value in defining Catholic doctrine at a critical time in the history of the church in Malabar, its effect was to subjugate under the *Padroado* the St. Thomas Christians, whose dependence thereby was on Portugal rather than Rome.

Father Thaliath includes much textual material, both Latin and Portuguese, and the

appendix on the original MSS is of great value. It is a pity that relevant textual material in Malayālam has not been included. The spelling of Malayālam names is not very satisfactory and, where applied at all, diacritical marks occur rather at random. It would perhaps have been better to employ a Malayālam fount, in the same way that a Syriac fount has been employed for Syriac words that occur in the text.

These are, however, small points that detract but little from the value of a work the general conclusions of which will be regarded as balanced and fair in the light of the material presented.

J. R. MARR

G. J. SOMAYAJI (ed.): *Telugu documents; being petitions, etc., in Telugu preserved in the Oriental collection at the National Archives of India*. (Records in Oriental Languages, Vol. 4.) Cover-title, [iv], xii, [86] pp. Waltair: Andhra University for the National Archives of India, 1957.

In recent years an increasing number of publications of original documents in the regional languages of India has appeared. One recalls the publication by the Madras Government of MSS in the Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore. In many cases, such documents are of considerable value to the historian.

This further example is the publication by the Andhra University on behalf of the National Archives of India of Telugu documents preserved in the Oriental collection. This selection is of interest to the student of the social history of early nineteenth-century India. At the same time, it furnishes material useful in any discussion of the occurrence of loan-words in written Telugu.

Surprisingly, we are informed in the English preface that the 32 documents published in this small book represent almost all documents in Telugu available in the national archives.

The first 17 clearly form a group, and concern disputes in the family of the zamindār of Jammulavāya. Some are addressed to the then collector at Maclipatnam and others to the Governor-General, Lord Minto. The remaining items are miscellaneous documents, arranged historically and dated between 1834 and 1859.

There is prefaced a useful if somewhat bare summary in English of the documents. One could wish that the language therein was a little more felicitous; a case in point is the summary of document No. 25. Indication is given of the places where the text is illegible or fragmentary. A note in either the Telugu

or English prefaces as to whether these MSS were on palm-leaf or paper would have been useful.

J. R. MARR

HARAPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: *The sepoy mutiny, 1857: a social study and analysis*. [v], vi, 235 pp., 2 maps. Calcutta: The author, 1957. (Agents: Bookland Private Ltd., Calcutta. Rs. 15.)

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI: *Civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies (1857-1859)*. xxiii, 367 pp., map. Calcutta: The World Press Private Ltd., 1957. Rs. 15, 25s.

Both these authors have studied the Mutiny primarily as social historians. They have both made an extensive use of published sources and a more limited use of unpublished government archives. But they differ alike in their presuppositions and in their conclusions.

Dr. Chaudhuri argues that the Mutiny had 'a national colouring', that there was 'a vague feeling of patriotism' behind it, that 'the leaders of the rebellion looked beyond their own immediate circle, and showed a combination of wide vision and patriotic solidarity', that 'most of the new governments' established where British authority had collapsed 'aimed at justice and equality', and that 'the rapidity with which the revolt developed, the preparedness of the villages to accept rebel authority, and the extensive plundering of many places suggest a readiness for revolt, the rebellion of a united people against the state'. To substantiate such statements would require much detailed research, not to speak of a preliminary clarification of terms. Dr. Chaudhuri's terminology is, however, somewhat exaggerated and imprecise at times. For example, he speaks of 'the parasites of the India Office' when he means the Court of Directors in the East-India House. Moreover, he is on occasion less than fair to previous writers. For example, by omitting the first clause of a sentence which he quotes from T. Rice Holmes he conveys the impression that Holmes had been comparing the behaviour of the talukdars and dispossessed landholders who joined the Mutiny to that of London thieves and roughs on the hypothetical occasion of a mutiny of the police. In fact, Holmes had likened them to medieval English barons.

Professor Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya, on the other hand, argues in rather more precise terms and stresses the importance of local factors in explaining those risings of the civil

population which did occur. He also pays special attention to public opinion in Calcutta and emphasizes its loyalty to the government. Finally, he includes an analysis in tabular form of the regiments that remained wholly or partially loyal.

Both books contain much incidental information and a commendable variety of references to published sources. They may well prove useful as starting points for further research. Indeed, the moral to be drawn from each is that progress in mutiny studies must now depend upon detailed local research.

K. A. BALLHATCHET

D. C. GANGULY (ed.): *Select documents of the British period of Indian history (in the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta)*. [ii], x, 251 pp. Calcutta: The Trustees of the Victoria Memorial, 1958. Rs. 15.

Dr. Ganguly, the Secretary and Curator of the Victoria Memorial, has selected 'the most important' documents in his custody and has prefaced his selection with an explanatory introduction. In spite of the title of the book, the documents are drawn only from the period 1758-1857. They consist of treaties, minutes, and official letters. But they vary greatly in historical importance. What they have in common seems to be the fact that they belong to the Victoria Memorial. They are perhaps more interesting as exemplifying the contents of that collection than as illustrating the British period of Indian history. But from that point of view the reader would have welcomed some analysis of the collection itself and some indication of their place in it. Particular mention should be made of the printing and binding of the book. They are both of an unusually high standard.

K. A. BALLHATCHET

GEORGES DE ROERICH: *Le parler de l'Amdo: étude dialecte archaïque du Tibet*. (Serie Orientale Roma, XVIII.) [v], 169 pp., map. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 6000.

The main part of this work consists of 23 short Tibetan texts, given in normal classical spelling as well as in a phonetic style representing the pronunciation of Amdo in eastern Tibet. Eleven of them are brief extracts from the Gesar epic, while the remainder are prayers, songs, little legends, and conversational pieces. There is also a French translation and a vocabulary. I regret only that words have been

listed in this vocabulary according to Professor Roerich's phonetic spellings instead of the correct classical ones, for those who use this book will not be travellers to eastern Tibet, but Tibetan scholars here in Europe. Professor Roerich has set out a form of phonetic table, but the intended sounds can by no means be certain without the assistance of a local speaker or at least recordings. It is strange too that nowhere is the actual source of this material given. Has Professor Roerich been working with informants? Something should perhaps have been said of this in the introduction, which gives just a short general survey of the peoples of eastern Tibet. As it is unhappily most unlikely that any reader of this book will ever go to eastern Tibet, its chief value (and a very considerable one) is the light it helps to throw on the earlier forms of Tibetan, as represented by the classical spellings. In this respect the author makes no reference to *An Eastern Tibetan dictionary (revised) and a study of the Eastern Tibetan language with special reference to the initial consonants*, edited by Minoru Gō, Okayama, 1954.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

R. O. MEISEZAHN: *Die tibetischen Handschriften und Drucke des Linden-Museums in Stuttgart*. In: *Tribus. Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, Nr. 7, 1957, pp. 1-166. Stuttgart: Museum für Länder- und Völkerkunde, 1957.

This monograph consists of a list of Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints in the Linden Museum of Stuttgart, grouped under the names of their chief collectors, Leder, Meisezahl, Tafel, Umlauff, and Wanner. In the same volume of *Tribus*, there are also short notes with illustrations of recent acquisitions of *objets d'art* from Africa and Asia, as well as a short article (10 pp.) on the Egyptian collection in the Museum. I draw attention also to the obituary of Albert Tafel and the well earned felicitations to Professor Johannes Nobel on his seventieth birthday.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

DANIEL J. FINN: *Archaeological finds on Lamma Island (船灣洲) near Hong Kong*. Edited by T. F. Ryan. ix, 278 pp., 65 plates. Hong Kong: Ricci Hall, University of Hong Kong, 1958. HK\$20, 25s.

This is a republication of articles which appeared in the *Hong Kong Naturalist* from 1933 until the author's death in 1936. Its

appearance is a fitting tribute to the work of a pioneer who shares with Professor J. F. Shellshear the distinction of having taken the first steps in putting a whole province of Chinese prehistoric culture on the map. The sites he investigated and so thoroughly described in print represent the southernmost extension of what the Peking Institute of Archaeology now designates 'neolithic culture of the south-eastern region' and treats with the Yang-shao and Lung-shan cultures as one of the three major divisions of neolithic culture.

Since 1936 we have learned much more about the geographical distribution of the stamped and mat-marked pottery which occurs so abundantly on Father Finn's sites. In 1950 Jao Tsung-i published material from the Han Chiang basin in eastern Kuangtung. Surveys made subsequently have shown the pottery to extend from the south-eastern coast westwards to the low lying regions of Hunan and Hupai, and northwards across the Yangtse in Kiangsu. Chinese archaeologists, however, still reserve judgment on the cultural status of the traditions which the pottery denotes. It is not certain how much its makers knew of food production: the siting of their habitations in low lying, even marshy, ground and on river terraces shows the same concern with fishing and shell-gathering as is characteristic of 'secondary' neolithic cultures in Europe.

That Father Finn was not able to view his sites in this wider perspective in no way affects the permanent value of his minute description of the material and his judicious inference as to date and signs of contact with the bronze-age of the Chou period centred in the north. He believed his sites as a whole to extend in age from the beginning of the Chou period to the Western Han dynasty, and those limits are still accepted.

Of even greater importance perhaps than the pottery and stone axes is the publication in these papers of the bronze weapons and tools found in the Hong Kong area, some of them on the investigated sites; for these, together with two finds of bronzes in Yunnan made since the war, are our chief evidence for the individual traits of shape and ornament acquired by bronze types of northern origin as they spread to the south and south-west.

W. WATSON

DONALD HOLZMAN: *Japanese religion and philosophy: a guide to Japanese reference and research materials*. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Bibliographical Series, No. 7.) x, 102 pp. Ann Arbor:

University of Michigan Press for the Center for Japanese Studies, 1959. \$4.
JOSEPH K. YAMAGIWA: *Japanese literature of the Shōwa period: a guide to Japanese reference and research materials*. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Bibliographical Series, No. 8.) xii, 212 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press for the Center for Japanese Studies, 1959. \$5.

The previous six volumes of this series of guides have dealt with Japanese work in: political science, Japanese dialects, Far Eastern archaeology and ethnology, Japanese history (reviewed in *BSOAS*, xvii, 2, 1955, 405), Japanese economics, and Japanese geography (both reviewed in *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 209-10).

No. 7, *Japanese religion and philosophy*, covers books only, periodicals having been omitted because they were found to be adequately covered in the volume (by Professor J. W. Hall) dealing with Japanese history. Works are listed in seven main divisions: General; Shintō; Buddhism; Confucianism; Bushidō, Kokugaku, and Yōgaku; Christianity; and Meiji and after. The last might seem somewhat incongruous with the rest, but its major sub-divisions—General; Philosophy; Sect Shintō and the New Religions; and Nationalistic Thought—show that any divergence from the general type of classification is more apparent than real. In fact the whole classification is workmanlike and easy to grasp. Indexes, of authors and editors and of subjects, increase the ease with which entries may be traced. Besides formal bibliographical details, all but a very few of the works listed are briefly described, and the descriptions are often usefully critical. There are also short notes to each of the main divisions and major sub-divisions; these are sometimes merely descriptive of the type of work included, but are sometimes 'potted histories' of the subject or of a particular school, and in a few cases references are given to other, fuller English or French bibliographies for a limited field.

No. 8, dealing with Japanese literature during the reign of the present Emperor, i.e. from 1926 to (effectively) 1958, is in four parts: 'An outline history of twentieth century Japanese literature', basic reference works, bibliography of individual works, and anthologies. Literature is interpreted to cover fiction, drama, and verse, including criticism as well as creative work. The most interesting and in some ways most useful of these parts is that covering the basic reference works. Here, besides the particulars of bibliographies, encyclopedias, histories, critical studies, etc.,

which one would expect to find, there are also descriptions and histories of virtually every periodical (143 titles) in which any 'Shōwa literature' has appeared. The outline history, starting from a quarter of a century before the 'Shōwa period', plods painstakingly through the many circles and schools which, for longer or shorter periods, most Japanese writers have identified themselves with, or been placed in by friends or enemies. Some of this grouping and labelling is not very informative, though it must be admitted that no other method suggests itself of saying anything at all about so large a number of writers, both of and about literature. The bibliography of individual works includes a selection of the works of what must be a very considerable proportion of all the writers in the fields covered who achieved print; 1,150 names, almost all of authors, are included, and some further names of authors occur in the anthologies part. In all some 3,500 works are listed. Translations, incidentally, appear under the name of their translator, and, rather strangely, the authors of translated works are not indexed (unless mentioned in the outline history or in the notes to the basic reference works). According to the foreword by the editor of the series: 'Each item listed is believed to be of some value or interest to the scholarly user. . . . Wherever possible, notes as to why an item seems to be of value have been given'. As author of the present volume, he seems, perhaps unavoidably, scarcely to have conformed to this specification: 'The policy', he says, 'has been to err on the side of inclusiveness, and to escape if possible the charge of over-selectiveness'. Perhaps one should regard the bibliography of individual works and the list of anthologies—neither of which is annotated apart from a translation of the titles—rather as appendixes to the part dealing with the basic reference works, which, as already stated, is in some ways the volume's most useful feature. The appendixes proper consist of a list of publishers and an index of authors (including translators) and editors. A few misprints have been noted, of which the following might mislead: p. 2, l. 1, 'pariah', for 'pariah'; p. 5, l. 45, 'pace', for 'place'; p. 10, l. 3, 'Fukunda', for 'Fukuda'; p. 10, l. 14 (and index), 'Stendahl', for 'Stendhal'; p. 10, l. 15, 'La', for 'Le'; and, with some doubt, p. 20, l. 41, 'abjurations', for (?) 'adjurations'.

F. J. DANIELS

EARLE ERNST (ed): *Three Japanese plays from the traditional theatre*. xv, 200 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1959. 25s.

Professor Ernst has followed up his *Kabuki theatre* with this volume which includes translations of the *nō* play *Momijigari* 'The maple viewing' by Meredith Weatherby, of the doll theatre play *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* 'The house of Sugawara' by Albert Miyasato and Shigeru Yamaguchi, and of the *kabuki* play *Aoto zōshi hana no nishikie* 'Benten the thief' by Yukuo Ueyehara. Of these only the first is a complete translation, but in fact very little has been omitted from the other two. Each is preceded by an explanation of the theatre it represents, and a note on the play itself. There is also a guide to suggested reading. The purpose of the book, it seems, is to provide versions of the plays which can be acted, and information useful for those involved in producing them. It fulfils this purpose admirably, adds three items to the growing list of translations from the Japanese, and is well worth reading by students of Japanese drama and literature.

C. J. D.

G. W. SARGENT: *Ihara Saikaku: The Japanese family storehouse, or The millionaires' gospel modernised; Nippon eitai-gura, or Daifuku shin ohōja kyō (1688)*. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 3.) 1, 281 pp., 5 maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1959. 60s.

This is a comprehensive study of Saikaku's *Nippon eitai-gura*, a collection of 30 stories with the common theme of the amassing, or losing, of fortunes by merchants, published in 1688. An introduction is followed by a translation of the stories, a commentary on the translation, various appendixes, including an explanation of the coinage system of the time, an index, and some extremely useful maps showing place-names mentioned in the text.

The *Eitai-gura* is of considerable interest in Japanese literary history as a representative of the fiction of the first part of the Tokugawa period when the merchant classes were increasing in importance, and also as demonstrating Saikaku's characteristic style. Dr. Sargent has much of value to say about this style, and the influence upon it of Saikaku's training as a *haikai* poet. The stories also reflect one aspect of the social history of Japan, since they give many clues to the attitudes of the contemporary merchant class. Dr. Sargent develops this side, too, and adds translations of the *Ohōja kyō* 'The millionaires' gospel' and *Shimai Sōshiten no yūkun jūshichi-ka-jō* 'The seventeen injunctions of Shimai Sōshiten', two works earlier than the *Eitai-gura* which strongly influenced it.

Japanese commentators have written much in elucidation of this work, and the commentary here owes a lot to them, as Dr. Sargent acknowledges. He has, however, added considerable explanations of his own to make things easier for the non-Japanese reader. His translation has as its object 'to bring out the meaning clearly' and avoid stylistic experiments, and not only has this object been achieved but also the English version has a slightly caustic quality which fits in well with the subject matter.

We should therefore be very grateful for the appearance of this book on at least two counts. First, the information it contains will make it indispensable not only for the study of the *Eitai-gura* but also for the literary and social history of the period—information made readily available by the full index. Secondly it will introduce to those unable to read the original the colourful life of the merchants in the late seventeenth century.

C. J. D.

LENNOX A. MILLS: *Malaya: a political and economic appraisal*. xi, 234 pp. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Oxford University Press, [1958]. 30s.

Professor Mills has already produced two valuable studies of British activities in Malaya, *British Malaya, 1824-1867* (Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1925), and *British rule in eastern Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1942). The present work deals with economic and political developments in Malaya from 1945 to the proclamation of the independent Federation of Malaya on 31 August 1957. On the political side it presents a careful, objective, and remarkably comprehensive summary of events, with much shrewd appraisal.

Post-war developments are seen against the background of pre-war conditions; the salient features of the Communist rebellion are brought out with admirable clarity; the communal problem, which at one time made self-government appear an almost unattainable objective, is faithfully analysed; and the fashioning of the constitution through which *merdeka* was achieved is succinctly described.

On the economic side the book surveys in masterly fashion the problems which face the new state: a strong popular demand for a higher standard of living and for Western social services as against inadequate local resources to finance such things, the unwillingness of new capital to invest in newly self-governing Asian states, the threat of synthetic rubber

to one of Malaya's vital industries, and Communism waiting to take advantage of internal discontent. In examining them the author displays a healthy scepticism, and his warning that in carrying out its five-year development plan the Malayan Government might, 'with the best of intentions', damage the laying capacity of the goose that provides most of its golden eggs is by no means inappropriate.

There are equally sound chapters on Singapore and strategic questions. Altogether the book is a model of concise exposition and good sense.

D. G. E. HALL

J. M. GULLICK: *Indigenous political systems of western Malaya*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 17.) vii, 151 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1958. 25s.

This study of the indigenous political institutions in the three states of Perak, Selangor, and Negri Sembilan can be described as an essay in retrospective anthropology. The author presents an analytic account of the authority system as it existed in the western Malay States previous to the establishment of British control in 1874. His source material is inevitably mainly of a historical nature, but the personal experience of Malaya which he gained in the capacity of administrator, enables him to use in its interpretation an anthropological approach and to see Malay society in its totality. The resulting picture is remarkably vivid and well rounded and the reader has by no means the feeling that fragmentary data have been laboriously pieced together. Most of the questions an anthropologist would ask are adequately answered, and the interesting problem of the interrelations between a heterogeneous peasantry and a ruling class conscious of a cultural unity stretching across state boundaries is treated with clarity and imagination. The author considers that the heterogeneous villages of the Malay states were held together not only by loyalty to their district chiefs and the fear of the penalties they could inflict, but also by the consciousness of the magical powers wielded by the sultan as a consequence of his royal office. The welfare of the state and its people were believed to depend on these supernatural powers, and the sultanate was the symbol of state unity. Though the sultan had personally little real power of government, he was the apex of the ruling class, and his good or bad genius was held to affect in a mystical way the fate of the whole community.

O. VON FÜBER-HAEMENDORF

F. W. TAYLOR: *A practical Hausa grammar. Second edition.* xix, 157 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. 25s.

Apart from some notes on the Sokoto dialect, little has been added to the 1923 edition, and the author ignores both the recent spate of good literature and the 20-year-old standardized orthography. The book contains some good things, but much that is erroneous or misleading, especially the over-elaborate treatment of tone and the treatment of noun plurals (some of the forms cited are unattested in any dialect, and the theory of 'plurals of paucity' and 'of abundance' is unsupported by empirical evidence). The copious exercises, though containing some good sentences, are mostly as 'dated' and idiosyncratic in style and content as the rest of the book.

F. W. P.

KENNETH MELLANBY: *The birth of Nigeria's university.* 263 pp., front., 8 plates. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1958. 25s.

Dr. Mellanby, the first Principal of University College, Ibadan, reached Ibadan in July 1947 with no more than the title of Principal-Designate, a small nucleus of staff and students engaged on courses of sub-University standard 120 miles away at the four-year-old Higher College, Yaba, and the recommendations of the Elliott and other Commissions. The College opened in temporary quarters only six months later; and when Dr. Mellanby left in 1953, spacious modern buildings housed over 900 students reading a wide variety of subjects, a number of students had already obtained degrees, and plans were in hand for a palatial and up-to-date teaching hospital, opened last year by H.R.H. the Princess Royal.

Dr. Mellanby here describes the problems, difficulties, and tensions of the early years (accentuated by red tape and the easy tempo of 'The Coast') and the many aspects of this amazingly quick growth—the acquisition of the site, design and erection of buildings; recruitment of staff, college government, and academic development; the provision of hostels, library, bookshop, etc.; the inevitable financial worries associated with fund-raising and with estimates that proved ridiculously below actual costs; and relations with students. Even, surprisingly, relations with politics and the press; for the agitation for self-government was at its height, and the College was caught up in the political cross-currents of the time.

Such an authoritative account of Ibadan's

beginnings is of topical value when similar institutions are developing in other parts of the Commonwealth; and particular interest attaches to the account of the workings and effect of the Special Relationship with the University of London, and the concern for sound academic standards.

The head of such a pioneer institution was naturally the target of criticism from those, both inside and out, who did not see eye to eye with him. This book is in part an apologia, in which the policies and decisions that aroused criticism are explained and defended, though some mistakes and errors of judgment are frankly admitted. But it is much more; it is the unashamed but modest record of a remarkable achievement, from which the occasional unfortunate or amusing episode is not excluded, and in which others are given credit for their own contributions.

D. W. A.

J. H. HILDERS and J. C. D. LAWRENCE: *An English-Ateso and Ateso-English vocabulary.* (Eagle Language Study Series.) xv, 58 pp. Kampala, etc.: The Eagle Press, East African Literature Bureau, 1958.

This little book is intended to help both the English and the Ateso reader. Hence in the Ateso-English section, the past tense of all English strong verbs is given in brackets, also irregular plurals of nouns. Similarly in the English-Ateso section, the reader is given in brackets the plural forms of each Ateso noun, also an indication as to whether any given verb belongs to the *ki-* or *ko-* Class, also whether its conjugational affixes take *-a-* or *-o-*. This latter is a phonetic clue; the letters *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have each two values—'open' and 'close'; open-vowel stems take affixes in *-a-*, close-vowel stems affixes in *-o-*; hence the correct values of *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* in verb stems can be ascertained. It is a pity that the authors did not give similar clues for the pronunciation of these letters in nouns. They could have followed the methods of recent grammars, etc., in the Acoli and Maasai fields (and their own tentative efforts in their *Introduction to the Ateso language*) by varying the type faces to show this difference. They have further not attempted (except in one or two instances) to record the 'shadow vowel'—a barely whispered vowel which follows the final consonant of many words when spoken in isolation (as in Galla) but which is pronounced and has to be written when the word in question is followed by another word beginning in a consonant.

Tone is not indicated. It plays an important part in this language, but perhaps more in

grammar (where tonal doublets abound) than in vocabulary (where they are very rare).

One of the problems the authors have had to face is the specialized use of words by the two main Missions. Hence certain words are followed by '(R.C.)' or '(Prot.)' as the case may be—a useful help to the reader.

Although this book contains only between 2,500 and 3,000 items in each section, the items chosen are of everyday use and applicable to local conditions; the authors have not scorned to include words of English, Swahili, or Luganda origin which have no Teso equivalent or which, in the course of time, have ousted the original Teso forms.

A. N. TUCKER

W. H. WHITELEY: *A short description of item categories in Iraqw (with material on Gorowa, Alagwa and Burunge)*. (East African Linguistic Studies, No. 3.) [iv], 75 pp. Kampala :

East African Institute of Social Research, 1958. 15s. (Distributed outside E. Africa by Kegan Paul.)

Iraqw is one of the most complicated languages of East Africa, both phonetically and grammatically. Along with its related languages Gorowa, Alagwa, and Burunge it occupies a small enclave in Mbulu District of Northern Province, Tanganyika. The present work is an elaboration of Dr. Whiteley's previous work, *An introduction to the study of Iraqw*, and is to be commended for its accuracy and thoroughness.

Though actual vocabulary correspondence is very slight, grammatically Iraqw shows traces of some of the Hamito-Semitic features of the Cushitic languages. What is even more interesting, however, is that it shares with some of the Cushitic languages other characteristics (such as the three Gender system and the 'Selectors' in verb conjugation) which are definitely not Semitic and may well point to an African substratum.

A. N. TUCKER

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR G. DUMÉZIL

The following letter has been received from Professor G. Dumézil :

To the Editor of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

Sir,

In section XXII/1 of your review, p. 156, n.3, Mr. I. Gershevitch translates part of a sentence in my article of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLII, 1957, p. 24, in which, according to him, the opponents of 'dumézilianism' would be called 'mongrels from every yard and of every colour, yapping at our ankles.' *Mongrels* is a wrong translation. The French word in my text is *roquets*, which implies no suggestion as to the paternal or maternal filiation of the special group of critics to whom it is applied. In its figurative sense according to the Hatzfeld and Darmesteter dictionary the word *roquet* simply means 'un individu dont les attaques sont à dédaigner'. If your readers are kind enough to replace *roquets* in its context, they will clearly see that this is what I mean, and no *mongrels*. May I add that this use of the word is perfectly acceptable in French : a number of dictionaries quote a similar expression in Grimm's *Correspondance Littéraire*, 'les roquets de la littérature.'

I am, Sir,

yours very sincerely
Georges DUMÉZIL

[The passage from which Dr. Gershevitch quoted was as follows (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLII, 1, 1957, 24) :

Plusieurs fois je me suis excusé auprès des lecteurs des tâtonnements, erreurs d'appréciation et corrections que comporte *inévitablement* l'immense exploration où j'ai été d'abord seul et où, même maintenant, nous ne sommes pas nombreux, — abstraction faite des roquets de tous enclos et de tous poils qui nous jappent aux chevilles.]

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- ALFRED ADAM: *Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis*. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 24.) [xi], 90 pp. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1959. DM. 18.
- A. N. AGARWALA and S. P. SINGH (ed.): *The economics of underdevelopment: a series of articles and papers*. viii, 510 pp. Bombay, London, etc.: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1958. 30s.
- SINNAPPAH ARASARATNAM: *Dutch power in Ceylon, 1658-1687*. xxii, 246 pp., 4 plates, map. Amsterdam: Djambatan, [1958]. Guilders 32.
- NEVILL BARBOUR (ed.): *A survey of north west Africa (the Maghrib)*. xi, 406 pp., map. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1959. 35s.
- FREDRIK BARTH: *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 19.) [viii], 143 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1959. 25s.
- RADHAGOVINDA BASAK (ed.): *Aśokan inscriptions*. xxxi, 162 pp., 2 plates, map. Calcutta: Progressive Publishers, 1959. Rs. 15, 28s.
- THOMAS O. BEIDELMAN: *A comparative analysis of the jajmani system*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, viii.) [vii], 86 pp. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, 1959. \$2.50.
- B. BERNARDI: *The mugwe, a failing prophet. a study of a religious and public dignitary of the Meru of Kenya*. xvi, 211 pp., front., 4 plates. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1959. 25s.
- GILBERT BORIS: *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*. (Études Arabes et Islamiques. Études et Documents, 1.) xv, 686 pp. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1958.
- MICHAEL BRECHER: *Nehru: a political biography*. xvi, 682 pp., front., 31 plates, 3 maps. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1959. 42s.
- MARIE LUISE BREMER: *Die Memoiren des türkischen Derrwischs Aşçı Dede İbrâhîm*. (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Ht. 12.) 251 pp. Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1959. DM. 8.
- EDGAR H. BROOKES and J. B. MACAULAY: *Civil liberty in South Africa*. vii, 175 pp. Cape Town, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 18s.
- W. NORMAN BROWN (ed. and tr.): *The Saundaryalaharî or flood of beauty, traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya*. (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 43.) ix, 249 pp., front., 4 plates, 147 photos. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £3.)
- OLAF CAROE: *The Pathans, 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*. xxii, 521 pp., front., 11 plates, 4 maps. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1958. 60s.
- ENRICO CERULLI: *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti. II. Diritto, etnografia; Linguistica; Come viveva una tribù Hawiyya*. (A cura dell'Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia.) [v], 392 pp., front., 36 plates. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1959.
- L. F. COMBER: *Chinese secret societies in Malaya: a survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, vi.) viii, 324 pp., 11 plates, 2 maps. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, 1959. \$6.50.
- EDWARD CONZE (tr.): *Buddhist scriptures*. (The Penguin Classics, L 88.) 250 pp. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959. 3s. 6d.
- MARK J. DRESDEN and others: *A reader in Modern Persian, compiled by Mark J. Dresden and associates. Revised in the School of Languages, Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State*. (American Council of Learned

- Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series A—Texts—No. 6.) 400 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 34s.)
- G. W. J. DREWES and P. VOORHOEVE: *Adat Atjeh, reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript in the India Office Library, with an introduction and notes.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel xxiv.) 47, 2–176 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Guilders 10.
- CORA DU BOIS: *Social forces in Southeast Asia.* [New edition.] [iv], 78 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 20s.)
- HERBERT W. DUDA (tr.): *Die Seltshukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi.* xvii, 366 pp. Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, [1959]. D. kr. 149.
- ERNST LUDWIG EHRLICH: *Die Kultsymbolik im Alten Testament und im nachbiblischen Judentum.* (Symbolik der Religionen, III.) 143 pp. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959. DM. 25.
- GORDON H. FAIRBANKS: *Spoken West Armenian.* (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series B—Aids—No. 16.) xvi, 204 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 30s.)
- GORDON H. FAIRBANKS and EARL W. STEVICK: *Spoken East Armenian.* (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series B—Aids—No. 15.) xxiii, 403 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 42s. 6d.)
- OMAR A. FARBUKH: *Ibn Tufail (Abubacer) and his philosophical romance Hayy ibn Yaqzan. Second edition.* (Dirāsāt Qaṣīrah fi'l-Adab wa'l-Tārikh wa'l-Falsafah, 17.) 80 pp. [in Arabic], cover-title. Beirut: [publisher not stated], [1378/1959]. (Agents: Luzac. 5s.)
- OMAR A. FARBUKH: *Islam and the Arabs in the western Mediterranean during the age of viceroys of Moslem Spain (711–756 o.s.).* 206 pp. [in Arabic], cover-title. Beirut: [al-Maktab al-Tijārī, 1378/1959]. (Agents: Luzac. 15s.)
- ALBERT FEUERWERKER: *China's early industrialization: Sheng Hsuan-huai (1844–1916) and Mandarin enterprise.* (Harvard East Asian Studies, I.) xv, 311, xxxii pp., front. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 52s.)
- The Ford Foundation and Pakistan.* 44 pp. [New York: Ford Foundation, 1959.]
- The Ford Foundation program in Burma, 1953–1958.* Cover-title, 16 pp. [New York: Ford Foundation, 1959.]
- WOLFGANG FRANKE: *Das Jahrhundert der chinesischen Revolution, 1851–1949.* 299 pp. München: R. Oldenbourg, [c1958]. DM. 19.80.
- GRÉGOIRE FRUMKIN: *Archéologie soviétique en Asie: aperçu général.* [Offprint from *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. xi, 1957–8.] pp. 73–96, map.
- GEORGE F. GANT: *The Ford Foundation program in Pakistan.* [Ford Foundation reprint from *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 323, May 1959.] pp. 150–9.
- DENO JOHN GEANAKOPOLOS: *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: a study in Byzantine-Latin relations.* xiii, 434 pp., 4 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 60s.)
- ILYA GERSHEVITCH: *The Avestan hymn to Mithra, with an introduction, translation and commentary.* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 4.) xv, 357 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1959. 75s.
- LUDWIG GOLOMB: *Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan: Oasenwirtschaft und Nomadentum.* (Studia Instituti Anthropos, Vol. 14.) xii, 162 pp., 21 plates, 5 maps. Posieux: Verlag des Anthropos-Institutes, 1959.
- K. W. GOONEWARDENA: *The foundation of Dutch power in Ceylon, 1638–1658.* xx, 196 pp., 5 plates, 2 maps. Amsterdam: Djambatan, [1958]. Guilders 30.

- ROSE LOUISE GREAVES: *Persia and the defence of India, 1884-1892: a study in the foreign policy of the third Marquis of Salisbury*. (University of London Historical Studies, vii.) xii, 301 pp., 5 maps. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1959. 42s.
- J. HACKIN and others: *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933-1940)*. Par J. Hackin, J. Carl et J. Meunier, avec des études de R. Ghirshman et J.-C. Gardin. (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tom. viii.) xii, 144 pp., 53 plates. Paris: [Presses Universitaires de France], 1959.
- GEORGE GOTTLIEB HACKMAN: *Sumerian and Akkadian administrative texts from predynastic times to the end of the Akkad dynasty. (Babylonian inscriptions in the collection of James B. Nies, Yale University, Vol. viii.)* vii, 63 pp., 160 plates. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £4.)
- MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH: *Le Prophète de l'Islam*. (Études Musulmanes, vii.) 2 vols.: 439 pp., 2 plates; [ii], 441-743 pp., table. Paris: J. Vrin, 1959/1978.
- R. W. HAMILTON: *Khirbat al Maffjar: an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley. With a contribution by Oleg Grabar*. (Palestine Archaeological Museum.) xxviii, 352 pp., front., 110 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. £8 8s.
- MOHIBBUZ HASAN: *Kashmir under the sultans. (Abdul Ha'im memorial volume.)* xiii, 338 pp., front., 5 plates, 2 maps. Calcutta: Iran Society, 1959. Rs. 25.
- ARTHUR HAZLEWOOD (comp.): *The economics of 'under-developed' areas: an annotated reading list of books, articles, and official publications. Second enlarged edition*. xii, 156 pp. London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1959. 8s. 6d.
- PAUL HENRY and HANS-RUDOLF SCHWYZER (ed.): *Plotini opera. Tom. II. Enneades IV-V. Plotiniana arabica ad codicum fidem anglie vertit Geoffrey Lewis*. (Museum Lessianum, Series Philosophica, xxxiv.) liv, 505 pp. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie.: Bruxelles: L'Édition Universelle, S.A., 1959. Bel. fr. 450.
- J. H. HILDERS and J. C. D. LAWRENCE: *An English-Ateso and Ateso-English vocabulary*. (Eagle Language Study Series.) xv, 58 pp. Kampala, etc.: The Eagle Press, East African Literature Bureau, 1958.
- WILHELM HÖRNERBACH: *Das nordafrikanische Schattentheater*. (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Neue Serie, Bd. 6.) x, 167 pp., 9 plates. Mainz: Rheingold-Verlag, 1959. DM. 11.50.
- DONALD HOLZMAN: *Japanese religion and philosophy: a guide to Japanese reference and research materials*. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Bibliographical Series, No. 7.) x, 102 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press for the Center for Japanese Studies, 1959. \$4.
- J. F. P. HOPKINS: *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary until the sixth century of the Hijra*. xxv, 169 pp. London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1958. 35s.
- E. O. JAMES: *The comparative study of religions of the East (excluding Christianity and Judaism)*. (Reader's Guides, Third Series, 5.) 32 pp. Cambridge: University Press for the National Book League, 1959. 3s.
- A. M. JONES: *Studies in African music*. 2 vols.: xi, 295 pp., front., 17 plates; viii, 238 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1959. £7 7s.
- ARTHUR CREECH JONES (ed.): *New Fabian colonial essays*. 271 pp. London: Hogarth Press, 1959. 25s.
- WADIE JWAIDEH (tr.): *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān*. xvi, 79 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959. Guilders 15.
- OTTO KAISER: *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel*. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 78.) viii, 161 pp. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1959. DM. 24.
- JÖRG KRAEMER: *Das Problem der islamischen Kulturgeschichte*. [vii], 69 pp. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1959. DM. 6.80.

- KURT KRIEGER: *Geschichte von Zamfara, Sokoto-Provinz, Nordnigeria*. (Baessler-Archiv, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde, Neue Folge, Beiheft 1.) 147 pp., 12 plates, map. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, [1959].
- V. KRISHNAMACHARYA (ed.): *Lakṣmī-tantra: a Pāñcarātra Āgama*. (The Adyar Library Series, Vol. 87.) viii, 55, 324 pp. Adyar, Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre, [1959]. Rs. 30.
- ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE: *Histoire du bouddhisme indien: des origines à l'ère Śaka*. (Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste. Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 43.) xii, 862 pp., front., 27 plates, 5 maps. Louvain: Publications Universitaires [et] Institut Orientaliste, [1958]. Bel. fr. 1000.
- HUI-CHEN WANG LIU: *The traditional Chinese clan rules*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, VII.) x, 264 pp. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, 1959. \$5.50.
- B. PHILIP LOZINSKI: *The original homeland of the Parthians*. 55 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1959.
- ERNEST N. MCCARUS: *A Kurdish grammar: descriptive analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya, Iraq*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications Series B—Aids—No. 10.) xi, 138 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1958. (European agents: Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. 25s. 6d.)
- HELEN CRAIG McCULLOUGH (tr.): *The Taihōki: a chronicle of medieval Japan*. (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, No. LIX.) xlix, 401 pp., front., 8 plates. New York: Columbia University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1959. 60s.
- ERIC MACRO: The first British embassy to the Yemen. [Offprint from *Royal Air Force College Journal* (Cranwell), Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 1959.] pp. 36–8.
- T. M. P. MAHADEVAN (ed. and tr.): *The Sambandha-vārtika of Sureśvarācārya*. (Madras University Philosophical Series, No. 6.) [ii], xxvi, 614 pp. Madras: University of Madras, 1958. Rs. 25.
- JANE GASTON MAHLER: *The Westerners among the figurines of the T'ang dynasty of China*. (Serie Orientale Roma, XX.) xvi, 204 pp., front., 63 plates, 4 maps. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1959.
- CLELIA MAINO: *La Somalia e l'opera del Duca degli Abruzzi*. (Collana di Studi di Storia e Politica Africana, III.) 222 pp. Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa, 1959. L. 1200.
- ANDRÉ MARIQ and GASTON WIET: *Le minaret de Djâm: la découverte de la capitale des sultans Ghorides (XIII^e–XIII^e siècles)*. (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tom. XVI.) 91 pp., 16 plates, 3 maps. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1959. Fr. 3000.
- D. MASSON: *Le Coran et la révélation judeo-chrétienne: études comparées*. 2 vols.: xiii, 9–447 pp.; [iii], 449–829 pp. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958. \$14.70.
- STANLEY MAYES: *The great Belzoni*. 344 pp., front., 14 plates. London: Putnam, 1959. 42s.
- A. E. MEEUSSEN: *Essai de grammaire rundi*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 24.) [iii], 236 pp., table. Tervuren: [Commission de Linguistique Africaine], 1959.
- Middle Eastern affairs*. No. 1. (St. Antony's Papers, No. 4.) 141 pp. London: Chatto & Windus, 1958. 16s.
- GEORGE O. MILES: *Excavation coins from the Persepolis region*. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 143.) [v], 124 pp., 21 plates, map. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1959. \$5.
- ROBERT JAMES MILLER: *Monasteries and culture in Inner Mongolia*. (Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 2.) xi, 162 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959. DM. 20.
- ROY ANDREW MILLER (tr.): *Accounts of western nations in the history of the Northern Chou dynasty*. (East Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies,

- University of California. Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, No. 6.) [viii], 83 pp., map. Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1959. \$2.
- I. I. MORRIS and PAUL C. BLUM (comp.): *Comprehensive index : a classified list followed by author and subject indexes, of papers appearing in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1872-1957.* (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Third Series, Vol. 6.) vii, 92 pp. Tokyo : Asiatic Society of Japan, 1958.
- N. A. NIKAM and RICHARD McKEON (ed. and tr.): *The edicts of Asoka.* (Philosophy and World Community, Vol. II.) xxvii, 69 pp., map. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1959. (English agents : Cambridge University Press. 13s. 6d.)
- A. T. OLMSTEAD : *History of the Persian empire. Second impression.* (Phoenix Books, P36.) xix, 568 pp., 70 plates, 12 maps. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1959. \$2.95. (English agents : Cambridge University Press. 24s.)
- G. B. PANDYA (ed.): *Gaikwads of Baroda : Maharaja Sayajirao II, A.D. 1821 to A.D. 1830 (selections from the Baroda Residency records).* [xi], xvi, 267 pp., 2 plates. Baroda : Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1958. Rs. 12.
- ANANT KAKBA PRIOLKAR : *The printing press in India, its beginnings and early development ; being a quatercentenary commemoration study of the advent of printing in India (in 1556). With An historical essay on the Konkani language by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, translated from the Portuguese by Theophilus Lobo.* xix, 364 pp. (including 50 plates), front. Bombay : Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958. Rs. 20.
- JAMES B. PRITCHARD : *Archaeology and the Old Testament.* xvi, 263 pp. Princeton N.J. : Princeton University Press ; London : Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- JAMES B. PRITCHARD (ed.): *The ancient Near East : an anthology of texts and pictures.* xix, 380 pp., map [on endpapers]. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press ; London : Oxford University Press, 1958. 40s.
- FAHIM I. QUBAIN : *The reconstruction of Iraq : 1950-1957.* (The Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania. Foreign Policy Research Institute Series, No. 6.) xxi, 277 pp. London : Atlantic Books. Stevens & Sons Ltd., [1959]. 35s.
- F. RAHMAN (ed.): *Avicenna's De anima (Arabic text), being the psychological part of Kitāb al-Shifā'. (University of Durham Publications.)* xii, 299 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1959. 63s.
- C. F. REMER (ed.): *Three essays on the international economics of Communist China.* v, 221 pp. Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press for Center for Japanese Studies and the Department of Economics, [1959]. \$6.
- LARS-IVAR RINGBOM : *Paradisus terrestris : myt, bild och verklighet.* (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Nova Series C, 1, No. 1.) 446 pp. Helsingfors : Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1958. Fmk. 4000.
- BENJAMIN ROWLAND, Jr. (ed.): *The Harvard outline and reading lists for oriental art. Revised edition.* [v], 74 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 12s.)
- BERNARD ROY and others (ed.): *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan, publiées par Bernard Roy & Paule Poinssot avec le concours de Louis Poinssot.* [Fasc. II.] (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis, Vol. II. Fasc. II.) [iv], 437-624 pp., plates 49-98. Paris : Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1958. Fr. 2400.
- DAVID SEYFORTH RUEGG : *Contributions à l'histoire de la philosophie linguistique indienne.* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série m-8°, Fasc. 7.) [ii], 134 pp. Paris : E. de Boccard, 1959.
- HANNA RYDH and others : *Rang Mahal : the Swedish archaeological expedition to India, 1952-1954. By Hanna Rydh, with contributions by Holger Arbman, K. Gösta Eriksson, et al.* (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 4°, No. 3.) vii, 219 pp., 86 plates. Lund : C. W. K. Gleerup ; Bonn a.R. : Rudolf Habelt Verlag ; etc., 1959. Sw. kr. 100.

- HASSAN SAAB: *The Arab federalists of the Ottoman empire*. xiii, 322 pp. Amsterdam: Djambatan, [1958]. Guilders 21.50.
- SÉVÉRIEN SALAVILLE and EUGÈNE DALLEGGIO: *Karamanlidika: bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs. 1. 1584-1850*. (Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes, 47. Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure—Archives Musicales de Folklore, 11.) xi, 325 pp., 28 plates. Athènes: Institut Français d'Athènes, 1958.
- G. W. SARGENT: *Ihara Saikaku: The Japanese family storehouse, or The millionaires' gospel modernised; Nippon eitai-gura, or Daifuku shin ohōja kyō (1688). Translated from the Japanese, with introduction and commentary*. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 3.) 1, 281 pp., 5 maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1959. 60s.
- U. C. SARKAR: *Epochs in Hindu legal history*. (Vishveshvaranand Institute Publications, 155. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 8.) xvi, 441 pp. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1958. Rs. 30.
- K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: *A history of South India from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar. Second edition*. xii, 508 pp., front., 20 plates, map. Madras, London, etc.: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1958. 21s.
- GEOFFREY R. SAYER (tr.): *T'ao ya, or Pottery refinements*. x, 163 pp. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959. 42s.
- PAUL L.-M. SERRUYS: *The Chinese dialects of Han time according to Fang yen*. (University of California Publications in East Asiatic Philology, Vol. II.) xix, 350 pp., map. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959. \$6.
- G. J. SOMAYAJI (ed.): *Telugu documents; being petitions, etc., in Telugu preserved in the Oriental collection at the National Archives of India*. (Records in Oriental Languages, Vol. 4.) Cover-title, [iv], xii, [86] pp. Waltair: Andhra University for the National Archives of India, 1957.
- OTTO SPIES: *Türkisches Puppentheater: Versuch einer Geschichte des Puppentheaters im Morgenland*. (Die Schaubühne, Bd. 50.) [v], 219 pp., 24 plates. Emsdetten/Westf.: Verlag Lechte, [1959]. DM. 15.80.
- DERRICK J. STENNING: *Savannah nomads: a study of the Woḍaabe pastoral Fulani of western Bornu Province, Northern Region, Nigeria*. xv, 266 pp., front., 4 plates, map. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1959. 40s.
- CLAUDE SUMNER: *Étude expérimentale de l'amharique moderne (d'après la prononciation d'Abraha François). Seconde édition*. [xii], xl, 90 pp., plate, map. Addis Ababa: The University College Press, 1957.
- P. SUZUKI: *Critical survey of studies on the anthropology of Nias, Mentawai and Enggano*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Bibliographical Series, 3.) [vii], 87 pp., map. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Guilders 5.
- FELIX TAUER (tr.): *Kniha tišce a jedné nooi. 1-II. Podle kalkatského vydání Macnaghtenova z let 1839-1842 se zřením k tisku bulackému z r. 1279 h. z arabštiny přeložil*. (Československá Akademie Věd. Sekce Jazyka a Literatury.) 359 pp. + errata sheet, 315 pp. + errata sheet. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1958. Kčs. 29.50, 26.50.
- BERGET ÜNSAL: *Turkish Islamic architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times, 1071-1923*. (Chapters in Art, Vol. 33.) vi, 118 pp., 95 plates. London: Alec Tiranti, 1959. 30s.
- HANS WEHR: *Supplement zum Arabischen Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. viii, 144 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959. DM. 20.
- T. S. WILLAN: *Studies in Elizabethan foreign trade*. ix, 349 pp. Manchester: Manchester University Press, [1959]. 35s.

- JEE SANE WOO : *The seven English speech tones analyzed and identified with musical tones and Chinese speech tones.* [iii], ii, 29 pp. New York : The William-Frederick Press, 1959. \$1.50.
- JOSEPH K. YAMAGIWA : *Japanese literature of the Shōwa period : a guide to Japanese reference and research materials.* (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Bibliographical Series, No. 8.) xii, 212 pp. Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press for the Center for Japanese Studies, 1959. \$5.
- TUNG-LI YUAN (comp.) : *China in Western literature : a continuation of Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica.* xix, 802 pp. New Haven, Conn. : Far Eastern Publications, Yale University, 1958. \$15.
- R. C. ZAEHNER (ed.) : *The concise encyclopaedia of living faiths.* (New Horizon Books.) 431 pp., including 104 plates. London : Hutchinson, 1959. 50s.